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A SCEAT OF ETHELBERT I OF EAST ANGLIA AND RECENT FINDS OF COINS OF BEONNA

MARION M. ARCHIBALD AND VALERIE FENWICK
WITH M.R. COWELL

THIS paper discusses the penny ('sceat') of Ethelbert I of East Anglia (749–?) found during excavations at Burrow Hill, Suffolk, directed by Valerie Fenwick, formerly of the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities in the British Museum. It was purchased by the British Museum Society and presented to the museum to mark the society's twenty-fifth anniversary in 1992, together with forty-seven other Anglo-Saxon coins from Burrow Hill (including fourteen Beonnas). The museum is most grateful to the society for its exceptionally generous support, which has not only secured the 'unique' Ethelbert sceat for the national collection but has also enabled this archaeologically and historically important group of excavated material to be kept together and accessible to students.¹

As the numismatic and historical aspects of the Ethelbert sceat can only be assessed in the context of the larger coinage of his contemporary Beonna of East Anglia (749–c. 760 or later), it is first necessary to discuss the plentiful new evidence which has become available since the issues of that reign were last reviewed a decade ago.²

The Coinage of Beonna

The recent finds, 1986–95

Thirty coins, listed in Appendix 1, have been recorded since the compilation of the 1985 corpus, bringing the total of Beonna's coins to one hundred and six: moneyers Werferth, 3; Efe, 73; Interlace type, 7; Wilred, 23. Two further forgeries (pl. 2, A and B) have also been noted and follow the list. Of the coins published in 1985, sixty-seven per cent came from the one hoard found at Middle Harling, Norfolk. By contrast, all thirty of the recently discovered coins were individual finds, only three without some indication of provenance. Exactly half of these additional coins were unearthed on excavations so that, most unusually and valuably, their precise contexts are known. In particular, it should be noted that the archaeological contexts of all the Beonna coins from the excavations at Burrow Hill, Suffolk (present total fourteen – five in 1985) and at several sites in Ipswich (present total seven – two in 1985) make it certain that they were individual losses and not dispersed hoards or purse contents. A total of six Beonnas have been found by independent metal-detector users at Middle Harling, but too far from the nucleus of the hoard for it to be likely that they were part of it.³ The four Beonnas from Barham, a major market or meeting-place site just north-west of Ipswich, were also found over a considerable area and may be accepted as isolated losses. The coins from all

¹ The publication of the coins from Burrow Hill, except for the sceattas of Beonna and Ethelbert I discussed here, has been reserved for the excavation report being prepared by Valerie Fenwick. All the coins are, however, part of the National Collection and are available for study in the British Museum.

² Marion M. Archibald with contributions by M.R. Cowell, R.I. Page and A.J.G. Rogers, 'The coinage of Beonna in the light of the Middle Harling hoard', *BNJ* 55 (1985), 10–54. See

also the earlier survey by H.E. Pagan, 'A new type for Beonna', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 10–15, and the discussion by D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, vol. 3 (London, 1994), 601–07 and 617–20.

³ Marion M. Archibald, 'The coins' in Andrew Rogers, *A late Neolithic, Saxon and Medieval Site at Middle Harling, Norfolk* (East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 74), 1995, pp. 46–7, Fig. 33.

the other known locations were singletons. The larger number of individual finds now known greatly increases the evidential value of the revised die representations and distribution patterns. The conclusions drawn in 1985 can thus be tested against a fuller and more reliable body of material.

Dies and die-combinations

Some recent finds are in poor condition or are badly struck, so that details of the pellet formations beside the letters on Efe reverses remain uncertain in some instances, but it has been possible to be satisfied of die identities or differences. The additional reverse dies show that some combinations of pellets around the initial cross are repeated on more than one die used with the same obverse, contrary to what appeared to be the case from the more limited evidence in 1985.⁴ The arrangements of pellets still appear systematic, but only fuller evidence will show whether they are really deliberately differentiated or merely random. The present pattern of die combinations is set out in Table 1. Among the additional coins there are no new lower dies but twelve new upper dies. This is in line with the estimations made by M.R. Cowell in his statistical analysis in 1985. The fuller data now available are considered by him in Appendix 2 and produce little change in the estimations: as before, only about one further lower die may be expected for Efe and about two for Wilred, but rather more upper dies are likely for both than the previous material had suggested.

TABLE 1 Die combinations in Beonna's coinage

Dies noted since 1985: Efe reverses (upper dies), R29–38; Interlace obverse (upper die), O4; Wilred obverse (upper die), O13. Only Efe R15 is used with more than one obverse die (O4 and O6). There are no 'new' lower dies. The number of coins of each die combination known is given in brackets.

Werferth

Obverse O1 with 1 reverse: R1 (3)

Efe

Obverse	O1	with	3	reverses:	R1 (1), R2 (3), R22 (3)
	O2		3		R3 (2), R4 (2), R5 (1)
	O3		11		R6 (2), R7 (2), R8 (2), R9 (1), R10 (3), R23 (1), R24 (1), R29 (1), R30 (1), R36 (1), R38 (1)
	O4		6		R11 (7), R12 (3), R13 (6), R14 (1), R15 (4), R32 (1)
	O5		2		R16 (1), R17 (3)
	O6		3		R15 (1), R18 (1), R19 (2)
	O7		1		R20 (1)
	O8		4		R21 (2), R25 (2), R31 (1), R33 (2)
	O9		2		R26 (2), R34 (1)
	O10		3		R27 (1), R35 (1), R37 (1)
	O11		1		R28 (1)

Interlace

Reverse R1 with 4 obverses: O1 (1), O2 (4), O3? (1), O4 (1)

Wilred

Reverse	R1	with	4	obverses:	O1 (1), O2 (2), O3 (1), O11 (1)
	R2		1		O4 (3)
	R3		2		O5 (3), O10 (3)
	R4		5		O6 (1), O7 (1), O13 (1), O14 (1), O15 (1)
	R5		1		O8 (1)
	R6		1		O9 (1)
	R7		1		O12 (2)

⁴ Archibald 1985, p. 22.

Among Efe's twenty-two additional coins there are ten new reverse dies. Four of them are paired with obverse O3, probably his earliest, increasing the number of reverses used with it to eleven. Further new reverse dies may be expected to fill out the ratios in other groups, but some obverses may have been associated with more reverses than others. There is still only one die link between obverses: reverse R15 is used with both obverses O4 and O6. For Wilred, the sole new obverse O15 (an upper die in the case of this moneyer) increases the number of obverses used with reverse R4 to five, the highest obverse to reverse die-ratio recorded for Wilred.⁵ M.R. Cowell's statistical estimations show that the average ratio of upper to lower dies is likely to be 5:1 for Efe and 4:1 for Wilred. The numbers of both obverse and reverse dies, and of extant coins, are also lower for Wilred, which suggests that his issues were on a smaller scale than those of Efe.

Only one further coin of the Interlace type, which is without moneyer's name, has come to light. It is from the sole interlace (lower) die known and is paired with a fourth obverse die O4 (pl. 1, 24). The all-runic inscriptions on the previous Interlace obverse dies are uninterrupted and end with 'rex' in full. Here, a second cross appears in the legend at six o'clock and the regal title is replaced by the same symbol found in this position on the obverses of Wilred's coins, except that the Interlace letter has a pellet in the bow. The symbol on the Wilred coins was interpreted by Professor R.I. Page as a nonce formation probably denoting 'rex'.⁶ The new obverse is not known paired with a Wilred reverse, but it provides a further link between the two issues already related by their technology and design details. The single additional coin of Werferth (pl. 1, 1) is from the same pair of dies as the two previously known. There are too few Werferth and Interlace coins for statistical analysis, but they are still represented by only a few coins from a single lower die in each case, which suggests that their issues were probably small.

Metal content

The metal content of five of the post-1985 Beonnas is discussed by M.R. Cowell in Appendix 2. It was not possible to follow the comprehensive analysis programme undertaken for the earlier group for the recently discovered coins from many different sources (see Cowell, Appendix 4 in Archibald 1985, pp. 42–8). The coins for investigation this time were chosen from among the additional coins from Burrow Hill acquired by the British Museum. The basis of selection was that they should have been struck from at least one die for which no data were already available, either because the die was new or because a duplicate coin in the earlier corpus had been unsuitable for analysis. Among the latter was the Efe coin with the all Latin-letter obverse inscription from the Hunterian Museum (*SCBI Glasgow* 413 = 1985 Corpus C49), then the only known example. Two coins from this same obverse die, paired with different reverses, were among the additional coins from Burrow Hill. The die duplicate of the Glasgow coin was fifty-four per cent silver, placing it among Efe's earlier issues where its relatively small flan size suggests that it belongs. It proved impossible to obtain reliable results from the other coin. The results overall show that none of the coins was of metal either better or worse than among the larger group investigated in 1985.

Range of Beonna's coinage

The new evidence confirms that the surviving coins are and were broadly representative of Beonna's coinage. No new types, moneyers or lower dies have come to light, and only the

⁵ The two coins of reverse R4 analysed in 1985 were the basest and presumptively the latest of Beonna's coins at 22.9% and 25% silver (23.5% and 25.7% with the gold included). M.R. Cowell, 'Appendix 4. Analysis of

coins of Beonna and related issues' in Archibald 1985, p. 46.

⁶ R.I. Page, 'Appendix 2. The legends on the coins' in Archibald 1985, p. 37.

Interlace series has produced even an unrecorded variety of an upper die. The only additional coin of Werferth is from the same dies as the previous two, all three probably from different findspots. This suggests that the presence of a single specimen in the Middle Harling hoard was not simply the result of his better-metal coins having been selectively melted down after poorer issues had succeeded them, or of his coinage being under-represented because it was significantly earlier in date than the rest of Beonna's issues.⁷ The unworn condition of the Werferth coin in this hoard can therefore be advanced with greater confidence to support the thesis proposed in 1985 that Beonna's surviving coinage was issued over a relatively short period.

Novelties can never be ruled out (witness the Ethelbert sceat itself) but it is becoming less likely that a major series of Beonna's coins remains undiscovered. An early fine-silver issue is theoretically possible, but the earliest known sceattas of Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), which appear to have been the inspiration of Beonna's coinage, do not exceed the postulated seventy-five per cent standard of Beonna's finest coins by Werferth.⁸ At the other end of the scale, the Northumbrian coinage, and indeed the preceding Series R sceattas of East Anglia itself, show that even baser and more illiterate coins are possible than were ever produced for Beonna. The basest known Beonna coins of Wilred, apparently on a twenty-five per cent silver standard, may well be the latest of his issues, as the final stages of such a downward course were perhaps overtaken by political events. The date of the intervention of Offa of Mercia (757–96) in East Anglian affairs and of his introduction of broad pennies in fine silver are both unknown, but his employment of Beonna's moneyer Wilred suggests a relatively short timescale, as discussed in the 1985 paper, p. 32.

Distribution and mints

The known findspots of Beonna coins recorded to the end of 1995 are set out in Table 2 and plotted by moneyer or type in fig. 1, maps 1–4, prepared by Brendan Moore. The findspot of the additional Werferth coin is unknown, so the thin distribution is unchanged from 1985.⁹ As coins of Efe outnumber those of Wilred by about three to one, it is to be expected that his coins will be more widely distributed over the East Anglian kingdom and beyond. The coin from Whithorn, Galloway, in south-west Scotland, is part of an exceptional group of Anglo-Saxon coins indicative of the importance of this monastic site and of its widespread direct and indirect contacts. Even allowing for this bias in Efe's favour, his coins are still more heavily represented in the north of East Anglia, and those of Wilred in the south-east. It is not surprising, as numbers increase, to find a Wilred in the north but it is, significantly, from Bawsey, a major trading site not far from the coast. At Burrow Hill, the representation of Efe is unexpectedly high for the south-east of East Anglia, with eleven Efes to three Wilreds, a ratio similar to that at Middle Harling. This pattern must be directly related to the function and history of this high-status site. There is one additional findspot for the Interlace type at Middle Harling, some two hundred and thirty yards from the hoard nucleus and most probably an independent loss. The validity of the location of the Interlace type in central East Anglia has received some support, both positively from this find, and negatively from the absence of the other types in its defined area of circulation in north-central Suffolk.

⁷ Metcalf 1994, pp. 604 and 618.

⁸ M.M. Archibald and M.R. Cowell, 'The fineness of Northumbrian sceattas' in *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, vol. 2, edited by W.A. Oddy (Royal Numismatic Society Special

Publication No. 19, London, 1988), pp. 55–64.

⁹ The recently-discovered coin of Werferth was said to have been 'possibly found near Thetford' but, as the findspot has not been confirmed, it has not been added to the map.

TABLE 2. Findspots of Beonna coins

After Middle Harling, the finds are listed from north to south.

Hoard	Werferth	Efe	Interlace	Wilred	Total
Middle Harling, Norfolk ¹	1	37	3	10	51
Isolated Finds					
Middle Harling, Norfolk ¹		3	1	2	6
'Harling area', Norfolk ²		1			1
Whithorn, Galloway		1			1
Bawsey, Norfolk ³				1	1
Fakenham, Norfolk		1			1
Bowthorpe, Norfolk		1			1
Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk		1			1
Quiddenden, Norfolk		1			1
'Norfolk'		1			1
'Norfolk/Suffolk borders'		1			1
Brandon, Suffolk		1			1
Exning, Suffolk		1			1
Royston (near), Cambs. ⁴		1			1
Bardwell, Suffolk			1		1
Pakenham, Suffolk			1		1
Hacheston, Suffolk		1			1
Debenham, Suffolk ⁵		1			1
Burrow Hill, Suffolk		11		3	14
Barham, Suffolk		1		3	4
Ipswich, Suffolk	1	3		3	7
'Near Ipswich', Suffolk ⁶		1			1
Unknown (England) ⁷	1	4		1	6
Dorestad, Netherlands			1		1
TOTAL	3	73	7	23	106

Notes to Table 2

¹ Since the hoard was listed in *BNJ* 1985, further coins have been discovered at Middle Harling but at such a distance from the nucleus of the hoard that it is unlikely that they were deposited with it (see the map of findspots in Rogerson 1995, p. 47, fig. 33). It has now also been established that four of the non-excavation coins listed with the hoard in 1985 are in the same category: MH53 (sceat Series U, archer/bird); MH64 (sceat Series R, '[t]illberit'); MH43 = C59 (Beonna, Wilred) and MH53 = C64 (Beonna, Wilred). All these apparently isolated site-finds of Beonna coins are therefore listed separately above. On the maps, the Middle Harling coins are cited as a + b i.e. hoard coins plus site-finds. The coin from the 'Harling area' is included with the latter.

² There are places called East, Middle and West Harling and also Harling Thorpe, so it is not certain which may be involved here but, as all are close together, this coin is included with the site-finds from Middle Harling in the map of Efe findspots.

³ There was some confusion over the findspot of this coin which was originally described as being from Burnham Market, also in north Norfolk, but the writer is reliably informed that it came from the coin-rich market site at Bawsey.

⁴ Royston is in Hertfordshire, but it is believed that the ancient market site near the town on which many early medieval coins, particularly sceattas, have been found is actually across the county border in Cambridgeshire.

⁵ This coin was one of those from 'unknown' findspots listed in the 1985 Corpus. Debenham may now be accepted as an authentic findspot. (See David Sherlock, 'The coins' in Fenwick 1984, pp. 44–52 at p. 46.)

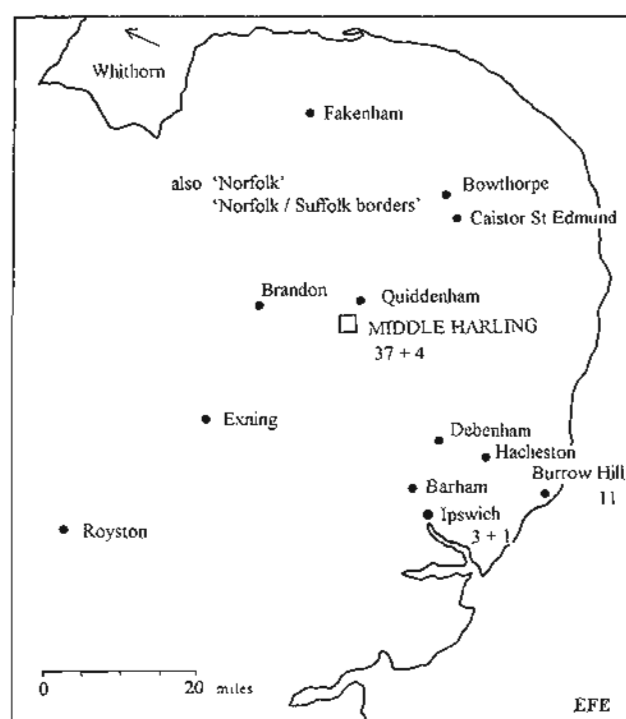
⁶ This nineteenth-century discovery is included as the '+ 1' with the (excavation) coins from Ipswich on the map of Efe findspots.

⁷ One of the coins in this category in the 1985 Corpus is here treated as the coin found at Debenham.

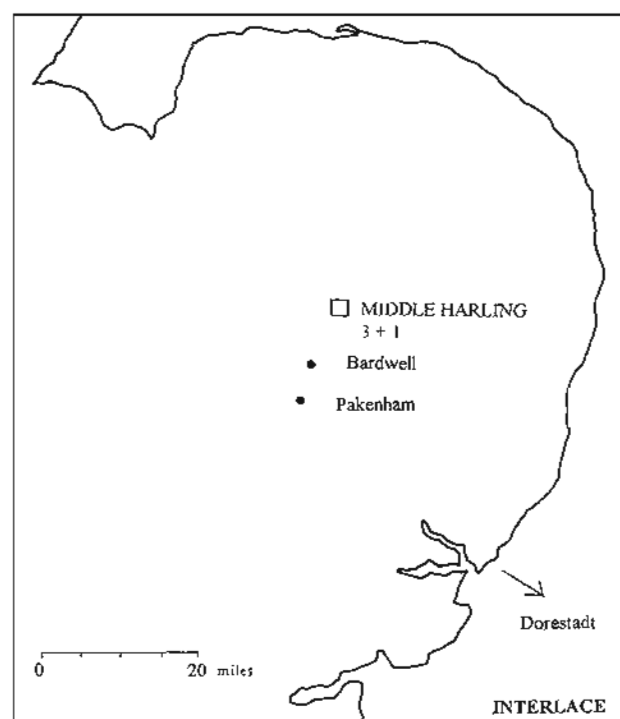
The distributions thus broadly reproduce the previous patterns, with Efe commoner in the north and west of East Anglia and Wilred in the south-east, and the Interlace type apparently between them. The precise location of the mints remains problematic. Technical considerations, including flan size, rule out a single sequence at the same mint for Beonna's coinage. The combined evidence suggests that there were at least two mints, one in south Norfolk and one in south-east Suffolk. Whilst acknowledging, as in 1985, that the minting places could have been at other locations in those areas, Thetford and Ipswich are the



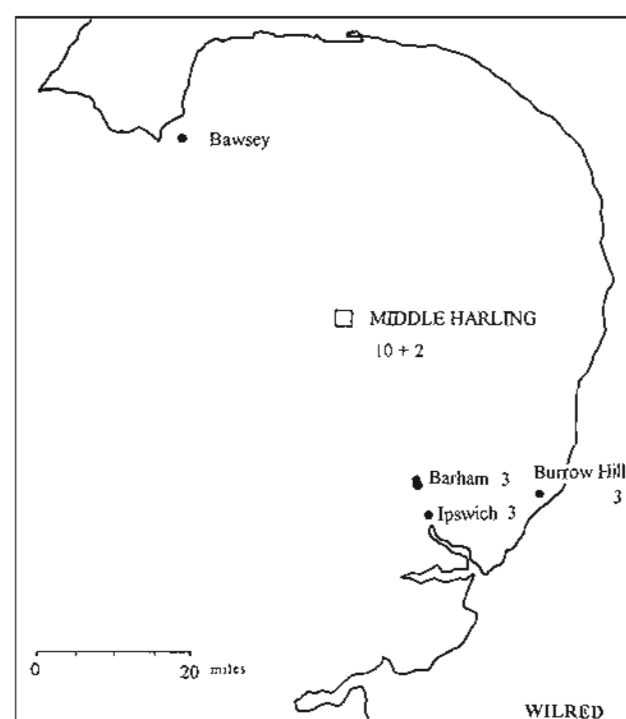
Map 1



Map 2



Map 3



Map 4

Fig. 1 Findspots of Beonna Coins

strongest candidates.¹⁰ A third mint for the Interlace type still seems to fit the evidence best. The writer has tentatively and more controversially suggested Beadricesworth (later Bury St Edmunds), but further evidence is needed before the question of the minting places can be decided with confidence.

Chronology

It has been argued above that the extant coins of Beonna are representative of the range of his coinage, and that it is likely to have been issued over a relatively short period of time. Production of coinage in the late sceatta period, when bullion was scarce, was normally at a low level. A reformed, regally explicit, coinage produced in a short burst of high activity would accord with an issue required for a specific political or military purpose, hence the writer's suggestion that Beonna's coinage was confined to a fairly narrow period around the death of Æthelbald of Mercia in 757 and for a few years thereafter. The coinage began in the north of East Anglia with Werferth's coins on a seventy-five per cent silver standard, and continued there with the coins of Efe aiming at fifty per cent standard. The coins of Wilred from the southern mint are at first on the same standard but soon fail to achieve it, ending with an issue apparently on a twenty-five per cent standard. The latest phase is at present represented by coins (only two of which have been analysed) from just one lower die associated with a higher than usual number of upper ones. The Wilred coins could have overlapped in time with the Efes of the same standard and continued later, or they could all have followed on after the Efe series. The Interlace coins from another southern East Anglian mint are on broad flans, which place them late in Beonna's coinage, but they did still manage to maintain the fifty per cent standard. The discussion of the chronology of Beonna's coinage cannot be taken further without taking account of the Ethelbert coin to which we must now turn.

The Ethelbert Coin

The findspot

Burrow Hill is located in the parish of Butley in south-east Suffolk, 10km (6.2 miles) due east of Sutton Hoo.¹¹ Formerly an island, it now forms part of the embankment of the Butley river 1.6km above its confluence with the Ore and the shingle bank separating it from the sea. About the same distance to the north-west lies Rendlesham, where the Wuffingas kings of East Anglia are believed to have had their palace. The investigation of the site in advance of gravel workings has been undertaken since 1978 by the Butley Excavation Group led by Valerie Fenwick, with the active support and encouragement of the then landowner, Sir Peter Greenwell, Bt., and his family. Not least from the quality of the finds, the site is clearly a high-status one. Its location, near to the heartland of the early East Anglian dynasty, suggests that Burrow Hill was possibly a royal site, but further work is needed before it can be fully evaluated. It is hoped that all the non-numismatic finds from the excavations will be acquired by the Ipswich museum. Meantime, there is a comprehensive display of the finds kindly loaned by James Greenwell in Woodbridge Museum.

¹⁰ Archibald 1985, p. 30. Kenneth Penn of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit and John Newman of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit have both drawn the writer's attention (pers. comm.) to the contemporary importance of *villae regales* and to the fact that several of the finds of Beonna coins have been made on or near the site of a *villa regalis*. The coins could possibly have been a palatine issue struck at places of royal residence, especially in the circumstances suggested below for the production of the coinage, but where it is possible to be certain about the minting place

of sceattas they are commercial and/or religious centres. To underline the fact that the mint locations are not yet certain, they are generally referred to below as 'the northern mint' or 'the southern mint' rather than by any specific name.

¹¹ For fuller details of the location and context see Valerie Fenwick, 'Insula de Burgh: excavations at Burrow Hill, Butley, Suffolk, 1978-81', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 3 (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1984), 35-54, especially at pp. 35-7.

The close proximity of the Burrow Hill coins in contexts which can be shown to have been deposited over a number of years is a clear warning of the danger of assuming an original single context ('dispersed hoard') for groups of coins retrieved by metal detectorists from plough soil. The excavation showed that Middle Saxon kitchen middens and cess deposits are likely to contain accidental losses in the form of coins and other small metal finds. Had the site been ploughed down there would have been no way of establishing that the sceattas were separate losses rather than a dispersed hoard.

The coin (pl. 2, 31, natural size and X2)

Obv.: 'eþ æl be rt' in runes laid out between the limbs of a saltire pommée with, at the centre, a large pellet in a circle of pellets; pellets are distributed between the letters thus: 'e2þ2 æl/ 1b3e/ r3t'; all within an outer circle of largish pellets.

Rev.: 'ti æl re d' in runes laid out between the limbs of a saltire pommée with, at the centre, a large pellet within a circle of tiny pellets, all within a linear circle; pellets are distributed between the letters thus: t2i5 3æ3l/ r3e 3d3 (a pellet also above and below the 'e'); all within an outer circle of smallish pellets.

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr). Die axis: 270°. Metal: 41.5% silver (plus 0.6% gold etc; see Appendix 2).

Ref.: BM 1992-11-35-28.

On the 'eþælbert' side, both the design features and the runes are drawn with a heavier hand and in higher relief than on the 'tiælred' side and are presumptively of a slightly different date and/or by a different die-cutter. This suggests the possibility (although not requiring it) that there may have been at least one other die in this issue. It is not possible to be certain which side is the technical obverse and occupied the lower position during striking.

The inscriptions

The runes are, as on most of the coins of Beonna, carefully formed and unambiguous. The runic inscription 'eþælbert' is clearly a form of the OE name normalised in its West Saxon spelling as Æthelbeorht. The use of the rune 'e' where the conspicuously different rune 'æ' might be expected and *vice versa* may be paralleled on the earlier runic sceattas of East Anglia, where coins reading 'æpa' are succeeded by those reading 'epa' indicating, it is believed, different orthographic forms for the sound at the start of the same name.¹² It is, however, just possible that the abnormal letter order has a technical rather than a linguistic explanation: the die-cutter intending 'æþelbert' but reversing the æ and e in hypercorrection while attempting what was perhaps an unfamiliar mirror-image inscription.

The interpretation of 'tiælred' is less straight forward. The prototheme 'tiæl', taken as it stands, is an abnormal formation and the author suggested in a preliminary publication that it might be a pronunciation spelling of the theme Ceol.¹³ Dr Fran Coleman has kindly advised that while a name in Ceol- is onomastically possible, a form with Til- is preferable from the point of view of Old English orthography. One explanation which she puts forward is that the runic 'æ' and 'l' have been transposed and that the name being essayed was Tilered with 'æ' for 'e' being a compositional vowel regularly found between the elements of ditheumatic proper names, for example in that of Alfred's moneyer at London, Tilewine.¹⁴ This is an

¹² D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, vol. 1 (London, 1993), pp. 106-7; Page 1985, p. 40 gives 'epa' (? 'æpa').

¹³ Marion Archibald and Valerie Fenwick, 'King Albert's penny', *British Museum Magazine*, Spring 1993, Number 13, 19.

¹⁴ The writer is grateful to Dr Fran Coleman of the University of Edinburgh for her expert advice and for

sanctioning quotations from her paper discussing the problems presented by the inscriptions on this coin, 'More meetings of philology and linguistics - with a little help from their friends: on a recently-discovered Anglo-Saxon coin', which is forthcoming in the *Festschrift for Professor Matti Rissanen*, edited by Terttu Nevalainen and Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Department of English, University of Helsinki.

attractive solution as a transposition of letters also appears to have taken place in the obverse legend as discussed above. The presence of 'tilberht' as a moneyer's name, with a pellet between the two themes, in the immediately preceding runic sceatta type, Series R, also suggests that the prototheme here might have been the same, following the familiar manner of Anglo-Saxon name-giving in the possible context of a moneyer dynasty. A moneyer also called Tilred (this time with no interelemental 'e') produced coins for Ecgbearht of Wessex at Winchester during the period c. 828–c. 839, but the name was not known earlier until the discovery of the present coin.

The issuer

The inscription on each side of the Burrow Hill coin is simply a personal name, so that either side could indicate the issuer or the moneyer.¹⁵ The absence of titles at this time is not a problem, as some coins of Offa lack any form of REX, and moneyers' names are not normally qualified by an abbreviation of *monetarius* until the early ninth century. As the die with the king's name could occupy either the upper or the lower position, the technical obverse here is not material to this particular question. The most acceptable interpretation is that this coin was struck by a moneyer Tilered for a king called Æthelbearht.¹⁶ The sceat's similarity to the known coins of Beonna, added to its Suffolk findspot, strongly suggest that this Æthelbearht reigned in East Anglia and around the same time. The written sources mention two kings of that name in East Anglia in the eighth century, who will be referred to throughout this discussion as Ethelbert I and Ethelbert II.

1. Ethelbert I

Ethelbert I here represents that 'Alberht' who is mentioned uniquely in the Norman compilation called the *Historia Regum*, but in a part attributed to the early eleventh-century monk Byrhtferth of Ramsey. There 'Alberht' is said to have divided the kingdom of the East Angles with 'Hunbeanna' (interpreted as two persons, Hun and Beonna) after the death of Ælfwald in 749.¹⁷ Historians have accepted this annal as based on genuine tradition.¹⁸ The relevant passage in the only surviving manuscript, dated to the late twelfth century, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is shown in Fig. 2.¹⁹ The spelling of the name presents no difficulty as the change from Æthel- to Al- is a normal development in the forms of OE names.²⁰ The date of Alberht's death or departure is not known.

2. Ethelbert II

Ethelbert II here represents that 'Æthelbrihtus' king of the East Angles who, on the authority of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, was killed on Offa's orders in 794.²¹ He was afterwards venerated as a saint. *The Handbook of British Chronology* no longer gives credence to any of

¹⁵ This coin has the same design on both sides, which is also used as the reverse type only on the issues by the moneyers Werferth and Efe. It could theoretically be a double reverse with two moneyers' names, but the interpretation suggested below is to be preferred.

¹⁶ Ceolred of Mercia (709–16) is too early to be a possible candidate. The near-contemporary churchmen of these names are also unlikely.

¹⁷ Dorothy Whitelock, *English Historical Documents* 1 c. 500–1042, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1979), p. 265. The writer owes the information that this section of the *Historia* is now attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey to the advice of Dr Simon Keynes.

¹⁸ *Handbook of British Chronology*, edited by F.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, third edition, 1986, p. 9.

¹⁹ CCC MS 139 j 63r and 63v. The photographs of the text are reproduced here by kind permission of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

²⁰ The writer is grateful to Dr Veronica Smart for her advice (pers. comm.) on this matter.

²¹ This spelling of the name appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a Collaborative Edition*, general editors D. Dumville and S. Keynes, D. Dumville and M. Lapidge, vol. 17, *The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 39.

and copiam sibi negata uidit. Rediit g
 sup ripam fluminis expectare uolens do
 nec aqua diminueret: ut transire posset.
 S; cum tribz diebz expectat; aqumq; abscq;
 et amisset in gremium defunctus est.
 b. h. t. r. p. f. i. o. u. r. e. s. a. w. a. c. h. o. n. g. a. b. e. n. i. a. c. u. s.
 a. e. t. a. m. a. n. n. o. e. o. d. e. h. e. r. e. b. a. l. d. a. b. a. l. o. b. i. t.
A nno. dcc. xl. yr. ælfwald rex
 orientaliū angloꝝ defunctus est.
 regnauitq; hunbeanna ælberht sibi diuifert.
A nno septingentesimo. l. eadberht rex ky
 nny. Ifum epm in urbem bebbam captiuū
 adduxerit. basilicamq; beati petri obfide
 fecit in lündisfarnea. Offo filius aldfredi q;
 coronatu est cum. l. tribz.
A nno. dcc. l. v. eathred rex occidentaliū
 tixonum obiit. cui regni sceptru sigberht
 accepit.
A nno ab incarnatione
 dñice. dcc. l. vi. eadberht rex. xviii.

The *Historia Regum* annal for 749 begins at the bottom of folio 63r (above right) and continues, naming 'ælberht' in the top line of folio 63v (below left). Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 139.

the information in late chronicles about the antecedents of Ethelbert II.²² It has however accepted, as the given dates would almost certainly require, that he was a different person from the namesake who is said to have shared the kingdom in 749.²³ Ethelbert II has been identified with the 'King Ethilberht' who issued the broad pennies of the she-wolf and twins reverse type by the moneyer Lul, contemporary with Offa's Light Coinage.²⁴

Ethelbert I came to the throne in 749 and Ethelbert II was killed in 794, but there is no reliable written evidence about the date of Ethelbert II's accession or of the dates of the accession and death of any king or kings who ruled in the period between.²⁵ It is only by considering the 'epælbert' coin in the context of the issues of Beonna and Offa that its date and attribution can be suggested.

Typological associations and location

The obverse and reverse designs of the 'epælbert' coin, consisting of a prominent cross or saltire with the letters of the legends placed in its quarters, associate them with the reverses of the Werferth and Efe coins rather than with the Wilred or Interlace issues. The presence of many pellets around the letters, although not apparently arranged here in any deliberate pattern, is also a feature of the Efe rather than the Wilred coins. The 'd' on the 'tælred' side is of the normal runic form with intersecting staves, whereas those on the Wilred dies have, without exception, a different form, with no intersection and an additional vertical staff.

It must be decided whether this association with the Werferth/Efe group is chronological or geographical. Unfortunately, the doubt over which side of the 'epælbert' sceat is the technical obverse (which distinguishes the issues of the northern East Anglian mint from the southern

²² *Handbook* 1986, p. 9, omitting details in the 1961 edition, p. 19, from the genealogy of the East Anglian kings which, with others, precedes *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*. It places Æthelred between Beonna ('Beorna') and Ethelbert II. This source is unreliable because it appears to have no independent authority, and to depend on the *Passio* of St Ethelbert which says that Ethelbert's father was Æthelred. The earliest surviving version of the *Passio* dates from the early twelfth century but its hagiographical content and parallels with other saints' lives make its evidence suspect. (See M.R.

James, 'Two lives of St Ethelbert', *EHR* 32 (April 1917). The existence of another king between Beonna (accessed 749) and Ethelbert II (died 794), remains likely.

²³ *Handbook* 1986, p. 9.

²⁴ I. Stewart, 'The London mint and the coinage of Offa', in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, edited by M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), 27–43, at pp. 31–2, and earlier papers there cited.

²⁵ The *Passio* gives specific dates of birth and accession for the saint himself, but they are unreliable (see note 22 above).

ones) rules out that approach. Its weight at 1.20g is higher than all but one known coin of Beonna, but its silver content of 41.5% (42.1% with the gold added) matches that of the lower end of Efe's coinage and the main series of Wilred's. It cannot however represent an earlier issue at the southern East Anglian mint contemporary with the start of Efe's coinage in the north, because its broader flan makes it almost impossible to place it at the same mint before the earliest of the Wilreds on their particularly narrow ones. Nor can it be easily located after the Wilreds because of the continuity between that moneyer's sceattas for Beonna and his fine-metal broad pennies for Offa. The findspot of the 'eþælbert' in Suffolk might seem good evidence for a southern origin, but as it came from Burrow Hill, where coins of Efe outnumber those of Wilred by eleven to three, a northern source of the 'eþælbert' would be quite acceptable in that context. It is thus preferable to accept the clear typological association of the 'eþælbert' with the Werferth/Efe group, which points to a northern origin, and the putative mint at Thetford.

Relative chronological position

The 'eþælbert' coin's broader flan equally rules out placing it before the smaller-flan Werferths, as does its much lower silver content, even after taking account of its higher weight and stylistic similarity. Neither can it come between the Werferths and the early Efes, as the latter are still on smaller flans and are of better metal. Stylistically, too, such sequences would be difficult to justify, since the central motif on the Werferth and Efe reverses is a square, which follows on naturally from the Series R design whereas, on the 'eþælbert', it is a circle. In flan size the 'eþælbert' is smaller than the Interlace type, but its metal is baser. Its stylistic differences make it unlikely to have originated in the same place. On the basis of design, metal content and flan size, therefore, the best place for the 'eþælbert' is after the Beonna coins by the moneyer Efe at the northern mint. The heavy weight, if indicative of the issue as a whole, suggests that Ethelbert was attempting to restore the coinage to its original penny/sceatta standard of c. 1.25g, although unable, apparently, to return to a higher silver content.

Ethelbert I or Ethelbert II

The close typological associations with the coins of Beonna suggest that the 'eþælbert' coin is more easily attributed to Ethelbert I than to Ethelbert II. The analytical and archaeological evidence also strongly supports an attribution to Ethelbert I. M.R. Cowell says in Appendix 2 that 'the Ethelbert coin is made of the same alloy and contains the same minor components as those of Beonna' and concludes that 'the Ethelbert coin is similar to those of Beonna and is consistent with it being a contemporary issue'. The coin was a single find contained in a primary deposit of food debris in the bottom of a ditch. It was securely sealed by multiple overlying deposits and oyster middens. The context also contained two Efe coins of Beonna and a broken Series R sceat, while a series of overlying deposits of midden material contained single coins which provided a sequence extending into the ninth century. The attribution to Ethelbert I thus seems to be as secure as present evidence will allow. The identification of the issuer also depends on the likely historical context. There is no reliable evidence about the contemporary state of affairs in East Anglia between the accession of Ethelbert I and the death of Ethelbert II, so what follows is largely speculative, but it is consistent with the chronological framework of the coinage established above.

The coinage in its historical context – a hypothesis

Oman proposed that Beonna, a hypocoristic form of a name in Beorn- or -beorn, may be identified with Beornred who succeeded to the throne of Mercia after the murder of Æthelbald

in 757.²⁶ If this is correct, it would suggest that, when Alfwald of East Anglia died in 749, Æthelbald of Mercia used his dominant position in southern England to install Beornred, a senior member of one of the branches of the Mercian royal family and a potential heir, as joint client-ruler with Ethelbert I, probably a member of the East Anglian dynasty. It would be natural for Beonna to be based in the north of East Anglia, leaving the local ruler with the Wuffingas heartlands in the south-east. Nothing whatever is known of Hun.²⁷

When Æthelbald was murdered by his retainers in 757, Beornred/Beonna returned to his native Mercia as king. It was around this time that Beonna's intensive coinage by Efe was produced, principally, it may be suggested, to promote his dynastic ambitions. After a weak start with a small issue, by Werferth, of silver-rich coins whose standard could not be sustained, a large amount of baser coin was produced quickly by Efe. The high ratio of upper to lower dies, especially early in the series, would support this hypothesis, as a similar pattern has been recognised elsewhere when a large issue was produced over a short period, often to meet military requirements.²⁸ Before the year was out, Offa had replaced him on the Mercian throne and 'put Beornred to flight'.²⁹ It may be postulated that he fled back to East Anglia where, for the moment, Offa could not reach him. It may be recalled that following the annal for 758 in the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* Beonna is among a number of kings said to have ruled 'in these times' and in the genealogy of the East Anglian kings to have been 'in Offa's time'.³⁰

The one known coin of Ethelbert I was struck after the last of the Efe series at the northern mint. Ethelbert may have taken the opportunity of Beonna's departure and difficulties in Mercia in 757 to make a bid to restore an independent and re-united East Anglian kingdom, a pattern which was to recur several times in Mercian-East Anglian relations for the next century. On Beonna's return, Ethelbert I's days were probably numbered. It would seem likely that this was so, because the next coins of Beonna were struck, not in the north as before, but at the centre of the old East Anglian dynasty's power in the south-east.³¹ As Beonna's coinage by Wilred with a new type and technique represented a fresh start, it is not surprising that the first of the series were struck on smaller flans and nearer the fifty per cent standard than the last of the previous northern issue. They quickly increased in diameter and the silver content declined. All the coins of Beonna are mixed together in the Middle Harling hoard but Ethelbert I is absent. Coins of this brief and rare issue would have become statistically less significant in the general currency as the Wilred coins were added to those in circulation. A representative need not necessarily be expected in the total of fifty-one coins in the Middle Harling hoard.

Ethelbert I's coinage was thus probably struck in 757, and his reign may have ended shortly afterwards. Beonna's coinage continued, but the unworn condition of the Middle Harling coins means that it cannot be extended very much later, possibly to c. 760 or just afterwards. Beonna

²⁶ C. Oman, *The Coinage of England* (Oxford, 1931), p. 16. Oman was, however, concerned to remove Beonna's coinage from East Anglia and to attribute it to Mercia during the period of Beornred's rule there in 757. The East Anglian origin of the series is now beyond doubt.

²⁷ One interpretation of the evidence is that 'Hun' is a hypocoristic form of a name in Hun- or -hun.

²⁸ C.J. Howgego, 'Coinage and military finance: the imperial bronze coinage of the Augustan east', *NC* 142 (1982), 1-33, especially pp. 16-17 and the papers there cited in footnote 90. Howgego's own material includes one issue (possibly from Syria) with sixteen reverse dies paired with one obverse; he quotes another Asian issue with twenty or more reverses to one obverse, and a Bar Kokhba issue with twenty-nine reverses to a single obverse. The writer is grateful to Dr A.M. Burnett for this reference.

²⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, annal of 757 (Whitelock 1979, p. 176).

³⁰ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, edited by R.R. Darlington† and P. McGurk, and translated by J. Bray† and P. McGurk, vol. II, *The annals from 450 to 1066* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 200-01. In the preceding tables (to be published in vol. I) he is said to have been king 'in Offa's time'.

³¹ Accepting the identification of Beonna with Beornred still leaves other possible hypotheses, but they seem less convincing e.g. that all the coins of Beonna, including the Wilred issue, were struck around 757, and that Ethelbert I then reigned in East Anglia until Offa's takeover. This seems less likely, principally because it would require the compression of Beonna's issues into a very brief period. If Beonna was not Beornred then there is no external context for the issue and it is even more difficult to put forward absolute dates.

could have continued to reign without issuing any more coins, but the continuity of the moneyer Wilred into Offa's reign in East Anglia, as discussed in the 1985 paper, p. 32, suggests that the interval was probably fairly short. It is not known when Offa had secured his position in Mercia sufficiently to turn his attention to re-asserting Mercian overlordship in East Anglia. Other students have suggested *c.* 770,³² but to the writer this seems a bit late, and she would prefer *c.* 760–65. Wilred's coins for Offa stand apart stylistically as well as by reason of their moneyer, who strikes no later coins for Offa. There would seem to be an interval between Offa's Wilred coins and those of his East Anglian Light Issue with different designs and on wider flans struck by other moneyers.

The East Anglian kings (if any) who followed between Beonna and Ethelbert II must have ruled as clients of Offa and therefore, on analogy with his policy elsewhere, remained coinless, with local issues struck in the name of their overlord. Ethelbert II took a more independent line and issued his she-wolf and twins coinage. The circumstances of the issue of these coins is unknown and cannot be dated precisely but they were almost certainly struck before Offa increased the weight of his coinage *c.* 792. Their moneyer Lul is known in Offa's East Anglian Light Issue, and is working for him in his Heavy Issue, presumptively after Ethelbert II's murder in 794. He then produces coins for Eadwald the local king after Offa's death, and lastly for Coenwulf after his reassertion of Mercian control over East Anglia.

Conclusion

The precise date and historical context of the 'ethælburt' penny excavated at Burrow Hill must at present remain uncertain, but an attribution to Ethelbert I rather than to his later namesake killed on Offa's orders in 794 is reasonably secure. Its discovery has vindicated the late and hitherto unsupported *Historia Regum* annal that an 'Alberht' was ruling in East Anglia in the middle of the eighth century.

APPENDIX 1: CORPUS OF COINS OF BEONNA NOTED SINCE 1985

1. The coins are listed under moneyers in numerical order of lower dies as in 1985 *Corpus*.
2. The obverse/reverse die numbers cited are those identified in *BNJ* 1985. Previously unrecorded dies were numbered in a continuing arbitrary sequence for each moneyer as the coins came to light. The new dies are:

Werferth	O - / R -
Efe	O - / R29–38
Wilred	O15 / R -
Interlace	O4 / R -
3. In the legends, Roman letters are denoted by capitals and runic letters by lower-case letters, following Professor R.I. Page in *BNJ* 1985, p. 37. At Interlace and Wilred × denotes the bindrune for 'rex'.
4. The groups of pellets on reverses are shown in a standardised form to denote their number before and after the initial cross and letters of the reverse legend.
5. The central motifs on obverse and reverse are noted below the respective legends.
6. An asterisk denotes a coin shown on the plates. Apart from the Burrow Hill coins, all acquired by the British Museum, excavation coins are not shown unless their dies were not previously known. They are, or will be, illustrated in the excavation reports, and are mentioned here in advance of these publications by kind permission of the excavation directors named. Coins from previously known dies quoted from sale catalogues where they were illustrated are also not shown here.
7. Previously unrecorded dies are shown twice life size on plate 2.
8. All the coins in this list were isolated finds. In particular, the additional Middle Harling coins were found too far from the nucleus of the hoard to be part of it. They are quoted by their number (Archibald 1995, no. xx) as

³² M.A.S. Blackburn and M.J. Bonser, 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins – 2', *BNJ* 55 (1985), 55–78, at p. 72, Table 2; J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage* Vol. 1, 3rd edn (London, 1994), p. 90.

listed by M.M. Archibald 'The coins' in A.J. Rogerson, *A Late-Neolithic, Saxon and Medieval Site at Middle Harling, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology 74, British Museum and Norfolk Archaeological Unit, 1995, pp. 46-53.

9. The authors are grateful to the museum colleagues, archaeologists, collectors, coin dealers and metal-detector users named below for drawing their attention to finds, and also to C.S.S. Lyon, T. Plunkett, P. Finn, P.D. Mitchell, M. Sharp and M. Sinclair.

	<i>obverse</i>	<i>reverse</i>	<i>dies</i> <i>O/R</i>	<i>weight</i> <i>g/gr</i>	<i>die</i> <i>axis</i>
Werferth					
C1.*	+BEOnnaREzs pellet in circle	p1+l we3 rf er square	1/1	1.01g/15.6gr	180°
	Unknown findspot. Shown by the late Captain A.J. Arnot at the British Museum in April 1990; Arnot sale. Buckland Dix and Wood 21.iii.1995, lot 44 (no provenance). (The late Captain Arnot told the writer that it was 'possibly found near Thetford', but there is no certain evidence.)				
Efe					
C2.*	+BEOnna REX cross	3+3 3E3 3F3 1E3 five pellets	1/22	0.75g/11.5gr	235°
	Middle Harling, Norfolk. M/D find 1987 by D. Bailey (Archibald 1995, no. 64); Glendinings 9.xii. 1987, lot 541.				
C3.	+BEOnna REX pellet in circle	+ E F E five pellets	2/3	1.02g/15.7gr	0°
	Brandon, Suffolk. Excavation find 018 7014 (6634) (Robert Carr).				
C4.*	+BEOnna REX pellet in circle	+ E F E five pellets	2/4	1.00g/15.4gr	225°
	Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find. British Museum, 1992-11-35-31.				
C5.*	+BEnna REss pellet in circle	?+? ?E? 3F3 3E3 single pellet	3/29	1.26g/19.4gr	315°
	Middle Harling, Norfolk. M/D find 1987 by D. Bailey (Archibald 1995, no. 65).				
C6.*	+BEnna REss pellet in circle	1+ 3E3 3F3 E3 pelleted cross	3/30	1.05g/16.2gr analysed: 49% silver	225°
	Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find. British Museum, 1992-11-35-39.				
C7.*	+BEnna REss pellet in circle	+ 1E3 3F1 3E3 pelleted cross	3/36	0.90g/13.9gr	225°
	Ipswich (Foundation Street), Suffolk. Excavation find IAS 4601-0733 (Keith Wade and John Newman).				
C8.*	+BEnna REss pellet in circle	1+ 3E3 3F3 3E3 pelleted cross	3/38	0.94g/14.5gr analysed: 53.5% silver	135°
	Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find. British Museum, 1991-22-35-38.				
C9.*	+BEOnna REX 'Harling Area', Norfolk. (Information and photograph from M.J. Bonser, 27.xi. 1994.) This coin could be from several places with 'Harling' in their names all situated near Middle Harling. On the distribution map above, this coin is grouped with the non-hoard coins from Middle Harling.	3+1 3E3 3F3 3E3	4/13	1.06g/16.3gr	c. 180°
C10.*	+BEOnna REX pellet in circle	3+1 3E3 3F3 3E3 pelleted cross	4/15	1.02g/17.7gr	180°
	Unknown findspot. First noted at the Cumberland Coin Fair 9. xi. 1985, then C.J. Martin's List Vol. xiii No. 5, 1985, H8 (information from J. Sadler); shown British Museum, August 1986. This coin had been pierced for use as an ornament; one hole between the o and n of Beonna has been plugged, and an indentation on the diametrically opposite edge is probably the remains of another.				

C11.*	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	3+1 3E3 3F3 3E3 pelleted cross	4/15	0.73g/11.3gr	180°
Bowthorpe, Norfolk. M/D find, 1991: <i>BNJ</i> 1991, CR 119 (Mark Blackburn and Andrew Rogerson). This coin is broken and incomplete.					
C12.*	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	2+2 3E3 3F3 E3 pelleted cross	4/32	1.25g/19.3gr analysed: 50% silver	180°
Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find. British Museum, 1991-11-35-35.					
C13.	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	3+1 3E3 3F3 3E3 five pellets	5/17	0.99g/15.3gr	75°
Whithorn, Galloway, Scotland. Excavation find, 1984. E.J.E. Pirie, 'The early medieval coins' no. 62, in P. Hill, <i>Whithorn and St Ninian: the excavations of a monastic town 1984-91</i> , Stroud 1996 (P. Hill, D. Barrett, and photographs from E.J.E. Pirie).					
C14.*	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	+3 3E3 3F 3E3 pelleted cross	6/19	1.10g/17.0gr	180°
Middle Harling, Norfolk. M/D find September 1988 by T. Frost (Archibald 1995, no. 66).					
C15.	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	+ 3E3 3F3 3E3 pelleted cross	8/21	0.43g/6.6gr	270°
Ipswich (Buttermarket), Suffolk. Excavation find IAS 3014-2154 (Keith Wade and John Newman).					
C16.*	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	3+2 3E3 3E3 1E3 pelleted cross	8/25	1.17g/18.0gr	90°
Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find. British Museum, 1992-11-35-33. This coin has only two pellets after the initial cross, whereas 1985 <i>Corpus</i> C48 from the same dies has had an extra pellet added; although rather ragged, it appears to be deliberate rather than just a flaw.					
C17.*	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	?2+3 2E3 3F3 3E3 pelleted cross	8/31	1.00g/15.4gr	0°
Quiddendenham, Norfolk. M/D find shown at Norwich Museum May 1993: <i>BNJ</i> 1993, CR 201 (John Davies).					
C18.*	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	?3+?2 3E3 3F3 3E3 pelleted cross	8/33	0.98g/15.1gr analysed: 55.5% silver	0°
Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find. British Museum, 1992-11-35-32.					
C19.	+BEONna REX pellet in circle	?3+?2 3E3 3F3 3E3 pelleted cross	8/33	0.53g/8.2gr	270°
Ipswich (Buttermarket), Suffolk. Excavation find IAS 3014-1263 (Keith Wade and John Newman).					
C20.*	+BEONNA REX (Ns retrograde) pellet in circle	+ 3E3 3f3 3E3 pelleted cross	9/26	1.03g/15.9gr analysed: 54% silver	180°
Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find. British Museum, 1992-11-35-29. Same dies as <i>SCBI Glasgow</i> 413 (1985 <i>Corpus</i> , C49). The Burrow Hill coin shows that there are two pellets before the F, not three as was misread in 1985 from the Glasgow specimen, which is unclear in that area).					
C21.*	+BEONNA REX (Ns retrograde) pellet in circle	+ 3E3 ?F? 3E3 pelleted cross	9/34	0.96g/14.8gr too corroded to analyse	180°
Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find. British Museum, 1992-11-35-30.					
C22.*	+BEONna REX cross	1+1 ?2E3 1F?3 3E3 single pellet	10/35	0.99g/15.3gr	270°
Fakenham, Norfolk. M/D find summer 1992 by R. Wood (information and photograph from M.R. Bonser and Derek Chick).					
C23.*	+BEONna REX cross	1+1 3E3 3F3 3E3 single pellet	10/37	0.94g/14.5gr	135°
Barham, Suffolk. M/D find autumn 1986 by T. Marsh. British Museum, 1990-2-12-5. The previous coin from this obverse die, BMC 1 = 1985 <i>Corpus</i> C.50, appears to be a later striking as the flaw between the R and the E of REX is more developed; this is also consistent with its being on a broader flan.					

NN. Beonna, moneyer Efe.
Debenham, Suffolk, probably before 1832. This coin is not given a number here because it is probably one of the three coins which were first published in the nineteenth century, 1985 *Corpus* C13, C43 and C50.

Note: the Efe coin in *SNC* November 1989, no. 5901, 'Found in Newmarket some years ago', is the coin said to have been found at Exning listed in the 1985 *Corpus* C31.

Interlace

C24.* +ben+na X Interlace pattern 4/1 1.11g/17.1gr 0°
Middle Harling, Norfolk. M/D find 1987 by T. Frost. This coin is over-struck, possibly on itself (Archibald 1995, no. 69).

Wilred

C25.* +ben+na X +wil+red 2/1 0.94g/14.5gr 180°
pellet in circle pellet in circle
Bawsey, Norfolk. M/D find 1992 by R.G. Peach.
Sotheby 19. iv. 1993, lot 67 'Burnham Market' (withdrawn); Dolphin Coins Fixed Price List No. 4, Summer 1993, no. 5047; Sotheby, 12. vii. 1993, lot 294 (not sold). (There was some initial confusion over the findspot but the writer has been reliably informed that it was from Bawsey.)

C26. +ben+na X +wil+red 5/3 0.99g/15.3gr 180°
pellet in circle cross
Ipswich (Foundation Street), Suffolk. Excavation find IAS 4601-0113 (Keith Wade and John Newman).

C27.* +ben+na X (retrograde) +wil+red 10/3 1.13g/17.4gr 90°
pellet in circle cross
Burrow Hill, Suffolk. Excavation find, British Museum, 1992-11-35-40.

C28. +ben+na X +wil+red 10/3 0.98g/15.1gr 180°
pellet in circle cross
Unknown findspot. First noted summer 1990 (information, Derek Chick); Captain A.J. Arnot sale, Buckland, Dix and Wood, 21. iii. 1995, lot 45.

C29.* +ben+na X +wil+red 15/4 0.55g/8.5gr 225°
pellet in circle pellet in circle
Ipswich (St Peter's Street), Suffolk. Excavation find 5203-0713 (Keith Wade and John Newman).

C30.* +ben+na X (retrograde) +wil+red 12/7 0.81g/12.5gr 180°
pellet in circle pellet in circle
Barham, Suffolk. M/D find by T. Marsh. British Museum 1986-8-46-18.

FORGERIES

A* +BEOnna rEx 1+1 3E3 3F3 3E3 1.19g/18.3gr 315°
pellet in circle pellet in circle
Recognised as false by M. Trenerry, Truro, who showed it at the British Museum, November 1988. Although from different dies from the forgery noted in 1985, the style and aberrant details are so similar that the maker was probably the same.

B* Die-duplicate of previous 1.13g(17.4gr) -
This forgery was shown at the British Museum by D. Palmer in 1991 for A. Fordham of Granta Coins, Cambridge, who kindly gave permission for the coin to be analysed. The metal, surface-tested non-destructively by M.R. Cowell in the British Museum Research Laboratory, is certainly modern, not ancient, silver.

APPENDIX 2: STATISTICAL AND ANALYTICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE BEONNA AND ETHELBERT COINAGES

M.R. COWELL

1. Estimation of the original number of dies used

The number of Beonna coins known has increased appreciably since the previous publication, and it therefore seemed desirable to revise the die study which was carried out in 1985. The intention was, as before, to estimate the probable original numbers of dies, and to determine the average number of reverse dies used with each obverse die (or *vice versa*), for the coins of the moneyers Efe and Wilred. As noted before, the calculation of die numbers is undertaken with caution because the aim is to estimate a quantity indirectly. That is, the numbers of dies which are absent must be deduced from the frequencies of those which are present. All non-empirical methods used for the calculation of die numbers assume a random sample and some make allowances for non-uniform die lifetime or unequal output. However, the exact parameters of production of a particular series are of course unknown and therefore any statistical model of the process, and the results derived from its application, must remain approximate.

The methods used in the previous study (Muller 1981 and Carter 1984)³³ make the assumption that the output of each die is not uniform and gave the following results for the data available in 1985.

TABLE 1. Die estimates based on 1985 data

Type	Coins	Observed dies	Estimated dies	
			(Muller 1981)	(Carter 1984)
Efe, <i>obv.</i>	51	11	13–14	12±1
<i>rev.</i>	51	27	37–42	47±6 <i>rev./obv.</i> 4±1
Wilred, <i>obv.</i>	16	13	indeterminate	54±26
<i>rev.</i>	16	7	indeterminate	10±2 <i>obv./rev.</i> 5.4±3

Note, that although twenty-eight reverse dies of Efe are documented in the 1985 report, only twenty-seven were included in the die study, and, similarly, only thirteen of the fourteen obverse dies then known of Wilred were included.

Since 1985, a further twenty-two examples of Efe's coins have been noted and six of Wilred. As would be expected from the results of the previous die study, the Efe coins revealed no new obverse dies but ten new reverse dies. Similarly, one new obverse die of Wilred has been observed but no new reverse dies. The statistics of the current data are summarised below in the form of frequency tables.

EFE

Obv.			Rev.		
k		F(k)	k		F(k)
1		2	1		20
3		2	2		10
4		2	3		5
5		1	5		1
7		2	6		1
16		1	7		1
22		1			
n=73, d=11			n=73, d=38		

WILRED

Obv.			Rev.		
k		F(k)	k		F(k)
1		10	1		2
2		2	2		1
3		3	3		1
			5		2
			6		1
n=23, d=15			n=23, d=7		

³³ J.W. Muller, 'Estimation de nombre originel de coins', *PACT* 5 (1981), 157–72.

statistics', in *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area* (Barcelona, 1984), 91–104.

³⁴ G.F. Carter, 'Numismatic calculations from die-link

Where n is the number of coins in the sample, d is the number of unique dies and $F(k)$ is the number of dies which are represented by exactly k coins.

The formula used to calculate die numbers was that proposed by Esty (1986: formula H1)³⁵ which assumes unequal output and gives the same results as Carter's (1984) empirical estimator. The results obtained were as follows.

TABLE 2. Die estimates based on present (1995) data

Type	Coins	Observed dies	Estimated dies (Esty method, H1, 1986)		
Efe, <i>obv.</i>	73	11	12	(11–13)	
<i>rev.</i>	73	38	64	(47–87)	<i>rev.:obv. ca.5:1</i>
Wilred, <i>obv.</i>	23	15	34	(19–67)	
<i>rev.</i>	23	7	9	(7–13)	<i>rev.:obv. ca.1:4</i>

The revised estimates of the numbers of Efe obverse and Wilred reverse dies are almost unchanged. For the more numerous reverse dies of Efe and obverses of Wilred there are some differences although, given the errors in the estimates, these are hardly significant. The die ratios (averages for the individual moneyers) are also similar to the previous estimates.

2. Analyses of further coins of Beonna and of the coin of Ethelbert

Introduction

In the previous publication of the series (Archibald 1985) a comprehensive selection of the then known Beonna coins were analysed using a combination of X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and energy dispersive X-ray analysis (EDX) in a scanning electron microscope (SEM). The results showed that the coins of the moneyer Efe and the Interlace type were essentially the same composition and contained on average about 51 per cent silver. Coins of the moneyers Werferth and Wilred were however respectively finer (at about 70 per cent) and baser (at about 41 per cent) than those of Efe. The numbers of coins of Efe which were analysed included a wide range of the known dies. It was concluded, from the similar results which were obtained, that there was no evidence for more than one standard being used for Efe's coins. A selection of the newly discovered coins of Efe have also now been analysed for additional confirmation of the previous results. As before, coins from different dies were examined to test for differences between the Efe issues.

Analysis

All the coins were analysed using a Link ISIS energy dispersive analyser (EDX) in a scanning electron microscope (SEM), a Jeol 840SM model. On the basis of comparative analyses, the results should be compatible with those obtained for the Beonna coins previously analysed using XRF and EDX-SEM. For the current analysis, a small section on the edge of each coin was polished to a μm finish to remove unrepresentative surface material. This area was then viewed in the SEM and, where possible, at least two sub-areas free of corrosion were analysed and the results averaged. The results obtained are listed below in Table 3.

TABLE 3 EDX-SEM Analyses of Efe Coins of Beonna and Ethelbert

Reign	Reg. No.	Dies	%Ag	%Cu	%Au	%Pb	%Zn	%Sn
Beonna	1992-11-35-39	3/30	49	43.5	1.3	1.1	1.4	3.4
Beonna	1992-11-35-38	3/38	53.5	40	0.8	1.5	0.3	4.0
Beonna	1992-11-35-35	4/32	50	41	1.0	1.3	2.1	4.5
Beonna	1992-11-35-32	8/33	55.5	38	1.3	1.5	<0.2	3.4
Beonna	1992-11-35-29	9/26	54	38	1.9	1.9	<0.2	4.1
Ethelbert	1992-11-35-28	1/1	41.5	53.5	<0.6	2.0	<0.4	2.6

The precisions (reproducibilities) of the above results are about ± 2 –3% relative for silver and copper and about ± 10 –50% relative for the remaining elements. The accuracies are similar.

³⁵ W.W. Esty, 'Estimation of the size of a coinage: a survey and comparison of methods', *NC* 146 (1986), 182–215.

Discussion

The previous analyses of the Beonna coins showed them to be essentially silver-copper alloys containing some tin, lead, zinc and gold. The tin and zinc and some of the lead were probably introduced with the copper in the form of bronze and brass, whereas the remainder of the lead and all of the gold were associated with the silver and derive from the ore type or refining processes.

The fineness of the above coins, which averages 53.7 per cent if the gold is included with the silver figure, is slightly higher than the previous average but well within the previous range (44–58 per cent). In fact, the difference is insignificant and the current results are quite compatible with the previous interpretation that there is no evidence of multiple standards for the Efe coins.

The Ethelbert coin is of the same alloy type and contains the same minor components as those of Beonna. Although baser than the Beonna coins of Efe it is nevertheless within the overall range of Beonna's issues which include two other moneyers. The coins of moneyer Wilred for example lie in the range 23–50 per cent silver with which the Ethelbert coin, at 41.5 per cent silver, is clearly compatible. The Ethelbert coin may therefore be contemporary with those of Beonna.

Conclusions

The Burrow Hill Beonna coins are consistent with the previous analyses of the series. The Ethelbert coin is similar to those of Beonna and is consistent with it being a contemporary issue. However, it is not possible, from this limited coin data, to determine the relative chronology of Beonna and Ethelbert from the scientific evidence alone.



C1



C2



C4



C5



C6



C7



C8



C9



C10



C11



C12



C14



C16



C17



C18



C20



C21



C22



C23



C24



C25



C27



C29



C30



PLATE 2



Efe R29



Efe R30



Efe R36



Efe R38



Efe R32



Efe R31



Efe R33



Efe R34



Efe R35



Efe R37



Inter 04



Wil 015



Ethelbert



Ethelbert $\times 2$



False B



False B $\times 2$



False A

EARDUULF: A SIGNIFICANT ADDITION TO THE COINAGE OF NORTHUMBRIA

ELIZABETH J.E. PIRIE

with a contribution by

M.R. COWELL

ON 12 August 1994, a coin issued for Eardulf of Northumbria was recovered by metal-detector in the parish of Burton Fleming,¹ North Humberside. The first example known of this king's coinage, it has been acquired by the British Museum.²

The Coin, and Associated Finds

Eardulf's coin (**pl. 3, 12**), a styca struck by the moneyer Cudheard,³ may be described as follows:

Obv.: +EARDVVL•FR (the A, unbarred), round a central cross in an annulet of pellets; the R of REX has a bar above, to indicate the abbreviation; there may be a pellet before the initial-cross, or another bar, but accretion distorts the detail.

Rev.: +CVDHEARD (the C, of square form), round a central cross.

Weight: 1.13 g (17.4gr). Die-axis: 90°.

The specimen, which had been cleaned before it was reported and retains traces of surface oxidation, shows only a slight degree of wear (on the EA of the reverse) which might be attributable to the effect of circulation before loss.

Other Northumbrian coins reported from the site at Burton Fleming are a sceat of Eadberht (c. 737–58; from the same dies as Booth, Class B: B2)⁴ and two copper-alloy stycas from Group A in the second phase of production, c. 837–55. The first is for Archbishop Uigmund by the moneyer Coenred (c. 841–49; possibly from the same dies as *CKN* 427).⁵ The other is

¹ Burton Fleming, also known as North Burton, lies on the Yorkshire Wolds, seven miles north-west of Bridlington. Thwing, the site of recent excavations which have revealed sceattas and stycas of Northumbria (site report forthcoming), lies less than three miles further west.

² I am indebted to Mr M.J. Bonser for having told me so promptly of the discovery, and to Messrs Gary Parkin (the finder) and Bryan Snowball who went out of their way to enable me to photograph it for my records, before it was taken to the British Museum. I should like to be associated with Dr Andrew Burnett and Miss Marion Archibald in expressing to the British Museum Society and its Council our very warmest appreciation of their generosity in buying the coin for the national collection. I am grateful to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum for the invitation to publish the specimen, and to the Trustees for allowing me to illustrate both it and other coins in this context. My thanks go also to those others who allowed me to photograph further examples of work by the moneyer Cudheard. Lastly, but by no means least of all, I must acknowledge the help of Mr M.R. Cowell, in the British Museum's Department of Scientific Research, for the report of his analysis of the coin.

Miss Archibald has already acknowledged the coin's acquisition with a short notice in the *British Museum Magazine* (21, 1995, 4). The specimen's accession number is 1994-12-15-1.

³ It will be noticed that the preferred spelling for personal names on the Northumbrian coins eschews the conventional West Saxon forms. The latter's liberal use of *æ*, *w* and *th* is inappropriate to names of the northern kingdom, for there *æ* is never used; both *w* (*wen*) and *th* (*thorn*) occur in certain limited instances. Indeed, that the *D* with a diacritic stroke *through the front curve* may correctly be transcribed as *th* should remain questionable. West Saxon convention notwithstanding, there is a body of opinion which supports the view that, in a Northumbrian context, the use of Northumbrian name-forms is altogether appropriate. (The modern *w* is retained for names known in a Southumbrian context.)

⁴ J. Booth, 'Sceattas in Northumbria', in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, edited by D. Hill and D.M. Metcalf (BAR, British Series 128, Oxford, 1984), pp. 71–111 (p. 91).

⁵ E.J.E. Pirie, *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria, c. 700–867 (CKN)* (Llanfyllin, 1996).

an irregular issue, a double-reverse naming Monne and Huaetred, of c. 843/4 and later (from the same dies as *CKN* 470). No details of weight are available for these coins.⁶

A Gap Filled: the Need to Reappraise

Consideration of these finds must lead us to the conclusion that the main one, the styca of Eardulf, is not of itself extraordinary. Yet its discovery cannot be other than extremely significant, for this iota of evidence should help to clarify some confusion which exists about monetary policy in Northumbria during the years just before and after 800.

The fact that coinage for the reign of Eardulf was lacking was first recognized by Lyon in 1957.⁷ He identified such coins as had previously been attributed erroneously to Eardulf the king as those properly belonging to the irregular issues (in copper alloy) which were in production later in the ninth century. The existence of this coin from Burton Fleming now compels examination of a variety of preconceived notions relating to the development of coinage in the northern kingdom. Of these assumptions, the principal views are in opposition to each other. On the one hand has been the opinion that the total absence of coins assignable to king (or archbishop), during the last four years of the eighth century and the first decade of the ninth, could only be explained by there having been a political, social or economic disaster of such magnitude that it became impossible for the authorities to maintain coinage of the quality achieved by previous rulers. Such failure in coin-production occurred just after Aethelred I had introduced a new style (which acknowledged the moneyers' names), during the course of his second reign, c. 790–96.⁸ Further, since there was then a lapse of well over a decade, at least, before King Eanred found conditions favourable for restoration of the coinage at a lower standard of silver, the issues of Eanred and his successors, together with the contemporary issues of the archbishops, could, or should, in no way be related to the work of the eighth century – even to that of its closing years. In effect, the economic failure indicated an abrupt end to the Northumbrian sceatta coinage beside which the future stycas were the inferior issues of an impoverished and inflation-ridden kingdom.

In contrast is the view that the styca coinage of Northumbria began in the last decade of the eighth century (as soon as each coin recorded the moneyer's name) and continued in production until c. 855. Within this period it developed in two main phases, of which the first had two stages. Initially, while the coins were still struck in silver, even silver of relatively poor quality, issues must have been intermittent rather than constant (as they seem to have become later, when the coins were of copper alloy), for evidence of die-linking is sparse. The absence of specimens attributable to King Eardulf, although remarkable, did not, therefore, necessarily negate the relationship of Aethelred I's second-reign coinage to that of Aelfwald II and of Eanred, which has been discernible in the continuing work of the moneyer Cudheard.⁹

It seems advisable to recapitulate the evidence concerning the events of Eardulf's life which were recorded in a variety of documents, both in Britain and on the continent, in order to establish the context of his coinage before commenting further on this conflict of theories. A variety of lesser points which require reassessment will emerge from a brief review of issues known for the period from c. 790 to c. 830.

⁶ Apart from these, and a few worn Roman bronze coins which have not been examined, the site also yielded a pin-head with pellet-and-annulet decoration, which may be Anglian in origin.

⁷ C.S.S. Lyon, 'A reappraisal of the sceatta and styca coinage of Northumbria', *BNJ* 28 (1957), 227–42.

⁸ J. Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian history, c. 790–c.

810', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, edited by D.M. Metcalf (BAR, British Series 180, Oxford, 1987), pp. 57–89 (pp. 72–76).

⁹ E.J.E. Pirie, 'Phases and groups within the styca coinage of Northumbria', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, as in n. 8, pp. 103–45.

Earduulf Himself

Earduulf, son of another Earduulf, does not seem to have been associated with the conspiracy of 789 which led to the murder of Aelfuud I, and to acceptance of Osred, son of Alchred, as king. Yet, once Osred himself had been deposed and Aethelred I restored to the throne in 790, the latter made Earduulf (who seems to have been in his second year of office as alderman) prisoner at Ripon and ordered his assassination. The attempt on his life failed. Kirby suggests that Ripon was Earduulf's home territory and that the assassins were foiled by his supporters.¹⁰ He was found alive in the church at midnight after the brethren of the monastery there appear to have thought him dead and had carried his body to a tent outside.¹¹ Alive he certainly was and, whatever temporary sanctuary Ripon could provide, escape into exile must have seemed imperative. Presumably he was in some way injured, perhaps badly. How soon, and how far, he travelled – and in what condition – we do not know.

On the death of Aethelred on 18 April 796, Osbald, the patrician, was first appointed successor by a few of the nobles, but within a month he was banished, to be succeeded by Earduulf who returned from exile.¹² It would seem as if some who were not Osbald's sponsors had taken steps to recall him as soon as Aethelred was killed, for although the *Historia* only speaks of twenty-seven days until Osbald was cast out, that time agrees with the *Chronicle*'s record of Earduulf's acclamation on 14 May. Even if Earduulf were not then present in York, he must have been there for his consecration on 26 May by Archbishop Eanbald I, assisted by the bishops of Hexham, Lindisfarne and Whithorn.¹³ The speed of events seems to indicate that Earduulf had spent his exile in a refuge not too far distant. The following August the archbishop died and, within a week, his successor was consecrated as Eanbald II.¹⁴

In 773 Alchred had wished for peace and friendship between the Northumbrian and Frankish courts.¹⁵ Kirby has suggested that it was Frankish support which prolonged Aethelred I's second reign until 796.¹⁶ Stenton described Earduulf, immediately he became king, placing himself under Charlemagne's protection.¹⁷ There seems to be no real evidence of this during the years before his deposition. In spite of initial enthusiasm for a king who had earlier survived an assassination attempt, Earduulf was soon encompassed around by opponents or rivals. Charlemagne certainly seems to have monitored closely events in both Northumbria and Mercia, but there is no indication of his early intervention in the affairs of these kingdoms.¹⁸

¹⁰ D.P. Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 1991), p. 154.

¹¹ Simeon of Durham: *Historia Regum*, sa 790 (*English Historical Documents [EHD]*, I (London, 1955), no. 3, p. 246). Booth (as in n. 8, p. 60) has interpreted the annal as a reference to Osred having ordered the execution. This reading can hardly be sustained if only because, since Osred himself was forced into exile, there would then have been no need for Earduulf himself to flee the kingdom during Aethelred's second reign.

¹² *EHD* I as in n. 11, no. 3, p. 248.

¹³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle [ASC]* (E), sa 795 [796].

¹⁴ *ASC* (E), sa 796.

¹⁵ *EHD* I as in n. 11, no. 187.

¹⁶ Kirby, as in n. 10, p. 155.

¹⁷ F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn, (Oxford, 1947), p. 94.

¹⁸ As early as 797, Alcuin – in a letter to a Mercian alderman (*EHD* I, as in n. 11, no. 202) – expressed a fear that Earduulf might lose his kingdom if, as was reported, he had left his wife for another woman. If there was any truth at all in this bit of gossip passed on by Alcuin, the stigma of adultery might well have been a major factor in Eanbald's abhorrence

of the king. Yet it was a further nine years before Earduulf was expelled. It is hard, too, to reconcile this slur with the claim, accepted by Booth in 1987 (see note 8) that Earduulf was Charlemagne's son-in-law – a fact which apparently explained why Earduulf sought and gained help from the emperor in 808.

One would have thought that if the slighted wife had been Charlemagne's daughter, Alcuin would have known this and mentioned it; if not, and Earduulf had later wanted to marry into the imperial family, Charlemagne would have been likely to oppose the match. The whole question of this putative marriage may, however, be considered academic. The reference to Earduulf having married the emperor's daughter appears in the late *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses* and is not confirmed by any other documentary record. Wilhelm Levinson (*England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946, p. 114)) suggests that the twelfth-century scribe was confused by the detail of a marriage in 856 between Aethelwulf of Wessex and Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, and he therefore discounts the earlier attribution. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill ('Charlemagne and England', *Early Medieval History* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 155–80 (p. 170)) concedes that there could have been a marriage between Earduulf and some distant kinswoman of the emperor.

In 798 the king defeated a force of conspirators gathered at Billington Moor, near Whalley, in Lancashire.¹⁹ The following year, Eardulf ordered the death of the alderman, Moll. Alchmund, son of Alchred, was assassinated in 800; his body was buried at Derby and his cult was adopted by Mercians in the West Midlands.²⁰ The deaths of Moll and Alchmund may well have caused the archbishop to censure such killings. At the turn of the century, if not before, the king and his prelate became alienated, not least because Eanbald was supporting those who opposed Eardulf.²¹

There was, however, not only internal dissent, as Kirby has remarked,²² but external interference as well. Coenwulf of Mercia had been giving refuge to Eardulf's political enemies and, in 801, the Northumbrian king led an army into Mercia to begin a long campaign against Coenwulf's massed forces. Peace was concluded, and promises of friendship made, after mediation by bishops and nobles on both sides.²³ No mention is made of reconciliation, at this stage, with Archbishop Eanbald.

There is no information about the progress of events during the next few years. Entries in the *Chronicle* are intermittent rather than regular; the *Historia* lacks its sources of relevant facts. Only in text E of the *Chronicle* is it recorded that Eardulf, king of Northumbria, was driven from his kingdom in 806. Roger of Wendover, in the *Flores Historiarum*,²⁴ has a longer passage, assigned to the year 808, where he names Aelfuald as the usurper who put Eardulf to flight and occupied the kingdom for two years.²⁵ Could the discrepancy in dates (between 806, on the one hand, and 808, on the other) be explained by Roger having had access to a copy of the Frankish annals, whose reference to Eardulf in exile is dated 808? We may perhaps accept that the second exile of Eardulf's life began in 806 and came to an end in 808, for the *Annals of the Frankish Kings* really do no more than record his continental journey in the months before his return to Northumbria. The year 808 is likely to be more accurate in that context than it is in Roger's calculation of Eardulf's actual expulsion.

It ought not to be assumed without question that Eardulf sought refuge with Charlemagne immediately after his deposition. If Eardulf had been badly wounded at Ripon, he may never afterwards have been a really fit man. If, after a year of exile from Northumbria, spent elsewhere in Britain, he decided to go to Rome, that project may have been intended as much as a pilgrimage as a means of seeking ecclesiastical help in accomplishing his restoration as king; the journey would afford a chance, *en route*, of visiting Charlemagne at Nijmegen. On his return, late in 808, not just to Britain, but to Northumbria itself, Eardulf's party was escorted by envoys of both Pope and Emperor.²⁶ The very terms *escort* and *conduct*, used in the annals, may be the language of diplomacy but they seem to suggest that Eardulf was as much in need of physical help as of moral and political support. Wallace-Hadrill comments on the lack of English record of reaction to remarkable intervention by foreign powers;²⁷ he supposes that Archbishop Eanbald and Coenwulf of Mercia were each reconciled to Eardulf's restoration – the one by papal persuasion, the other by imperial influence. But what factor can itself have induced Charlemagne and the Pope to act on Eardulf's behalf? Could it possibly have been the realization that Eardulf wanted restoration for himself only as a means of securing, if he could, the succession for his son, Eanred? Was it this above all which ensured acquiescence in the circumstances, in both Northumbria and Mercia?

¹⁹ EHD I, as in n. 11, no. 3, p. 249.

²⁰ A. Williams, A.P. Smyth and D.P. Kirby, *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain: England, Scotland and Wales, c. 500–c. 1050* [DAB] (London, 1991), p. 44.

²¹ EHD I, as in n. 11, no. 207, p. 796.

²² Kirby, as in n. 10, p. 157.

²³ Stenton, as in n. 17, p. 94.

²⁴ EHD I, as in n. 11, no. 4, p. 255.

²⁵ Wallace-Hadrill (as in n. 18, pp. 171–2) notes the involvement of Coenwulf of Mercia in Eardulf's downfall:

he describes the archbishop of York as having had a leading part in the conspiracy. This would suggest that Aelfuald II was no more than a puppet of Eanbald II and his Mercian ally.

²⁶ Extracts from the *Annals of the Frankish Kingdom* are included in EHD I, as in n. 11, p. 313, no. 21; it was in 809 that the envoys returned to Nijmegen and Rome and when, during the journey, the English cleric in the party was captured by pirates.

²⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, as in n. 18, pp. 170–72.

There is a great diversity of opinion concerning the length, even the reality, of Eardulf's second reign, which would seem to have been of some fifteen or eighteen months' duration, if Eanred did not succeed, officially, until 810.²⁸ Stenton recognized the end of Aelfuald II's reign on Eardulf's return in 808, but says no more than that Eardulf died in power in or before 810.²⁹ Kirby still considers the possibility of Eardulf having had a second reign of as much as four years, leading to Eanred's accession in 811 or 812.³⁰ Eardulf's restoration is mentioned by neither Simeon nor Roger; the former implies, and the latter states, that Eanred succeeded Aelfuald. Yet no annalist records the date of Eardulf's death. It might seem as if his restoration led to no more than nominal power for a matter of months (had failing competence been the reason for his expulsion in 806?), while affairs of state were already effectively in Eanred's control. Eardulf's abdication, rather than death, in 810, would have led to Eanred's consecration as king some time after the younger man became prominent. (This circumstance might explain the later uncertainty about the length of Eanred's reign.) We lack any definitive record of both the date and the place of Eardulf's death. That it occurred in or near Hexham may be inferred from Rollason's brief reference to the king's body having rested at Hexham, though he acknowledges that there is no evidence of its having been buried there.³¹

One of the most singular factors in the whole extraordinary tale of Eardulf is that he was buried at Breedon-on-the-Hill in Mercia.³² Why should he have been buried outside the kingdom if he had died in power? It has been implied that this interment occurred at a later stage,³³ as if the monastic brethren at Breedon, with a morbid taste for bones, translated the king's corpse from another burial-site so that their outstanding house could become the centre of Eardulf's veneration, as Derby had become the focus of Alchmund's cult. One could argue that Eardulf was buried there because he had never been restored to power and, on death, must be treated as an enemy of the king, Aelfuald; burial for him outside Northumbria would be comparable to his opponent's burial at Derby. Yet, if that were so, *pietas* on Eanred's part might then have caused him to bring the remains back to Northumbria. It must be sheer conjecture to suggest that Eardulf was buried at Breedon because, although he may have died in retirement within Northumbria, it had been at Breedon that he had found refuge on previous occasions – in sanctuary from Coenwulf and beyond the writ of Eanbald.

At Breedon there developed the cult of Eardulf as saint. He was sanctified not because he was a murdered king but because he had, in life, miraculously survived an attempt at assassination.³⁴ The present church at Breedon, a Norman foundation which preserves late eighth-century sculpture from the earlier monastic buildings,³⁵ is still dedicated to Saints Mary and Hardulph.³⁶

The Context of Eardulf's Coinage

The foregoing outline of events may clarify in some measure the probable climate of Eardulf's reign. The circumstance of the total reign having been interrupted by the

²⁸ Booth (as in n. 8, p. 65) would have the reality of the restoration and duration of the second reign entirely conjectural, for he would accept Roger's record of Eanred's accession after Aelfuald's death.

²⁹ Stenton, as in n. 17, pp. 94–95.

³⁰ Kirby, as in n. 10, p. 196.

³¹ D.W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Leicester, 1989), p. 54.

³² Breedon, overlooking the Trent valley, is five miles north-west of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire.

³³ It is cited as Eardulf's place of burial in *DAB*, as in n. 20.

³⁴ D.W. Rollason, 'The cults of murdered royal saints', *Anglo-Saxon England* II (1983), 1–22 (pp. 3–4); the paper

cites a resting-place list (preserved and incorporated in the twelfth-century Peterborough chronicle of Hugh Candidus), which mentions Eardulf the king as one among the saints buried at Breedon.

³⁵ D.M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (London, 1984), pp. 80–81.

³⁶ A. Dornier, 'The Anglo-Saxon monastery at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire', in *Mercian Studies*, edited by A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977), pp. 155–66 (p. 160). After citing Hugh Candidus, Dornier raises the remote possibility of the Eardulf in question being the king of that name who ruled in Kent, c. 747–54. (I am grateful to Miss Archibald for this reference.)

usurpation of Aelfuald II raises the question of whether Eardulf's coinage belongs to the time before his deposition or to that following his restoration. It seems clear enough, however, that the decade of 796 to 806 is a far more likely period than are the dark years of 808 to 810. Indeed, die-cutting for this one coin from Burton Fleming has features in common with that of Cudheard's previous work for Aethelred I (see below). Although the reality of issues for Eardulf is now attested, there is still no means of estimating the scale of production. Even if it were limited, there is still no good reason for judging the coinage to have failed c. 800, after a brave but brief attempt to maintain the *status quo*.

The account of events concerning Eardulf may also serve to indicate that, for a period when there was still a considerable degree of political unrest within Northumbria, there is no overt sign of any crisis, such as Viking raids, having had an effect cataclysmic enough to bring an abrupt halt to official business within the kingdom before 806. However much Booth might hold to the contrary,³⁷ Sawyer has argued that the earliest Viking (Norse) visitations, such as those to Lindisfarne in 793 and to Jarrow in 794, were on a small scale, concerned with land-settlement rather than with the accumulation of loot.³⁸ Only at a later stage did the Danish incursions intensify and achieve a long-term effect on people of the kingdoms north and south of Humber. Whatever calamity may possibly have caused the cessation of the northern annals for some years after 806 cannot have influenced the main period of Eardulf's reign, before that point. Even were there still no coins known for Eardulf, to assert the existence of a time apparently so beset with difficulty that there was (perhaps even before 796) a complete break with the established policy for coinage seems to be a mere canard, for it has taken no proper account of what was to come during the reign of Eanred. It is a great pity that one historian, at least, appears to have accepted, somewhat uncritically, this view of drastic economic collapse.³⁹

The assumption of calamity will now have to be reconsidered, if not wholly discounted, by its advocates. As far as the coinage is concerned, there never has been – still less is there now – any cogent reason for divorcing the later coins of Aethelred I's second reign, at the end of the eighth century, from the issues which followed for decades into the ninth century. Recognition (and initial interpretation) of the styca coinage has depended on tracking back from the regal issues for Aethelred II and his predecessor, Eanred,⁴⁰ through coins attributable to Aelfuald II,⁴¹ as far as those belonging to the years c. 790–96, to find the first examples of coins naming king and moneyer, in the second reign of Aethelred I. The break with the past occurred when regal issues ceased to bear a stylized animal (a stag) on the reverse, and when issues for king and archbishop, jointly, came to an end.⁴² Introduction of the moneyers' names *must* indicate, as the late Stuart Rigold realized, 'the beginning of a new system' for the coinage of Northumbria.⁴³ This new, different, practice must justify the use of a different name for the coins themselves: *sceattas* for the previous issues, but *stycas* for all coins, regal and episcopal, which name their moneyer.⁴⁴

³⁷ Booth, as in n. 8, p. 74.

³⁸ P.H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London, 1962), pp. 117–25.

³⁹ Kirby, as in n. 10, p. 158.

⁴⁰ Pirie, as in n. 9.

⁴¹ The fact that the moneyer's name which appears on coins of Aelfuald as CVDHEART was for so long misread as 'Cudberht' must have prevented earlier recognition of continuity in the work of Cudheard as moneyer for Aethelred I, Aelfuald II and Eanred.

⁴² In the report (forthcoming) of recent excavations at Whithorn in Wigtownshire, it is suggested that the coin

(recovered there in 1986) for Aethelred I and Eanbald I, jointly – on which the archbishop's die reads EANBALDA – may have been from an issue made c. 790–91, just before the king reformed the regal coinage.

⁴³ Personal communication from S.E. Rigold, c. 1979.

⁴⁴ The stycas of Phase II include a great flux of irregular issues, not all of which can be said to name a moneyer for some of the legends are virtual nonsense. There is still some confusion over the distinction between *sceattas* and *stycas*, for some numismatists still seem to consider the last silver (or silver-alloy) coins of Eanred's reign to be *sceattas*, just because they are of silver.

The Regal Coinage of *c.* 790 to *c.* 815: a Summary

So far, for the main regal issues of Aethelred I's second reign, the moneyers Ceolbald, Tidulf and Hnifula are known (pl. 3, 1–3) as well as Cudheard. The first has a greater variety of motifs for the obverse dies than have the others, and he rarely gives the king a title; on the reverse, the initial C is either square or round in form. The second, Tidulf, has some variety in spelling of the king's name, but is consistent in the use of the title and in a limited range of motifs. Hnifula is akin to Tidulf in the use of motifs, but is consistent in rendering the king's name as EDILRED, without title. The order in which these men may have worked must be acknowledged as indeterminate for the present. It cannot be assumed that they were all operating at the same time. Cudheard, already placed last because of his on-going work, for Aelfuald and Eanred, is consistent in showing the king's name and title as AEDILREDR (pl. 3, 4–9). One obverse is known with the legend retrograde (pl. 3, 10–11).⁴⁵ Most of the obverse dies show an abbreviation sign over the R, for the incomplete REX. On the reverse dies, the moneyer's own initial C is invariably square in form. On both obverse and reverse, he invariably uses the small cross as central motif.

It is not possible to be precise about when, during the years 796 to 806, this recently-recovered coin of Eardulf (pl. 3, 12) was issued. The style of die-cutting for the reverse is very similar to that of Cudheard's personal dies used in striking coins for Aethelred, so perhaps there was not too long an interval between the making of the earlier tools and that of the later one. Yet, since no actual inter-reign link (dependent on the use of one and the same reverse for each king) has been recognized, an early position for Eardulf's coin cannot be established unequivocally. The obverse die is similar to those of the moneyer's coins for Aethelred, in that the king's title is rendered as R, with a contraction-mark, for the abbreviation. Unlike the earlier obverses, however, this one has the small cross enclosed in a circle, as the central motif. This design was not new; it had been used for Aethelred, by Ceolbald in the obverse position and by both Tidulf and Hnifula in the reverse (see pl. 3, 1–3).⁴⁶

One of the minor puzzles connected with the attribution of coins to Aelfuald II is why, at that stage, *c.* 806–08, the king's name was recorded in the vernacular; so far no coins are known which show the first element as AELF, or even as ELF. It may be no more than that the name lent itself more easily to such a form than did the names Aethelred or Eanred. The length of name leaves no room for any indication of title, even in abbreviated form. The style of lettering on the obverses of these coins which name Cudheard on the reverse is finer than that on the sceattas of Aelfuald I, so there is no real reason to suppose that Cudheard was the pioneer moneyer who introduced the new coinage during Aelfuald I's second reign, *c.* 778–88. To do so would imply that the official was still working almost twenty-five years later, for Eanred. Clearly, there was a different die-cutter from those employed beforehand for both Aethelred and Eardulf, and then later for Eanred. There is no initial-cross on the reverse dies; the rendering of the moneyer's name has the round C, lower-case H and final T (in place of D). Of the three specimens illustrated (pl. 3, 13–15), the first two have a common reverse.

It is only on the coins of Cudheard for Eanred, presumably struck early in the latter's reign, that the second element of the name drops the E, to become -HARD. The dies for these last

⁴⁵ The die is known on two coins, each with a different reverse: one recovered near Malton, North Yorkshire, in 1987 and another in the Lyon collection (Booth, as in n. 8, no. 46) (pl. 3, 10–11).

⁴⁶ The reality of a coinage for King Eardulf seems to call for modification of an earlier suggestion concerning the original identity of the Eardulf reflected on so many of the irregular issues, which were struck in copper alloy. It has already been argued (Pirie, as in n. 9, p. 111) that a prototype for the name could be found on coins of Heardulf for

Eanred well before those of Aethelred II's moneyer Eardulf so that the assumption, which once prevailed, that all the irregulars were necessarily late should be amended to allow recognition of some at least being earlier productions. To acknowledge that coins of King Eardulf could have been recalled on the unauthorized issues only extends the range of early names such as those of the moneyers Tidulf (for Aethelred I) and Huaetred, Herred and Uilheah (for Eanred) which are known to reappear in another context.

coins by this moneyer show some variety of style in lettering, yet on specimens known so far the king's title is confined to the initial R, and the central motifs are small crosses. The four examples illustrated (pl. 3, 16–19) are from various sources. The British Museum has three specimens (*BMC Northumbria* 72, 73 and 74: the first and last, *ex* Hexham, 1832), not shown here, which are each struck from further different combinations of dies. Of all these coins *BMC* 72 may be the earliest, for it alone shows the barred A (on both obverse and reverse) which continues the previous usage.

In the light of present evidence it appears probable that, in the time of Eardulf as in that of Aelfwald II, regal production was limited to the work of one moneyer. During the first year or two of Eanred's reign Cudheard may still have been the only moneyer. There is still no certainty that Huaetred was his contemporary or even his immediate successor. For comparison, however, the coins illustrated (pl. 3, 20–21) show Huaetred's variety of style and his use of both the small cross and the cross-in-annulet as motifs.

The Need for Further Work on the Earliest Stycas

Even if the thesis of continuity is already acceptable, it must be acknowledged that, within the complete development of the styca coinage, some matters pertinent to the first phase still await clarification. Phase I (*c.* 790–*c.* 835) is itself divisible into Ia (*c.* 790–*c.* 830) and Ib (*c.* 830–35),⁴⁷ both of which still require considerably more study than they have yet received, since most of the surviving specimens are scattered throughout many separate collections. As a start, for Phase Ia, Booth's corpus of coins of Aethelred I (which includes sceattas struck for Aethelred and Archbishop Eanbald I, jointly), and of Aelfwald, should be regarded as a preliminary study,⁴⁸ which needs revision and expansion to cover not just this single coin for Eardulf but the first issues, in silver, by moneyers working for Eanred, up to about 830. The record should encompass also the contemporary issues for Archbishop Eanbald II. The small volume of material so far known may still limit the extent to which die-linking can be used to confirm connections or establish grouping, but at least the general framework of production, within the period as a whole, must be recognized before cognate studies can develop soundly.

Ecclesiastical issues certainly take their place in the coinage of the period, but their relationship to the regal emissions is not yet altogether clear. It has been suggested that when Aethelred I reformed the coinage he discontinued the practice of joint emissions for king and archbishop but did not instead give Eanbald I the right to issue on his own. If any coins of the reign can be identified as those intended for church purposes, they may be the work of the moneyer Cudcils whose reverse dies appear to portray a small shrine. It has been thought that it was only in the reign of Eanred that provision was eventually made for the archbishop's own coins, first by regal moneyers (Cynuulf and Eaduini) striking for Eanbald II as well as for the king, then by the moneyers Eaduulf and Edilueard who worked for him alone.⁴⁹ Perhaps this interpretation should sometime be amended to allow for Eanbald II having begun his coinage some years before Eanred came to the throne, with Cynuulf and Eaduini as episcopal officials who became, in due course, regal moneyers instead. Yet, in view of the antipathy which existed between King Eardulf and the archbishop, it may be considered unlikely that Eardulf would have introduced the archbishop's right to an independent coinage. The present reading of the evidence could well stand.

However this matter may be resolved, it should remain clear that the years between 810 and 830 were not devoid of coinage. Both regal and episcopal moneyers were at work. Nevertheless, all the indications seem to point towards there having been, between 790 and 830, a number of separate issues, struck intermittently by one or two moneyers, as and when

⁴⁷ Pirie, as in n. 5.

⁴⁹ Pirie, as in n. 9, p. 111.

⁴⁸ Booth, as in n. 8, pp. 76–82.

required, rather than continuous and intensive production on a par with what was to follow in Phase II (c. 837–55), once a more definite team of officials struck in copper alloy. That striking during Phase Ia must have been intermittent was first recognized from the circumstance that Cudheard, having worked for Aelfwald II, must have worked also at the beginning of Eanred's reign.⁵⁰ Far from all Eanred's other moneyers who used silver for their output having been bunched together about 830,⁵¹ they were more likely to have been operating at intervals between about 812 and 830. The order in which some of the others worked, after Cudheard, is still far from certain. It is only likely that Daegberct and Eaduini were near the end of the sequence in silver, for they were among the first to strike in copper alloy, during the brief period of Phase Ib (c. 830–35).

Acknowledging the intermittent nature of Northumbria's coin production in the early ninth century (and perhaps also during the eighth-century reigns) should curb any tendency to extravagance in estimating the volume of coinage in circulation at any one time. There are no substantial numbers surviving of any issue and it seems most unwise to claim that the few specimens we know now represent the millions which were originally minted.⁵² The view that the quality of silver must necessarily be a factor in distinguishing one coinage from another is also open to question.⁵³ The eighth-century coinage of sceattas is not consistently of a high degree of fineness, and the idea of a deliberate change from good to poor-quality metal seems to be more illusory than real.

We shall probably never be able to reconstruct the order and pattern of issue for the earliest stycas quite as fully as for those of Phase II. Yet, collation of all the relevant material should serve as the basis for analysis of style and die-identity and the achievement, in some measure, of a sequence of work clearer than can now be understood. Collation would help also in providing some detail of context, within a general framework, for other coins recovered either as strays or from controlled excavation (where the need for precision of attribution is perhaps more crucial). Either category of find can, as the Burton Fleming coin demonstrates, itself contribute to the record new material which clarifies or enhances our understanding of developments.

The Burton Fleming Discovery in Relation to Other Finds

References to Charlemagne, which occur in the narrative of Aethelred I as well as of Eardulf, do not at this stage justify discussion of the Carolingian connection which is discernible in the circumstance that contemporary Carolingian coins have been found on styca sites in Northumbria, at a time when other alien (Southumbrian) coinage seems to have been excluded.

It is more relevant to acknowledge that one of the early arguments against Eardulf having had a coinage for his reign lay in the facts that no representative specimens had been recorded in the composition of the Hexham hoard, recovered in 1832, and that none was present among the site finds from Whitby Abbey, excavated between 1920 and 1926.⁵⁴ Indeed, none has yet been recovered at Whithorn or Flixborough, where more recent work has also revealed substantial numbers of coins.⁵⁵ Some such coin-productive sites are at present the subject of a particular study;⁵⁶ they include the metal-detecting areas at Cottam and Newbald which, like Burton Fleming, are in North Humberside.

⁵⁰ There seems to have been some misunderstanding about the use of the term *intermittent* in relation to the coinage of the eighth and ninth centuries in Northumbria (Booth, as in n. 8, p. 73); the word can appropriately be used not just because there might have been reigns for which no coins were known, but because there were reigns within which moneyers' work shows signs of having been occasional rather than constant.

⁵¹ Lyon, as in n. 7, p. 235.

⁵² Booth, as in n. 8, p. 73.

⁵³ Booth, as in n. 8, p. 58.

⁵⁴ C.S.S. Lyon, 'Historical problems of the Anglo-Saxon coinage (1)', *BNJ* 36 (1967), 215–21 (p. 217).

⁵⁵ The complete range of finds from excavations at Bamburgh, c. 1971–75, is unfortunately still unknown.

⁵⁶ K. Leahy, 'Productive-site phenomenon in Yorkshire' (forthcoming).

Hexham has long been regarded as a hoard which opened considerably earlier than others. Perhaps, now, one can suggest that the cache (which lacks coins of Aelfwald II also)⁵⁷ should be identified as one which opened effectively (or re-opened) in the early years of Eanred's reign and which was added to what had been an earlier purseful of stycas for Aethelred I.⁵⁸ Excavation finds, which usually represent coin losses rather than hidden savings, can and do include specimens which contribute additional detail to the record of a series, yet neither they nor the strays, so often now recovered by metal-detector, can be expected to offer a complete sequence of issues at any one site.

In the neighbourhood of Burton Fleming itself, excavations at Paddock Hill, Thwing, between 1983 and 1987, recovered evidence of some settlement there during the eighth and early ninth centuries, although the main portion of the site represents prehistoric use. Sixteen Northumbrian coins were found: five sceattas and eleven stycas. Of the latter, four are of Phase Ia, three of Phase Ib; four coins represent Phase II, from c. 837 until c. 843/4. Although none is of Aethelred I's second reign and, needless to say, King Eardulf's coinage is not present, the earliest stycas are one for Aelfwald II (see **pl. 3, 15**) and three for Eanred. The proximity of such a settlement as that at Thwing to the place where Eardulf's coin has been recovered should dispel any impression that Burton Fleming may once have been out in the backwoods of Northumbria.⁵⁹

Conclusion

Discovery of this coin for Eardulf of Northumbria has occurred at a time when a flux of recoveries (particularly from excavations and, to a large extent, also by metal-detector) has already made available for Northumbrian studies a wide variety of hitherto unrecorded numismatic detail. More than most other such finds, the Burton Fleming specimen provides the impetus for reassessment of conflicting theories concerning the provision of coinage in Northumbria about the year 800. Attribution of the coin to the styca series, already established by Aethelred I and soon to be continued by Aelfwald II and Eardulf's son, Eanred, has drawn attention to the need for much further study of material relevant to Phase I, so that the period c. 790 to c. 830–35 can be more clearly understood.

⁵⁷ The absence of coins for Aelfwald in the Hexham hoard has been one factor in the argument favouring attribution of the relevant coins by Cudheard to Aelfwald I (779–88), before rather than after the issues of Aethelred I's second reign. The most recent discussion of the matter (D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 3 (London, 1994), 594–7) was published before the evidence of Eardulf's coin could be taken into account.

⁵⁸ The Womersley, 1967, hoard of fourth-century Roman coins (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 42/2 (1968), 127–29), which shows a marked decline in numbers for the years 335 to 341, may seem an unlikely comparison in making the point that hoard-compositions can exhibit within themselves fluctuations which must reflect the original opportunities for saving. There must always have been occasions when hoarding was temporarily in abeyance.

⁵⁹ Further finds may be expected from Burton Fleming itself. Already, in October 1995, a sceat for Aethelred I and Archbishop Eanbald I (jointly) has been recovered, and any others will also be reported. This may serve as a reminder that the site which is attested by the very name *Burton* has not yet been located, nor its nature investigated by

excavation. The place-name has been discussed by Margaret Gelling ('The place-name Burton and variants', *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by S.C. Hawkes (Oxford, 1989), pp. 145–53). She suggests that in Mercia such names may identify a system of defence posts in operation until the Danish wars of the late ninth century. The hypothesis may be an attractive one, and with some foundation in that kingdom. For the scatter of Northumbrian examples, however, eight of which cluster in the area between Spurn Head and the River Derwent, the theory may require some modification. Dr Gelling herself remarks (p. 146) that, if these were intended for coastal defence, the lack of examples north of Scarborough is curious. However tempting it may be to associate Burton Fleming and its local fellows with defence against further Viking onslaughts, it is difficult to reconcile the dearth of more northerly settlements, similarly named, with precautions taken in the immediate aftermath of the Norse raids against Jarrow and Lindisfarne. Fortification which earned the name *Burhtun* for some early settlements in this area may not have occurred until later in the ninth century, at least, when York itself was more closely threatened.

APPENDIX: SEM ANALYSIS OF THE EARDUULF COIN

M.R. COWELL

The coin was analysed by energy dispersive X-ray analysis (EDX) using a scanning electron microscope (SEM). The instrument used was a JEOL 840SM with a Link Analytical 860 X-ray analyser. The choice of this particular technique was governed by the small dimensions of the coin, the requirement to cause the minimum amount of damage, and the need to obtain reliable results for the major components of the alloy.

The EDX technique is in principle non-destructive. However, the well-known effects of surface enrichment on silver coins, a specific example of the surface alteration of metals caused by corrosion and metallurgical effects,⁶⁰ mean that for a reliable analysis of the bulk of the coin it is necessary to remove or avoid the unrepresentative surface layers. This was achieved by polishing a small section on the edge of the coin to a 1 µm finish using standard metallographic procedures. The section was examined visually in the SEM to ensure that uncorroded core metal was exposed and representative areas were then analysed.⁶¹ The average composition was as follows:

Silver	44%
Copper	49%
Gold	<0.5%
Lead	1.1%
Zinc	2.0%
Tin	3.4%

The precision and accuracy are approximately $\pm 2-3\%$ for silver and copper and $\pm 10-20\%$ for the remaining elements. A preliminary qualitative analysis by non-destructive X-ray fluorescence (XRF) confirmed the above and also showed gold to be present but its concentration was below the detection limit for EDX-SEM.

The metal used for the coin is a base silver-copper alloy containing minor amounts of zinc and tin and traces of lead and gold. The zinc and tin have almost certainly been introduced into the alloy fortuitously along with the copper by using brass and/or bronze to alloy with the silver. Some of the lead may also have been introduced in this way but the remainder, and all of the gold, is associated with the silver through the refining method used and the original metal source. This alloy composition is typical of silver coinage of the ninth century.⁶²

KEY TO PLATE 3

With the exception of 12a (shown at 3:1), all the illustrations appear at the scale of 3:2.

Aethelred I

1. Ceolbald. Whitby excavations, 1920-26; Booth, as in n. 8, no. 9.
2. Tiduulf. Yorkshire Museum. York: *ex* Hexham, 1832; Booth, no. 60; *CKN* 21.
3. Hnifula. British Museum: *BMC Northumbria* 429 (Aethelred II), *ex* Hexham, 1832; Booth, no. 56.
4. Cudheard. Whithorn Trust: excavations, 1989.
5. Cudheard. Whitby excavations, 1920-26; Booth, no. 40.
6. Cudheard. Spink's Coin Auction, 32 (1.12.1983), *ex* lot 385; Booth, no. 41.
7. Cudheard. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Booth, no. 45.
8. Cudheard: same dies as 9. British Museum: *BMC Northumbria* 293 (Aethelred II); Booth, no. 42.
9. Cudheard: same dies as 8. York Archaeological Trust; Fishergate (Redfearn's), York, 1986; Booth, no. 43.
10. Cudheard: same obv. as 11. Found near Malton, North Yorkshire, 1987.
11. Cudheard: same obv. as 10. Lyon collection; Booth, no. 46.

⁶⁰ J. Condamin and M. Picon, 'Changes suffered by coins in the course of time and the influence of these on the results of different methods of analysis', *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, edited by E.T. Hall and D.M. Metcalf (London, 1972), pp. 49-66.

⁶¹ The procedures used were similar to those described in K. Schmitt-Korte and M. Cowell, 'Nabataen coinage. Part 1, the silver content measured by X-ray fluorescence analysis', *NC* 149 (1989), 33-58. This article also describes the effects of

corrosion and other factors which contribute to the alteration of the surface composition of silver coins.

⁶² For example, see G. Gilmore and M. Metcalf, 'The alloy of the Northumbrian coinage in the mid-ninth century', *Metallurgy in Numismatics I*, edited by D.M. Metcalf and W.A. Oddy (London, 1980), pp. 83-98; M.M. Archibald and M.R. Cowell, 'The fineness of the Northumbrian sceattas', *Metallurgy in Numismatics II*, edited by W.A. Oddy and M.M. Archibald (London, 1988), pp. 55-64.

Earduulf

12./

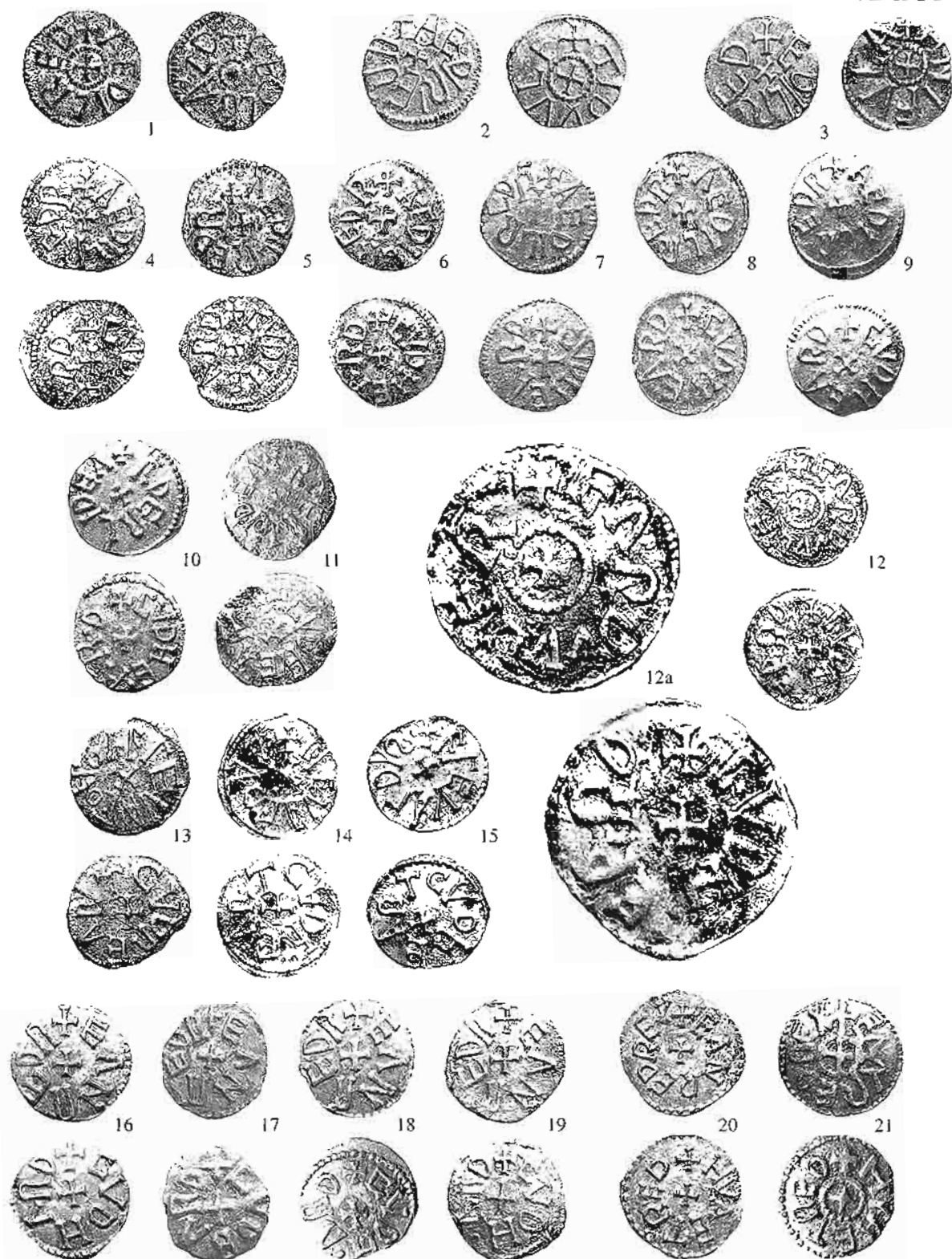
- 12a. Cudheard. British Museum: found in the parish of Burton Fleming, North Humberside, 12.8.1994.

Aelfuuld II

13. Cudheard: same rev. as 14. City Museum, Leeds: found in the Sancton (Newbald) area, North Humberside, 1979; Booth, no. 3; *CKN* 23.
 14. Cudheard: same rev. as 13. York Archaeological Trust: Old County Hospital, York, 1982; Booth, no. 4; *CKN* 24.
 15. Cudheard. Paddock Hill excavations, Thwing, North Humberside, 1985; Booth, no. 2.

Eanred

16. Cudheard. Lyon collection.
 17. Cudheard. University of Leeds: Anonymous collection, 1957; *CKN* 25.
 18. Cudheard: same obv. as 19. Lyon collection.
 19. Cudheard: same obv. as 18. York Archaeological Trust: Coppergate, 1978: E.J.E. Pirie *et al.*, *Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations, 1971–1981* (Archaeology of York 18/1, London, 1986), no. 13; *CKN* 26.
 20. Huaetred. Whithorn Trust: excavations, 1986.
 21. Huaetred. Lyon collection.



PIRIE: EARDULF AND THE MONEYER CUDHEARD

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF ANGLO-GERMAN CURRENCY MOVEMENT IN THE CENTRAL MIDDLE AGES: COLOGNE AND ENGLISH STERLING

JOSEPH P. HUFFMAN

COLOGNE'S medieval municipal records contain extensive documentation on many expatriate English merchants and their families who dwelt there, even from a very early date in the twelfth century, and who cultivated highly developed and close-knit social and economic relations with the Germans of the city.¹ Continuing research in the urban records of Cologne has further confirmed the fact that Anglo-German interregional contact was as highly developed by the late twelfth century as those between England and France. This was especially so in regard to economic ties, but it was also true in the areas of religious, intellectual, social, and political intercourse.² Here we shall consider additional findings of vital interregional ties between the English and German kingdoms in the area of currency exchange.

Currency exchange is a significant kind of interregional activity in Europe. It can serve not only as evidence of expanding economies and trade, but also as a signifier of a growing social and cultural interconnectedness between European regions. One expects to find such evidence existing between regions like England and France or between the Italian cities and the Levant from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries for example. Traditionally these early corridors of urban and commercial expansion identified by historians (one could also mention other centres of activity like Champagne and the Low Countries) have generally not included a highly developed economic nexus between Germany and England before the Hanseatic era. Yet there was such a vital corridor of activity, which emerged quickly after the deleterious effects of the Viking invasions were shaken off. And the central role in the growth of this Anglo-German commercial exchange was played by the city of Cologne and its inhabitants. As early as the late tenth century there is evidence that Cologne and England were becoming tied to a growing commercial nexus. And they would thereby be directly and equally affected by the ebb and flow of currency within northern Europe as a whole.

Let us establish the backdrop for our study by briefly reviewing the gradual interpenetration of the English and Cologne currencies during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. With the increasing prosperity of both Ottonian Germany and Anglo-Saxon England during the late tenth century came an increase in the circulation of coinage. The discovery of silver at Goslar in the Harz Mountains in the decade of the 960s increased the flow of specie markedly, but it was the expansion of markets during this period which drew the silver from its mountain fastness and spread it throughout Saxony.³ The simultaneous growth of markets and mints throughout Germany resulted in Otto I (936–73) having this new silver made into coins at various mints.

From Saxony much silver was transported westward, reaching the Rhineland first, not only reviving the old royal mint at Cologne but also making it the most prolific in Germany.⁴ Large amounts of new silver also stimulated coin production in the Meuse valley, in Frisia, and even

¹ J.P. Huffman, 'Anglicus in Colonia: Die juristische, soziale und ökonomische Stellung der Engländer in Köln während des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 62 (1991), 1–62.

² J.P. Huffman, 'Prosopography and the Anglo-Imperial connection: A Cologne *Ministerialis* family and its English

relations,' *Medieval Prosopography*, Autumn 1990 (11 no. 2), 53–134.

³ P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 77.

⁴ As n. 3, p. 85.

in England. Only a very small amount of silver, however, passed into France, where little minting was being done in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The Frisian merchants were the primary agency by which Saxon silver entered England at this time – indeed P.H. Sawyer's thesis of a major English wool trade in the eleventh century which drew German silver to the island fits well with the evidence in Germany.⁵

Since southern and eastern England had already had active mints for centuries, the silver from Germany was not circulated as foreign specie but rather minted into English coin.⁶ Anglo-Saxon monarchs maintained strong central control over the mints and refused to allow foreign currency into the country. Thus it was silver bullion which entered England, and an increase in the number of active English mints emerging at this time parallels those of Saxony and the Rhineland.

Pamela Nightingale has shown another important aspect of the growing commercial links between England and Germany during the eleventh century.⁷ King Cnut of England (1016–35) instituted a reform of weight standards for English coinage that replaced the Carolingian pound, with the mark weighing 216g (thus a penny weighed 1.5g), and by the end of the eleventh century the Rhineland, Normandy and Flanders had all joined England and Scandinavia in instituting this Anglo-Danish currency reform. Cologne, as the commercial leader of the Rhineland, had instituted the new standard by the second half of the eleventh century.⁸ No doubt this was done for commercial reasons,⁹ and thus we find the Anglo-Cologne connection as part of the growing economic integration of northern Europe in the eleventh century. Such uniformity made currency exchange, and thereby all commercial activities, much easier and so contributed greatly to stimulating trade between the regions.

The expanding trade network fuelled by German silver experienced a major contraction by the late eleventh century, however, when the Saxon silver mines began to decline. By the 1070s an era of economic contraction and shortage of currency set in that would last until the 1160s. The impact of this decline in silver production was felt keenly in Cologne, which had been the principal bullion market to northwestern Europe for Goslar silver. Unlike many other Ottonian mints the archiepiscopal mint at Cologne did not close, yet it produced very little currency during the century from the 1070s to the pontificate of Archbishop Philip of Heinsberg (1167–91).¹⁰

⁵ P.H. Sawyer, 'The wealth of England in the eleventh century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series 15 (1965), 145–164.

⁶ Aethelstan's edict against the circulation of foreign coinage in 930 was often repeated by later kings: see *English Historical Documents*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1955), 1: 384.

⁷ Pamela Nightingale, 'The evolution of weight-standards and the creation of new monetary and commercial links in northern Europe from the tenth century to the twelfth century', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series 38 no. 2 (May 1985), 192–209. See also P. Nightingale, 'The ora, the mark and the mancus: weight-standards and the coinage in eleventh-century England', *NC* 143 (1983) 248–257 and 144 (1984), 234–248.

⁸ Nightingale, 'Evolution', p. 200: 'Although Cologne was a prolific mint in the eleventh century, there is no evidence that the mark was used by the merchants of Cologne before the second half of the century. It was then satisfied by a payment of 144 pence, and since the penny was struck to a standard of c. 1.5g there can be little doubt that Cologne had adopted Cnut's standard of 216g... it seems clear that by the end of the eleventh century, England, Normandy, Flanders, Scandinavia, and the Rhineland enjoyed a common weight-standard in the mark of 216g.' See also Walter Hävernich, *Der Kölner Pfennig im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* [Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und

Wirtschaftsgeschichte, supplement 18] (Stuttgart, 1930; rpt. Hildesheim, 1984).

⁹ B. Kuske, 'Köln. Zur Geltung der Stadt, ihrer Waren und Maßstäben in älterer Zeit (12.–18. Jahrhundert)', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 17 (1935), 113: 'Feststehen dürfte, daß der Handel der Kölner Kaufleute ausschlaggebend für das Aufkommen der neuen Mark als Edelmetallgewicht gegenüber dem alten Karolingerpfund gewesen ist. Diese Mark bürgerte sich mindestens seit dem 12. Jahrhundert unter nordischen Einfluß ein und zwar wurde diese den Kölnern wohl namentlich über England vermittelt, wo sie mit Normannen und Dänen besonders in London ständig zusammen kamen.'

¹⁰ I am following Hävernich's assertions in *Der Kölner Pfennig* as well as Spufford's in *Money* (see note 15), although there is some dispute about the extent to which the Cologne mint declined in production during this period. That the weight of the coins was slowly diminished, however, is generally agreed upon; see Peter Ilisch, 'Die Schatzfunde von Werlte und Remscheid', *Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft. Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit* edited by Bernd Kluge [Berliner Numismatische Forschungen, N.F. 3: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Monographien 31] (Sigmaringen, 1993), p. 161. A similar significant increase in the productivity of Barbarossa's imperial mint at Aachen also occurred in the 1170s; J. Menadier, 'Die Aachener Münzen', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 30 (1913), 321–422.

Likewise in England the supply of new silver was cut off and a recession was caused from a lack of demand for wool.¹¹ Further exacerbating the situation was the enormous drain on silver coinage caused by the Crusades – not only the costs of transportation and foodstuffs for individual crusaders but also the cost of maintaining the new principalities in the Holy Land drew vast amounts of currency southward and eastward.

This silver famine was eventually relieved by the discovery of new silver veins in Freiberg in the 1160s. Freiberg would sustain output of silver until c. 1300, and it was joined by similar finds in central Europe to fuel the expanding economy of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹² Silver was even found in England at Beer Alston (Devonshire) in 1262. Although German miners were brought in and later the Frescobaldi took over the mine, it proved too expensive and unproductive to maintain. Yet it did for a time add to the expansion of English coinage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³

This revived silver supply led quickly to a new generation of coins in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but they were products of a differing system of minting than before. The so-called era of regional pfennigs had begun in Germany, mirroring the fragmented system of feudal mints in France. As a result of the Investiture Struggle imperial control over German bishops – many of whom administered imperial mints – was weakened. These mints were therefore appropriated by both secular and ecclesiastical princes, and coins were increasingly produced with varying quality.¹⁴ Hence the value of pfennigs depended on the place of production: the new Freiberg silver had thus entered a politically fragmented Germany and the result was the growth of regional currencies.

Amid the multiplicity of coins coming from feudal mints in Germany, the mint at Cologne proved to be exceptional in quality. While other German coins remained debased throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (some had begun this slide as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries) the Cologne pfennig retained its weight and fineness. Revitalized with Freiberg silver, the archiepiscopal mint produced vast numbers of Cologne pfennigs, and the high quality of the specie made it the dominant coin in the Rhineland – from Frankfurt to the North Sea – throughout the thirteenth century.¹⁵

Meanwhile in England the newly established Norman kings had maintained centralized control over the Anglo-Saxon royal mints. And after the brief period of feudal mints under Stephen's confused reign, the Angevin king Henry II reformed the mints in order to reestablish royal authority and the high standards of English coinage. He was aided in this by the increasing quantities of silver available in England from the 1170s – much of which had passed through Cologne from Freiberg – and thereby coin production in England also rose dramatically from the 1180s onward. Thus by the mid twelfth century the strongest and most widely accepted coinages in northern Europe were the Cologne pfennig and the English

¹¹ Spufford, *Money*, p. 97 estimates that the number of circulating pennies in England dropped from approximately twenty million in the year 1000 to only ten million by around 1158. Thus the cumulative effect was a remarkable halving of the currency available in England.

¹² Other primary silver mines were at Freisach (Carinthia), Iglau (on the border of Bohemia/Moravia), and the Hungarian mine of Schemnitz. Also the Italians had discovered silver at Monteri (Tuscany).

¹³ Spufford, *Money*, pp. 124–127.

¹⁴ Julia Barrow, 'German cathedrals and the monetary economy in the twelfth century', *Journal of Medieval History* 16:1 (March 1990), 25: 'Overall there were 215 mints in Germany in 1197, 106 of which were in church ownership and only 28 in royal control; of the 106 ecclesiastical mints, 61 were in episcopal hands.'

¹⁵ Spufford, *Money*, p. 195: 'The new silver of Freiberg can thus be seen . . . in the pfennigs of Philip of Heinsberg as Archbishop of Cologne. The pfennigs that he had minted there in the 1170s were the first to be struck at Cologne in considerable quantities since those of St. Anno in the 1070s. As early as 1174 it was possible for Philip of Heinsberg to mortgage the income from his mints for a year for 1000 marks. Dr. Elisabeth Nau has suggested that this implies an annual output of at least 13,000 marks, reckoning on a maximum seigniorage of 1 shilling per mark. In terms of actual coins struck this meant a minimum of 2 million pfennigs a year. From negligible activity to 2 million pfennigs a year is a remarkable transformation, and surviving coins suggest that the high level of mint activity that began so suddenly in the 1170s continued unabated at Cologne until the end of the thirteenth century.'

sterling, both of which had maintained their original weight and purity after the long years of economic stagnation.¹⁶

Henry's reform of English currency in 1158 reveals yet again the important commercial link between England and Cologne. The new English cross-and-crosslets coinage issued in this year was based no longer on the old Roman weight standard but rather on the French troy weight.¹⁷ This meant that the English monetary or 'Tower' mark now weighed 233g and the sterling penny about 1.46g. The Flemish assumed the troy standard also because of their growing French and English commercial contacts. More significantly, the Cologne mint began to use the Tower mark as its standard mark by 1170¹⁸ because of expanding commercial ties to England.¹⁹ Cologne increased the size of its mark from twelve shillings to thirteen shillings and four pence, while keeping the individual pfennigs the same weight. Linking the fineness of their coins to the English standard made exchanging currency on par with the sterling possible. Thus the two most valuable coins in northern Europe were kept virtually identical in weight and purity throughout this period.

Because foreign coins were not allowed to circulate legally in England, we have little direct evidence of the flow of Cologne currency to the island,²⁰ but the presence of the English sterling penny in the Rhineland and Westphalian regions can clearly be demonstrated. Indeed its high value led to some interesting activities on the part of German merchants and mints.

English sterling circulated widely enough in the Low Countries and northern Germany by the early thirteenth century to become an accepted means of exchange – even rivalling the regional standard, the Cologne pfennig.²¹ And its form was copied by many princes of the region: the duke of Brabant, and the counts of Flanders, Holland and Luxembourg to name the most important, all imitated the English sterlings.²² Some of these were honest coins in weight and fineness and easily distinguishable as derivatives independent from genuine English sterlings, but there also existed fraudulent copies, lacking in either weight or fineness and produced only for the profit of the issuer. Throughout the 1290s for example imitation sterlings were deliberately struck on the continent rather than being sent across the channel to England as whole silver ingots.²³

The cities of lower Saxony, the Netherlands, and Westphalia in particular were quite active in imitating the English sterling. Already in the eleventh century Stade fashioned its coin after

¹⁶ As in n. 15, p. 105: 'Taking a view right across Europe, the heaviest coinages on the eve of the great expansion of the late twelfth century were the sterling pennies of England and the pfennigs of Cologne weighing 1.4 grams each, of silver 92% fine.'

¹⁷ No doubt Henry's continental revenues were collected in troy weight coins, and so the king was regularizing the currency throughout his lands.

¹⁸ Hävernack, *Kölner Pfennig*, pp. 48–51.

¹⁹ Nightingale, 'Evolution', p. 207: 'The weight-standards of Cologne also show the effect of the monetary changes in England. By 1170 Cologne had adopted as its magna marca the English Tower mark of 160 sterlings weighing 233g. In 1157 and 1175 Henry II granted special trading privileges to Cologne merchants in England, and it appears that Cologne adopted the Tower mark because the fineness and slightly heavier weight of its pennies meant that they could be exchanged in England on par with the sterling.'

²⁰ There is very little Cologne or Westphalian material that has been found in England except for Westphalian imitative issues in small amount. The Vintry material, though not yet properly listed, contains only three pieces of Cologne or Westphalian provenance (two of these being cut halves). I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Dr Barrie Cook of the Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for this information. See also Lord Stewartby, 'German Imitations of English Short Cross Sterlings', *NC* 155 (1995), p. 221.

²¹ Hävernack, *Kölner Pfennig*, pp. 108–109, especially 109: 'Allmählich [in the Low Countries during the thirteenth century] wird aber der denarius coloniensis durch die Konkurrenz des Sterlings zurückgedrängt sein', and P. Berghaus, 'Das Münzwesen', *Hanse in Europa. Brücke zwischen den Märkten 12.–17. Jahrhundert. Ausstellungskatalog des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums 9. Juni–9. Sept. 1973* (Cologne, 1973), p. 74: 'In seinem Wert entsprach er [English sterling] fast genau dem weithin beliebten Kölner Pfennig, dessen Währungsregion sich wohl beiderseits des Niederrheins erstreckte und auch bis nach Westfalen hinein reichte, der aber auch gern für weiträumige Geldtransaktionen benutzt wurde und sich bis nach Ungarn hin verfolgen läßt.'

²² For a survey of the eras of sterling circulation see: P. Berghaus, 'Die Perioden des Sterlings in Westfalen, dem Rheinland und in den Niederlanden', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* I (1947), 34–53 and Berghaus, *Westfälische Münzgeschichte des Mittelalters* 2nd edition [Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte] (Münster, 1986).

²³ Spufford, *Money*, p. 162 n. 1. Lord Stewartby's article, 'German imitations of English Short Cross sterlings', documents very well the sizeable volume and skilful craftsmanship of these forgeries, and concludes, '... many of [these] until recently have deceived modern numismatists almost as successfully as they must have deceived their medieval users' (p. 209).

the English penny, and thereafter virtually identical derivatives appeared in Lüneburg, Goslar, Dortmund and Deventer.²⁴ In 1210 the Westphalian episcopal town of Münster minted a derivative of an English short-cross sterling that even bore on one side the inscription 'HENRI ONLUNDE' – that is, Henri of London, an English master minter.²⁵ Soon thereafter Henri's name was replaced by MONASTERIUM, and derivative short-cross types were also minted at Herford, Schwalenburg, Vlotho, Wiedenbrück, and Wildeshausen. A similar variety was minted at Dortmund, whose style in turn was copied by Arnsberg, Bentheim, Hamm, Herford, Iserlohn, and Schüttorf. Still others were fashioned at Osnabrück, Pyrmont, Lippstadt and Lemgo, on whose coins even the logo LONDON CIVITAS appeared.²⁶

The actual circulation of short-cross sterlings in the Low Countries, Westphalia, and the Rhineland was very limited, according to evidence found in both hoards and documents.²⁷ Yet in Westphalia (rather than the Low Countries, as the above-mentioned mints indicate) imitations were plentiful, especially during the 1230s–40s.²⁸ The equivalent value of sterling and the Cologne pfennig helps explain this, since those Westphalian mints which produced derivative imitations operated on the heavy Cologne weight standard and yet wished to avoid the political and legal ramifications of copying the coinage of the powerful archbishop.²⁹ Hence they chose the familiar and reliable sterling as an exemplar. Indeed, the close integration of the sterling and Cologne pfennig during the short-cross period is also illustrated by the fact that sterlings are always found in the company of Cologne pfennigs in German hoards, and also in those as far away as Croatia and Romania.³⁰

The 1247 English coinage reform, which replaced the short-cross with the long-cross sterlings, reduced such imitations from Westphalia, though the short-cross variety continued to be produced for some years thereafter, along with Scottish and Irish sterling imitations.³¹ Few long-cross derivatives were minted in western Westphalia once the circulation of the real English sterling rapidly expanded there by mid-century.³² Instead, the centre of long-cross derivative production shifted to Brabant and other territories of the Low Countries, with no intentionally deceptive copies produced.³³ The long-cross style was copied in the eastern Westphalian cities of Bielefeld, Vlotho, Lemgo, and Helmarshausen, and clearly to the point of forgery in Lippstadt.³⁴ These forgeries were produced as a source of income for the small mints³⁵ and eventually for use in long-distance trade with England. Weighing on average about ten per cent less than English sterling they assured the bearer a positive balance of trade.³⁶

²⁴ Berghaus, 'Münzwesen', p. 73.

²⁵ As n. 24, p. 76.

²⁶ As n. 24, p. 76.

²⁷ G.P. Gittoes and N.J. Mayhew, 'Short Cross sterlings from the Rotenfels Hoard', *BNJ* 53 (1983), 23; W. Jesse, 'Der Münzfund von Hildesheim vergraben um 1260', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 2 (1948), 16–48.

²⁸ Lord Stewartby, 'German Imitations of English Short Cross sterlings', pp. 210–11; '... most of the better short-cross copies come from Westphalia.'

²⁹ N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in Low Countries', *Coinage in the Low Countries (800–1500)* edited by N.J. Mayhew [BAR, International Series 54] (Oxford, 1979), p. 55; Gittoes, 'Rotenfels hoard', p. 24. The earliest coins of Lemgo, for example, imitated the Cologne pfennig in the early thirteenth century, but by the 1230s sterling became the standard for imitation; H. Ihl, *Die Münzprägung der Edelherrn zur Lippe. Münzstätte Lemgo* (Lemgo, 1991), pp. 13–14.

³⁰ Gittoes, 'Rotenfels hoard', as in n. 27, p. 22 and Appendix 2; N.J. Mayhew and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The sterling element in the 1898 Ostrovo hoard', *NC* 144 (1984), 173–179; and P. Ilisch, *Münzfunde und Geldumlauf in Westfalen in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Münster, 1980), p. 37, n. 197.

³¹ H. Ihl, *Münzprägung*, p. 16.

³² For a more detailed history of the region's economic relations with England see Emil Dösseler, *Südwestfalen und England: mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Handelsbeziehungen* (Münster, 1989).

³³ N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in the Low Countries', p. 57.

³⁴ P. Weweler, 'Lippische Sterlinge', *Festschrift zur Feier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins der Münzforscher und Münzfreunde für Westfalen und Nachbargebiete* edited by K. Kennepohl (Münster, 1938), pp. 41–53 and H. Ihl, *Münzprägung*, as in n. 28, p. 18.

³⁵ N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in the Low Countries', p. 57: 'It has to be remembered that when sterlings were struck in remote areas, their manufacture was an important business in itself. We are so used to looking at coins as evidence of trade that we forget their manufacture and marketing was a trade in itself. Forgeries seem to have been produced mostly in areas with little economic importance of their own. Such backwaters attracted silver only by offering accurate sterling copies at substantially less than sterling prices.'

³⁶ As in n. 34. Ihl, *Münzprägung*, p. 18.

Whilst imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery, the additionally insincere practice of overstriking Westphalian derivative sterlings with counterfeit English dies – complete with the names of different English mints on their reverses – was apparently a common practice. These overstrikes are evidence that English money was widely used in the region by at least 1205.³⁷ Most likely these forgeries were struck for use in England, and were employed to avoid losses in currency exchange. Indeed, it appears that some German mints even took to including coins of English type as part of their regular production in order that overstriking could be avoided altogether.³⁸

Such a growth in copying sterlings obviously caused great difficulties in England by the midpoint of the thirteenth century. Edward I's new penny in 1279 and recoinage of over £250,000 of foreign silver from 1299–1302 eliminated a whole series of these crockards and pollards, but many others continued to circulate until the mid fourteenth century.³⁹ In 1299 Edward I was even moved to order the sheriffs of London to prevent German merchants from unloading foreign goods, falsely labelled as German wares, by night or to sell them without prior inspection. This was done not only to prevent the German merchants from avoiding toll charges but also to stop the importation of *mala moneta*.⁴⁰

The merchants of Cologne, many of whom had metallurgical skills because of their involvement with the episcopal mint (the most productive mint in Germany), were apparently notorious for such counterfeiting. Cologne artisans were widely known for their work as both goldsmiths (the street *Untere Goldschmied* still remains in Cologne today) and coin manufacturers. And some enterprising expatriates brought this skill with them to England and employed it in the importation and manufacture of forged English coins.

In 1252, for example, three Cologners were charged with forgery and were cast in the Tower of London, but their ingenuity apparently aided them also in finding an undetermined means of escape.⁴¹ The same charge was levelled against Gocelin of Cologne, who publicly confessed before the London Eyre in 1276 that he was a forger. He was smart enough, however, to take sanctuary in St Paul's Cathedral beforehand and was thereupon allowed to abjure the English realm.⁴² The Red Book of the Exchequer even contains a distinction made during the reign of Henry III between *Colonnenses legales* and *Colonnenses falsi*, with the former worth twice as much as the latter.⁴³ The imitating and/or forging of English pennies was thus so widespread in the districts of Cologne and Westphalia by the early thirteenth century that even Otto IV – the nephew of the Plantagenet kings Richard and John and the Welf claimant to the imperial throne – had such coins struck, as did his rival Frederick II after the Staufer's victory over Otto.⁴⁴ Lord Stewartby has even identified a German short-cross

³⁷ I. Stewart, 'Some German coins overstruck with sterling types', *Lagom. Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 60. Geburtstag am 20. November 1979* (Münster, 1981), p. 208. The presence of English money in the region may have been the result of John's subsidy of 6,000 marks in support of Otto IV in 1207.

³⁸ As in n. 736, p. 210: 'A foreign merchant buying English wool would have suffered an exchange loss if he used German coin, even though it was of the same standard as the English, since foreign coins were not permitted to circulate in England and so had to be reminted. It would therefore have been to his advantage to pay in English coin or, if he did not have it, to pay in coin of English type designed to deceive the recipient. He would thereby save the loss on exchange.'

³⁹ Mavis Mate, 'Monetary policies in England 1272–1307', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 34–79; N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in the Low Countries', pp. 54–58; Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type* (London, 1983). A total of just over sixty million Edwardian types were minted as a result.

⁴⁰ *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn* [Roll Series 12] edited by H. T. Riley (London, 1849–1862) 2, 1: 196–197 (Liber Custumarum), *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* 1: 439–440 no 1306 (26 May, 1299).

⁴¹ *Calender of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry III 7: 277*: 'Rex perdonavit Johanni de Plessetis comiti Warr' et constabulario Turris Lond' excapium Jordani de Colon', Johannis de Colon', Hereberti de Colon', nuper detentorum in gaiola predictae Turris pro fabricacione false monete ...' (14 November, 1252).

⁴² *The London Eyre of 1276*, edited by Martin Weinbaum [London Record Society 12] (London, 1976), 4 no. 11: 'Gocelin de Colon' took sanctuary in the church of St. Paul's, London, confessed that he was a forger of money and abjured the realm before the chamberlain and sheriffs. No chattels.'

⁴³ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, edited by Hubert Hall [Rolls Series 99] (London, 1896; rpt. 1965), 3: 979.

⁴⁴ S. Rigold, 'The trail of the easterlings', *BNJ* 26 (1949–51), 31–55.

imitation which shares enough common features with a coin from the first Ribe hoard reading *Sancta Colonia* to conclude that they were possibly produced by the same die-sinker.⁴⁵

With the high popularity and availability of the English pennies in northern Germany by the mid thirteenth century, it should not be surprising to find sterling in Cologne. Indeed, coinage from all over Germany as well as from England, France, Italy and Hungary passed through the city during this time.⁴⁶ Hävernicks accurately dated the regular appearance of English sterling in the city by at least the 1260s (that is, in the long-cross period).⁴⁷ But what is surprising is the extent to which English sterling was used as payment for local and even intra-familial property transactions. Archival documentary evidence for this activity does not appear until the 1260s, yet by this time sterling pennies appear to have been as acceptable as the Cologne pfennig as a means of payment within the city itself.

In one of the most remarkable passages of the municipal *Schreinsbücher*,⁴⁸ for example, a beguine confirmed before a parish court in 1266 that she had sold her interest in a quarter part of her familial house to her sister in exchange for a yearly rent (*census*) of one mark and six pence, which was to be paid in English pennies (**Appendix, 1**). What use a Cologne beguine would have had with English currency remains unclear, but this was not an isolated case.⁴⁹ In 1297 Peter de Houberg transferred his ownership of a house to his two brothers, with the provision that either he or his brothers would in the future purchase the *domus* above this house from beguines who were dwelling there. The buying price set by the beguines was '*infra 60 marcas vel 50 marcas novorum Angliensium denariorum vel tantum pagamenti*' (**App., 2**). Once again we have a case of rather entrepreneurial beguines whose currency activities tied them to an economy far beyond the walls of their beguinage. Incidentally, the use of the adjectives *novorum* and *bonorum* appear in descriptions of English sterling from 1286 onward, which must refer to the coinage reforms of Edward I in 1279 and 1299 as well as the proliferation of sterling imitations by this date.

It was a common practice in Cologne to sell a house in exchange for a yearly rent (*census*) to be drawn from the dwelling, with the rent always paid in Cologne currency. Yet there is a case in 1277 in which Walter the Carpenter was expressly asked to pay his rent in English pennies (**App., 3**). Walter and his wife sold the house shortly thereafter, but the rent was continued to the original owner in English pennies (**App., 4**). In order to liquefy their assets for investment purposes Cologne merchants would also often mortgage houses in exchange for a yearly rent. Such transactions appear in the court documents which request payment in English money (**App., 5**) – indeed even the local clergy sought payment in sterling (**App., 6**). Frequently these mortgages carried a clause which allowed the original owner to redeem the mortgage through a future lump sum payment. And these redemption payments are also recorded in English currency (**App., 7**). Not only did Cologners mortgage their houses, they also mortgaged rents from houses – and here too we find English sterling used as redemption money, even though the original rent was paid in Cologne currency (**App., 8**).

⁴⁵ Lord Stewartby, 'German imitations of English Short Cross sterlings', p. 233.

⁴⁶ *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* [Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 46], edited by Hans Planitz and Thea Buyken (Weimar, 1937) 15*–16*. Until 1258 merchants arriving in Cologne had to take their silver to the archiepiscopal mint for exchange, but thereafter this monetary exchange monopoly was abandoned by the archbishops and foreign currency was allowed to circulate in the city: Hävernicks, *Kölner Pfennig*, pp. 21–23.

⁴⁷ Hävernicks, *Kölner Pfennig*, p. 132.

⁴⁸ The *Schreinsbücher* are the municipal records maintained by the parish courts during this period, and are so called since

they were placed in a box or chest (*Schrein* or *scrinium*) for safe keeping. See Manfred Groten, 'Die Anfänge des Kölner Schreinswesens', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 56 (1985), 1–21.

⁴⁹ Concerning the very large beguine population in Cologne see Johannes Asen, 'Die Beginen in Köln', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere die alte Erzdiozese Köln* 111 (1927), 81–180, 112 (1928), 71–148, 113 (1929), 13–96; Frederick Stein, 'Einige Bemerkungen zu J. Asens "Die Beginen in Köln"', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere die alte Erzdiozese Köln* 178 (1976), 167–177; Frederick Stein, *The Religious Women of Cologne 1120–1320* (Unpublished Dissertation: Yale, 1977).

Both the mortgaged rent of 1292 (App., 8) as well as another property transaction in 1287 (App., 9) contain puzzling references to English *monnaie noire*. *Monnaie noire* was generally debased continental coinage (*niger denarius* as opposed to *albus denarius* or *monnaie blanche*) which only circulated within the city of its origin for small-scale purchases of daily necessities, and had little value even for exchange between the city and its surrounding countryside.⁵⁰ However, unlike most other European countries at the time, all English money was of fine silver.⁵¹ Perhaps these references to '*nigrorum Angliensium [bonorum] denariorum*' are two independent scribal errors: however, they also might refer to the farthings and halfpennies that Edward I had minted in 1279 and 1280, which served the same purpose in England as *monnaie noire* did on the continent. Henricus Quattermart appears in the 1292 transaction as the purchaser, and his merchant family was one of the most wealthy and powerful patrician dynasties in Cologne. The Quattermart merchants were very active in Anglo-Cologne trade, and thus would have found use for such coins during their frequent stays in the port cities of England.⁵² If this latter scenario was the case, the acceptability of these petty foreign coins hundreds of miles away from their original provenance is most peculiar and hard to explain. The impossibility of exchanging foreign pennies (the modern equivalent of *monnaie noire*) in one's own country these days after returning from a holiday trip abroad reminds us of the unique status English coinage apparently enjoyed in Cologne.

English currency also appears in estate settlements between Cologne family members. In a mutual agreement in the year 1274, a dower was established for Arnold de Muntabure's wife Elizabeth of one hundred marks to be paid in English pennies (App., 10). In another case a son received a house from the estate of his deceased father, but in exchange he had to pay the executors fifty marks in English sterling in order to take possession of the dwelling (App., 11). And finally, in a rather complicated series of entries, we find another disposition of property among family members (App., 12). Hubert Grin and his wife Cristina received yearly payments from Hubert's brothers, John and Ludolf, for their respective $\frac{1}{2}$ shares in the family house known as Bergerhausen,⁵³ and these payments were made in English currency. John and Ludolf (and their respective families) were able to redeem these rents within five years by paying a large lump sum of money – again in English pennies. Ludolf redeemed his thirty-shilling rent (or one mark, eighteen shillings) in two instalments during the next two years, and John redeemed his one-mark rent in one payment within the same time frame. The fact that Cologne families used English currency for exchanges *between themselves* shows the remarkable extent to which sterling was accepted in Cologne. The reverse was never the case in London or England in general.

We are fortunate that some of the passages in the *Schreinsbücher* also include exchange equivalencies between English, Cologne, and other currencies. In 1286 a rent of eighteen Cologne shillings was allowed to be redeemed either by English pennies or the *gros tournois* (App., 13). Here we learn that the English penny was accepted in Cologne at the standard rate of three sterlings to the *gros tournois*.⁵⁴ There are also entries which indicate the ratio between sterling and Cologne pfennigs. In 1292 Theoderic de Kalle and his wife mortgaged two houses to a cathedral canon for seventy-five marks of Cologne pfennigs, and were able to redeem the mortgage after six years either with seventy-five marks of Cologne pfennigs, or with English pennies at an equal exchange, or with the *gros tournois* at three pfennigs to one French coin

⁵⁰ Spufford, *Money*, pp. 379, 386–87.

⁵¹ I thank E.M. Besty for this clarification.

⁵² For a prosopographical reconstruction of the Quattermart family see Friedrich Lau, 'Haus Quattermart zu Köln', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere die alte Erzbischofskirche Köln* 20 (1869), 218–248, and 'Das Kölner Patriziat bis zum Jahre 1325', *Mitteilungen*

aus dem Stadtarchiv Köln 26 (1895), 134–136.

⁵³ For the genealogy of this family see Friedrich Lau, 'Das Kölner Patriziat bis zum Jahre 1325', *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln* 25 (1894), 381.

⁵⁴ N.J. Mayhew, 'The circulation and imitation of sterlings in the Low Countries', p. 56, indicates this as the standard rate of exchange in the Low Countries.

(App., 14). Once again the exchange ratio of the *gros tournois* was three to one, and the English penny was accepted on par with the Cologne pfennig. Similar passages with a 1:1 exchange ratio between Cologne and English currency also occur elsewhere; however, they contain the phrase '*de gratia*' or '*cum gratia*', which may indicate that this was an exceptional favour being done (App., 15).

The most convincing evidence that the English penny was accepted in the city on par with the Cologne pfennig comes from 26 July 1275.⁵⁵ On this date the municipal government of Cologne borrowed 1,530 marks in English pennies from nine merchants and gave them the *Malzpfennig* tax as collateral until the loan was repaid by instalments. The government officials promised as well that if the Cologne pfennigs used in repaying the loan were of lesser value than the original English sterling they would make up the difference. Hence this entire transaction of the Cologne municipal government was based on English currency, which was treated as an equal to the Cologne pfennig.⁵⁶ We also discover that there was a sizeable amount of English currency on hand among the Cologne merchant families to make such a loan.

Two passages from the 1290s give additional information concerning the value of the English sterling among the German currencies. In 1293 Lambert de Botyn purchased half of the *domus Blankenberg* for a rent of four marks, which was to be paid by various individuals. One person was to pay a yearly rent of two marks either from Cologne pfennigs or the *gros tournois* at the usual 3:1 ratio, or pfennigs from Schwäbisch Hall (known as the Heller)⁵⁷ at a 4:1 ratio, or English pennies again at the same rate as the Cologne pfennigs (App., 16). And in 1298 John de Kannus and his wife Druda mortgaged half of a house and half of an adjacent apple orchard, which was to be redeemed by the feast of Pentecost for two hundred marks of Cologne pfennigs; this must have been a very expensive piece of real estate (App., 17). John and Druda could also use other currency at the following exchange rates: seven Cologne pfennigs to the *gros tournois*, or two black *gros tournois* for every Cologne pfennig, one English sterling for nine Cologne farthings,⁵⁸ the Heller of Schwäbisch Hall at equal value, or one Brabantiner for seven Cologne farthings. These exchange rates are favourable to foreign currency from France or Brabant, but the ratio between the English penny and the Cologne pfennig favours the pfennig. It appears that agreements reached concerning foreign currency were negotiated at varying rates and probably reflect the commercial interests and regional activities of the recipient of the payments. In this latter case we may have found a merchant whose commercial interests were directed more toward France and Brabant than England.

We can say, however, that the English sterling was consistently accepted at a 1:1 ratio to the Cologne pfennig. And, given the 1275 *Malzpfennig* transaction, this was the case even before

⁵⁵ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, edited by L. Ennen and G. Ennen (Cologne, 1860–1879) 3: 80–82, no. 109: '... 1530 marcas sterlingorum bonorum et legalium, duodecim solidis pro marca qualibet computatis... et quamdiu denarii monete coloniensis peiores fuerint quam sterlingi, defectum valoris supplebimus et ad valorem sterlingorum reducemus'.

⁵⁶ Most of the nine Cologne merchants (Daniel Jude, Bruno Hardevust, Matthew de Speculo, Cuno de Cornu, Franco de Cornu, Theoderic de Cerva, Gerard Quattermart, Henry Quattermart, and Philipp Quattermart) came from patrician families who had commercial ties with England and appear in English sources. Hence they would have had plenty of English sterling on hand. Cf. Hävernicks, *Kölner Pfennig*, p. 46, n. 38: 'Die Gleichheit vom englischen Sterling und Kölner Denar ist wiederholt bezeugt.'

⁵⁷ 'Der Heller' from Schwäbisch Hall circulated as widely as Bohemia and Cologne in the late 13th century and was

commonly used as a half-pfennig, since it contained half the silver of the Cologne pfennigs. Concerning the 'Heller' and its circulation in the Rhineland see Hävernicks, *Kölner Pfennig*, pp. 161, 183, 194–201; E. Nau, 'Münzen und Geld in der Stauferzeit', *Zeit der Staufer* edited by R. Haußherr (Stuttgart, 1977) 3: 97; *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, edited by F. von Schrötter (Leipzig, 1930; rpt. 1970), pp. 259–261; and N. Klüßendorf, *Studien zu Währung und Wirtschaft am Niederrhein vom Ausgang der Periode des regionalen Pfennigs bis zum Münzvertrag von 1357* [Rheinisches Archiv 93] (Bonn, 1974), pp. 182–188.

⁵⁸ Farthings (*quadrans*) and halfpennies (*obolus*) were also minted for local use in Cologne at least from 1150 onward; see Edith Ennen, 'Kölner Wirtschaft im Früh- und Hochmittelalter', *Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft* edited by Hermann Kellenbenz [Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln] (Cologne, 1975) I: 144.

the defeat of the archbishop by the burghers of Cologne in the Battle of Worringen in 1288, which had a negative impact on the stability of the *denarius Coloniensis*. We can also certainly conclude that the English penny enjoyed a remarkable circulation in Cologne and was as acceptable a means of exchange as the Cologne pfennig itself. Indeed, there was enough English currency in Cologne as early as 1214 for Archbishop Adolf of Altena to have sent five hundred marks to Rome '*bonorum novorum et legalium sterlingorum*' instead of Cologne coinage.⁵⁹

The extensive use of English currency in Cologne and its environs raises the question: how did all this currency get there? Trade with England alone cannot completely account for such volume, as German merchants returned from the island with more English goods than sterling. The flow of silver specie actually went in the opposite direction, namely to England as payment for the export goods. German merchants certainly received English coins as payment for the goods they brought there, but much of this must have been used to purchase English wool and other items, since foreign currency could not circulate on the island kingdom. The lengths individuals went to in order to imitate, forge, and overstrike currency to make it appear like English sterling suggest that German merchants' desire for the sterling outstripped their own ability to obtain it in sufficient amounts as individuals. There was, therefore, an additional impetus to the spread of English currency in the Low Countries and Germany, and that was the political payments of the English monarchs.

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a series of massive payments were sent from the English kingdom to Germany as a result of political and diplomatic initiatives. When we add up the amounts of silver sent from England to Germany alone because of (1) the 1114 marriage of the emperor Henry V and the English princess Matilda,⁶⁰ (2) Richard I's ransom,⁶¹ (3) Richard's pensions to German princes after his release,⁶² (4) the financial support of the Welf Otto IV by both of his uncles Richard I and John of England,⁶³ (5) the 1235 marriage of the emperor Frederick II and the English princess Isabella,⁶⁴ (6) Richard of Cornwall's quixotic kingship in Germany,⁶⁵ and (7) Edward I's anti-French alliance project with German princes from 1294-98,⁶⁶ we get the ponderous total of over £355,000 or some 532,500 marks of silver. If this amount were actually paid in sterling (some was surely paid in bullion) it would have totalled 85.2 million pennies. This is a very conservative estimate, and of course it does not take into consideration inflation during the nearly two hundred years covered here, yet the sheer number of pennies that must have been sent helps to explain why English currency was circulating so thoroughly in northern Germany and the Low Countries. Since English sterling was of such high quality it was not melted down for reminting, but rather was used over and over again as a means of exchange. Therefore its circulation in Germany was rather long-lived.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, edited by T.J. Lacomblet (Düsseldorf, 1840-58) 2: 24-25, no. 47; *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter* 3, 1: 23, no. 124 (February 1214).

⁶⁰ 10,000 marks (£6,667).

⁶¹ 150,000 marks (£100,000). See Heinrich Fichtenau, 'Akkon, Zypern und das Lösegeld für Richard Löwenherz', *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 125 (1966), 11-32.

⁶² Approximately £4,000. This figure cannot be accurately determined since the surviving financial records are spotty for this period. It is particularly uncertain whether rents were always paid annually or continued after Richard's death. This amount is based on Austin L. Poole's article, 'Richard the First's alliances with the German princes in 1194', and other evidence of payments.

⁶³ At least £40,000 and possibly more. John spent some 40,000 marks of silver (over £26,000) to pay for the Bouvines

campaign alone: see Hugo Stehkämper, 'Geld bei deutschen Königswahlen des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte 4: Wirtschaftskräfte und Wirtschaftswege 1: Mittelmeer und Kontinent* edited by H. Kellenbenz and J. Schneider (Bamberg, 1978), p. 110, and G. Duby, *Le Dimanche de Bouvines* (Paris, 1973), p. 39.

⁶⁴ 30,000 marks (£20,000).

⁶⁵ 28,000 marks (£18,667) for his election, and untold amounts for his perambulations through Germany and for gifts to the German nobility (we are unable to include these payments in our calculation but Richard was said to have poured out this money like water): Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1947), p. 89; Stehkämper, 'Königswahlen', pp. 96-98.

⁶⁶ At least £165,000 alone in Germany. For the additional payments to the Low Countries and elsewhere, see Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 399-400.

⁶⁷ Spufford, *Money*, pp. 160-161.

These vast English subsidies flowed in the opposite direction to the regular movement of silver from Germany into England. In fact the English kingdom enjoyed such an overwhelming advantage in the balance of trade – namely, silver in exchange for wool and other exports – that it could not only afford such expenditures but could also recover from such drain of silver in a very short period of time.⁶⁸ Therefore these diplomatic investments functioned as an impetus for renewed circulation of the German silver which had come to England, and as such they played a significant role in the economy of silver in northern Europe.

So did the city of Cologne, the leader among German cities in the realm of interregional commercial relations with England in the pre-Hansa period. The unique economic ties between the two can be seen in several ways. Cologne was the central and directing force behind the early development of Anglo-German trade, and continued to play an important role (though no longer unique) during the Hanseatic era. Its merchants enjoyed unparalleled monopolistic trade privileges in England, which were not equalled by other German merchants until the mid thirteenth century. They thereby played a key role in the return of sterling specie to England, along with various continental imitations. The uniform weight and purity of the English sterling and the Cologne pfennig, along with the coordinated weight standards of their respective mints, made these two coins the most acceptable and circulated currency within the northern commercial world. Indeed, they shared common areas of circulation, and their forms were copied by others in the Low Countries, Rhineland, and Westphalia. The use of English coins in Cologne, even for payments between local family members, the clergy and religious individuals, and for petty cash transactions, shows just how closely interwoven the economies of the city and England were. Both the flow of German silver into England in exchange for wool and other goods, and the reciprocal outflows of this silver from England as a result of political payments, functioned as a major stimulus to the growing northern European economy and circulation of specie – and both streams of silver passed through Cologne at one point or another. Commercial activity had so interpenetrated and linked England and Germany before the Hanseatic era that bootleg versions of sterling were a widespread phenomenon, and a devout beguine could be assured that her inheritance stipend was based on sound foreign currency. Such was the fabric of this significant interregional nexus.

APPENDIX: *SCHREINSBÜCHER* MANUSCRIPT ENTRIES

(1) Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (hereafter HASK) Schreinsbuch 1 Saphiri (St. Martin parish) fol. 25r: 'Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus, quod Agnes dicta de Fossa Porta acquisivit sibi iure hereditario erga sororem suam Aleidim, begginam, quartam partem domus et aree, que dicitur ad Fossem Portam, site ex opposito cappelle sancte Norburgis pro annuo censu unius marce et sex denariorum Angliensium denariorum [sic] solvendorum in festo pasche vel infra quatuor septimanas postea ad longius: tali captione, quod si dicta Agnes dictum censum aut eius heredes in dicto termino non persolverint Aleidi, beggine predictae, alia quarta pars dicte hereditatis dicte Agnetis cedet sorori sue Aleidi cum sua prescripta quarta parte libere et absolute et sine aliqua contradictione. Actum anno Domini 1266.'

(2) HASK Schreinsbuch 17 Eckardi A (St. Martin parish) fol. 24r: 'Notum sit, quod Petrus dictus de Houberg tradidit et remisit Johanni et Frederico fratribus, cognatis suis, domum et aream sitam ex opposito ecclesie Sancti Martini, que vocatur domus Corduwenarii, ante et retro subtus et superius, prout ibi jacet et sicut in sua habebat proprietate: ita quod ipsi Johannes et Fredericus fratres predictam domum iure et sine contradictione optinebunt, potestate tamen predicto Petro reservata istud mutandi in vita sua, si voluerit. Actum anno Domini 1297. Et sciendum, quod, si predictus Petrus non comparaverit domum unam beckinis commorantibus super predicta domo

⁶⁸ As in n. 65, p. 391: 'Many of these very sterling[s], exported for political reasons, returned to England by way of

trade, unfortunately accompanied by large numbers of their continental imitations.'

Corduwenarii ad manendum infra 60 marcas vel 50 marcas novorum Angliensium denariorum vel tantum pagamenti, tunc predicti fratres Johannes et Fredericus eam comparabunt pro denariis supradictis ad manendum eisdem, et antea non exhibunt beckine predictae, potestate tamen reservata predicto Petro istud mutandi in vita sua, si voluerit.' The text is also published in *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Hans Planitz and Thea Buyken [Publicationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 46] (Weimar, 1937), p. 439, no. 1634.

(3) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 30r: 'Notum, quod Welterus Carpentarius et Aleydis uxor sua acquisiverunt sibi domum unam cum area hereditarie sitam ex opposito cimiterii sancti Johannis iuxta domum vocatam ad Latam Ianuam superius erga Johannem dictum Schalle et Engilradem uxorem suam singulis annis pro XV solidis Angliensium denariorum, medietatem in festo Omnium Sanctorum vel post infra quatuor septimanas sine captione solvendam. Quod si adimplere [sic] ipse Welterus et Aleydis predicti neglexerint dictum censum non solvendo terminis predictis, mittentur dicti Johannes Scallo et uxor sua in proprietate hereditatis predictae per sententiam scabinorum, ita quod iure et sine contradictione obtinebunt' (1277).

(4) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 33r: 'Notum, quod Gobelinus de Henerischem et Methildis uxor sua emerunt sibi domum unam cum area sitam supra Latam Plateam ex opposito cimiterii Sancti Johanni iuxta domum vocatam ad Latam Ianuam superius erga Walterum Carpentarium et Aleydis uxorem suam, prout Welterus et Aleydis uxor sua predicti habuerunt in sua proprietate et possederunt. Salvis Johanni dicto Schallo et Engilradi uxori sue XV solidis singulis annis solvendis Angliensium denariorum.'

(5) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 31r: 'Notum, quod Johannes dictus Abelline et Methildis uxor sua impignoraverunt domum suam cum area sitam super Latam Plateam iuxta domum Compostere superius versus Sanctum Johannem Philippo Rufo dicto Hartvust pro septem marcis Angliensium denariorum solvendis in festo beati Johanni Baptiste . . .' (1277).

(6) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 29v: 'Notum, quod Arnoldus sacerdos impignoravit sive exposuit duas domus sitas sub uno tecto in platea Lata iuxta domum Widonis superius versus Sanctum Johannem Hermanno de Cluele et Henrico de Leopardo pro quinquaginta marcis Angliensium denariorum infra festum beati Martini nunc venturum redimendis . . .' (1277).

(7) HASK Schreinsbuch 290 Porta S. Pantaleonis (Airsbach) fol. 36v: 'Notum, quod, Hermannus et Theodericus, fratres, filii Engelberti Ligatoris Vasorum, emerunt sibi tertiam partem domus et aree site in platea Filtrorum iuxta domum vocatam Muntabur, que fuit mansio Engelberti predicti, erga Nicolaum, fratrem ipsorum, et Gertrudem, uxorem suam, tali conditione, quod, si Nicolaus predictus tertiam partem predictam retinere voluerit, quod illam reabebit a festo beati Johannis Baptiste ad sex anno pro 13 marcis Angliensium denariorum. Si vero reabere noluerit, tunc Hermannus et Theodericus, fratres predicti, dabunt Nicolao, fratri ipsorum predicto, 5 marcas Anglienses et retinebunt tertiam domus et aree predictae absque omni contradictione' (1275). The text is also published in Planitz, *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher*, pp. 202–203, no. 837.

(8) HASK Schreinsbuch 80 De super muros (St. Alban parish) fol. 10r: 'Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris, quod Henricus dictus Quattermart et Aleydis uxor sua, emerunt sibi erga Tilmannum dictum de Irco et Engilradem uxorem suam marcam unam census Coloniensium denariorum de quarta parte domus et aree vocate ad Gigantem site in Bovenmure, tali conditione, quod predicti Tilmannus et Engilradis reemere poterunt predictam marcam pro sedecim marcis nigrorum Angliensium denariorum cum censu predicto infra festum beati Remigii proximum futurum vel infra quatuor septimanas postea. Quod si non fecerint, habebunt predicti Henricus Quattermart et Aleydis uxor sua unam marcam Coloniensium denariorum hereditarii censu solvendam de quarta parte domus predictae eisdem singulis annis in festo beati Remigii vel infra quatuor septimanas postea sine captione. Quod si dictum censum predicto termino solvere neglexerint, predicta quarta pars domus et aree predictae ad ipsos Henricum et Aleydem uxorem suam devolvatur libere et absolute divertere poterunt, quocumque voluerint. Datum crastino beatorum apostolorum Symonis et Jude [October 29] anno Domini 1292.' The text is also published in Planitz, *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher*, p. 339, no. 1311.

(9) HASK Schreinsbuch 290 Porta S. Pantaleonis (Airsbach) fol. 50r: 'Notum sit, quod Constantinus de Ecclesia Lisolfi et Rigmudis uxor sua emerunt sibi erga Everardum predictum et Gertrudem, filiam suam, et Wilhelmum, maritum eius, contra quemlibet nonam partem domus et aree dicte Juliacum site in Ripa pro quinque marcis et sex solidis nigrorum bonorum Angliensium denariorum tali apposita condicione, quod predicti Everardus et Gertrudis, filia sua, et Wilhelmus, maritus eius, reemere poterunt pro quinque marcis et sex solidis predictorum denariorum et pro sex solidis datis ad scribendum infra festum beati Johannis Baptiste proximum futurum. Quod si non fecerint, cedent predictae due nove partes hereditatis predictae predictis Constantino et Rigmudi libere et absolute et divertere poterunt quocumque voluerint. Datum anno Domini 1287 in vigilia beati Gregorii.'

(10) HASK Schreinsbuch 315 Generalis (Airsbach) fol. 6r-v: 'Notum, quod Arnoldus dictus de Muntabure et Elizabet [sic] uxor sua, que quondam fuit filia Henrici dicti Schoneweder, inter se concordaverunt, quod ipsa Elizabet predicta dedit Arnoldo marito suo predicto liberam potestatem omnes hereditates quas ipse habet Arnoldus et de cetero est habiturus et omnia mobilia que habet et est habiturus divertendi, ad quamcumque voluerit manum, sine omni contradictione. Et si Arnoldus decessit sine prole, tunc ipsa Elizabet uxor sua predicta habebit in bonis ipsius Arnoldi centum marcas Angliensium denariorum et ultra nichil, nisi sit de ipsius Arnoldi predicti bona et libera voluntate. Si vere Arnoldus et Elizabet uxor sua inter se prolem vel proles genuerint, ipse Arnoldus habebit liberam potestatem dandi uni puere et alteri minus de bonis suis pro sua voluntate. Set si Arnoldum predictum contingat ingredi viam universe carnis et Elizabet Arnoldum supravivat et ad secundas nuptias transire noluerit, tunc ipsa Elizabet sedebit cum pueris suis et utetur bonis puerorum quamdiu sedere et esse voluerit cum pueris ipsius. Et si pueri ipsius Elizabet in vita ipsius decesserint, tunc ipsa Elizabet predicta habebit centum marcas Angliensium predictas tantum pro sua portione et omnia alia sua bona mobilia et hereditates. . . . omnes habebit potestatem liberam divertendi, ad quamcumque voluerit manum et si bona sua alicui in vita sua non . . . gaverit seu donaverit, cederet ad proximos suos heredes' (1274).

(11) HASK Schreinsbuch 168 Campanarum (St. Columba parish) fol. 36v: 'Item notum, quod Ingebrandus de Wederhane, filius Ingebrandus, et Druda uxor eius tradiderunt et remiserunt Johanni, fratri ipsius Ingebrandi, domum cum area, ante et retro suptus [sic] et superius, que quondam fuit mansio Alberti dicti Kolnere sitam in Platea Sancti Columbe omni iure, quo ipsi eam habent. Ita si ipse Johannes infra festum nativitatis Domini proximo nunc venturum quinquaginta marcas bonorum Angliensium denariorum non pagaverit sive persolverit Franconi de Cornu, Hildegere dicto Schoneweder, Franconi de Reno et Ingebrandi fratri suo, executoribus testamenti quondam Ingebrandi de Wederhane, quod dicta domus omni iure, quo ipsi Ingebrandus et Druda eam habent, ad dictos executores testamenti sit libere sit libere [sic] devoluta, quod divertere possit, quocumque voluerint. Actum . . . anno Domini 1300.'

John apparently did not come into his inheritance until three years later, when he was able to make the payment to the executors: HASK Schreinsbuch 168 Campanarum (St. Columba parish) fol. 39v: 'Notum, quod, quia Johannes, filius quondam Ingebrandi de Wederhane, reemit sibi erga Franconem de Cornu, Hildegereum Schoneweder, Franconem de Reno et Ingebrandi fratrem ipsius pro quinquaginta marcis bonorum Angliensium denariorum domum, que quondam fuit Alberti dicti Kolnere sitam in Platea Sancti Columbe cum area, ante et retro subtus et superius, ita quod eandem domum, prout iacet, omni iure, quod prius habuit, optinebit et divertere poterit, quocumque voluerit. Salvo censu hereditario. Actum crastino beate Katherine anno Domini 1303.'

(12) HASK Schreinsbuch 162 Lata Platea (St. Columba parish) fol. 73v: 'Notum, quod predicta divisione concordatum, quod Johannes dictus Grin predictus cum uxore sua Richmude solvent singulis annis hereditarie dicto Hupertio Grin et Cristine eius uxori de sua tertia parte domus et curie de Berghusen predictae contigue capelle sancti Apri unam marcam Angliensium denariorum solvendam singulis annis in festo nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, quatuor septimanas post sine captione. Quod si neglexerint, quod ipsa tertia pars ipsorum Johannis et Richmudis dicte domus et curie ipsis Hupertio et Cristine libere sit devoluta, quod divertere poterunt, quocumque voluerint. Et sciendum, quod ipsi Johannes et Richmudis dictam marcam Angliensium infra V annos, qui currere incipient in festo nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, reemere poterunt cum XVIII marcis denariorum Angliensium. Actum ut supra. Notum, quod Ludolphus Grin et pueri sui solvent hereditarie dicto Hupertio Grin et Cristine eius uxori de sua tertia parte domus et curie de Berghusen, videlicet media tertia parte, XXX solidos Angliensium singulis annis in festo nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, quatuor septimanas post sine captione. Ita si ipsum terminum neglexerint, ipsa tertia pars predicta ad ipsos Hupertum et Cristinam eius uxorem libere devolvitur, quod divertere possunt, quocumque voluerint. Et sciendum, quod ipsi Ludolphus et pueri sui ipsos XXX solidos infra quinque anno, qui currere incipient in festo nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, reemere poterunt cum quadraginta quinque marcis denariorum Angliensium. Actum ut supra.' (1301).

HASK Schreinsbuch 162 Lata Platea (St. Columba parish) fol. 76v: 'Notum, quod Ludolphus dictus Grin et pueri sui reemerunt sibi erga Hupertum dictum Grin et Cristinam eius uxorem XVIII solidos bonorum Angliensium denariorum de triginta solidis Angliensium, pro quibus tertia pars ipsorum Ludolphi et puerorum suorum curie et domus de Berghusen fuerat et est obligata. Ita quod ipsi Ludolphus et pueri sui optinerunt et diviserunt ipsorum XVIII solidos, quocumque voluerint. Actum crastino Symonis et Jude anno ut supra' (1302).

HASK Schreinsbuch 162 Lata Platea (St. Columba parish) fol. 77v: 'Notum, quod Johannes dictus Grin de Berghusen et uxor eius Richmudis reemerunt sibi erga Hupertum dictum Grin et Cristinam eius uxorem unam marcam Angliensium denariorum, quam eis solvere consueverunt de tertia parte domus et curie de Berghusen sitam versus sanctam Apram in Lata Platea. Ita quod ipsi Johannes [dictam expugned] et Richmudis dictam marcam in dicta domo et curia, seu tertia parte earundem, optinebunt et divertere poterunt, quocumque voluerint liberam et solutam. Acto anno Domini 1303.'

HASK Schreinsbuch 162 Lata Platea (St. Columba parish) fol. 77v: 'Notum, quod Ludolphus dictus Grin et pueri sui reemerunt sibi erga Hupertum dictum Grin et Cristinam eius uxorem unam marcam Angliensium denariorum de triginta solidis Angliensium denariorum, pro quibus tertia pars curie et domus de Berghusen fuit

obligata. Ita quod ipsi Ludolphus et pueri sui dictam marcam in dicta tertia parte et curie et domus et Bergerhusen optinebunt et divertere poterunt, quocumque voluerint. Actum ut supra' (1303).

(13) HASK Schreinsbuch 299 Lata Platea (Airsbach) fol. 36r: 'Item notum sit, quod idem Wilhelmus et Agnes (uxor) sua reemere poterunt predictos decem et octo solidos Coloniensium denariorum hereditarii census erga Henricum dictum Eszmenger et Hildegundem uxorem suam, infra festum beati Johannis Baptiste proximum nunc futurum vel infra sex septimanas postea sine captione pro decem et nonem marcis novorum Angliensium denariorum vel quolibet magno Turonense semper computato pro tribus novis Angliensibus denariis. Quod si reemerint, solvent predicto Henrico et Hildegundi expensas factas ab eis secundum veritatem circa hereditatem predictam. Datum anno Domini 1286 in die beati Lamberti [September 17].' This text is also published in Planitz, *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher*, p. 361, no. 1379.

(14) HASK Schreinsbuch 324 Wetschatz (Airsbach) fol. 9r: 'Notum sit, quod Theodericus dictus de Kalle et Hadewigis, uxor sua, posuerunt in pignore Hermannio dicto Scherfgin, canonico Resensi, domum vocatam Kalle sitam in Buttegasse et domum vocatam Bickilsten sitam in Lata Platea cum omni iure, sicut eas habebant in eorum proprietate, pro 75 marcis Coloniensium denariorum alborum et ponderosorum. Tali apposita conditione, quod predicti Theodericus et Hadewigis, uxor sua, predictas duas domus redimere potuerunt transactis sex annis continuis proximis et non prius pro predictis 75 marcis Coloniensium denariorum vel novorum Angliensium denariorum vel magnorum Turoniensium denariorum de Francia, quolibet magno Turonensi denario pro tribus denariis Coloniensibus computato' (February 1, 1292). The text is also published in Planitz, *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher*, p. 624, no. 2136.

(15) HASK Schreinsbuch 168 Campanarum (St. Columba parish) fol. 28r: 'Item notum, quod Johannes dictus de Porta et Druda uxor eius predicti acquisiverunt sibi erga Johannem, Richmudim et Belam, fratrem et sorores dicte Drude, aliam dimidietatem domus predictae, que fuit mansio Henrici Stillekin patris eorundem, et aree, ante et retro subtus et superius, pro viginti et septem solidis Coloniensium denariorum — seu bonorum Angliensium de gratia in festo nativitate beati Johannis quatuor septimanas post sine capcione singulis annis solvendis. Tali capcione, quod si dictum terminum neglexerint, dicta dimidietas simul cum alia dimidietate, quam dicti coniuges ad hoc obligaverunt, ad prefatos pueros Johannem, Richmudim et Belam libere devolveantur sine contradictione, quocumque voluerint, divertende. Actum anno Domini 1293 in crastino nativitate beati Johannis Baptiste.'

HASK Schreinsbuch 179 Clericorum (St. Columba parish) fol. 50v: 'Item notum, quod Wilhelmus et Greta uxor eius acquisiverunt sibi erga Thilmannum dictum Cleyngedanc et Durginim eius uxorem medietatem unius domus et aree, ante et retro subtus et superius, prout iacet in cymiterio beate Margarete et retro, protendit ex opposito murum urbis, pro XV solidis bonorum Coloniensium denariorum vel Angliensium cum gratia solvendis singulis annis: XIII solidis in festo nativitate beate Virginis et VIII solidis in festo annuntiatoris ... (1300).'

(16) HASK Schreinsbuch 179 Clericorum (St. Columba parish) fol. 40v: '... singulis annis duas marcas Coloniensium denariorum alborum iusti ponderis debiti, seu magno Turonense pro tribus denariis Coloniensium, quatuor Hallensibus pro uno denario Coloniensium, seu novo Angliensium pro Coloniensium denariorum numerandis ...' (1293).

(17) HASK Schreinsbuch 168 Campanarum (St. Columba parish) fol. 34v: 'Item, quod Johannes dictus Kannus et Druda uxor eius tradiderunt et remiserunt Franconi de Cornu militi et Philippo dicto Quattermart medietatem domus dicte Walkinberg site in termino campanarum, que fuit ansedil quondam Gerardi de Gluele et E. uxoris eius, prout iacet cum area, ante et retro subtus [sic] et superius et ex iusta cadere potest divisione; item medietatem pomerii siti ex opposito dicte domus, salvo censu hereditario utriusque iure suo. Ita tamen, quod ipsi Johannes et uxor eius Druda vel pueri sui vel Herbordus, frater dicti Johannis, [sic] medietatem dicte domus et medietatem dicti pomerii infra festum Pentecosten reemere poterunt et in illa die pentecosten tota cum duocentis marcis denariorum Coloniensium usualium, videlicet grosso Turonense pro septem denariis, novo Angliense pro nonem quadrantibus, uno Hollense pro denario, duobus nigris Turonensibus pro uno denario, uno Brabantino pro septem quadrantibus. Ita [si] scripti Johannes et uxor eius vel pueri sui vel Herbordus, frater dicti Johannis, medietatem dicte domus et pomerii infra festum Pentecosten non reemerint, ut dictum est, quod ad ipsos Franconem et Philippum sint libere devoluta, quod divertere possint, quocumque voluerint, salvo censu hereditario. Et sciendum, quod ipse Franco et Philippus dictas medietates domus et pomerii ipsi Johanni et D. vel pueris eorum vel Herbordo predictore remittere poterunt, cum eas reemerint ut est dictum, absque eorum uxoris, que eis super hoc dederunt potestatem. Actum sabbato post oculi anno Domini 1298.'

SHORT CROSS AND OTHER MEDIEVAL COINS FROM LLANFAES, ANGLESEY

EDWARD BESLY

Introduction

IN June 1992, the discovery of over one hundred medieval silver coins at Llanfaes, Anglesey, was reported to the writer. The coins, which had been discovered by metal detecting during 1991–2, were brought to Cardiff for recording and possible Treasure Trove proceedings, but the date range of the coins, and the widely-scattered findspots as recorded by the finder, suggested that there was no *prima facie* case of Treasure Trove, a view with which H.M. Coroner for Anglesey concurred. The National Museum of Wales arranged to purchase 86 of the coins – already an unusually rich series for a medieval site – from the finder and one of the landowners concerned. Subsequently, the field which had produced most of the coins was cultivated, and further searching before sowing and after harvesting of a potato crop yielded many more coins, which were again sent to Cardiff for recording. A further 44 specimens, selected to complement the previous group and the National Museum's general collection, were purchased during 1993 and 1994.

In all, 592 coins have been examined by the writer. These are summarised in Table 1, and listed in full in Appendix 1. A further 112 coins, discovered by a number of finders, have been reported independently, but have not been examined personally: many are evidently extra specimens, but it is possible that there may be some overlap with the main list, so these are summarised separately in Appendix 2.¹ These finds have created a single-site series unmatched in size for the period anywhere in Britain.

TABLE 1 Summary of Llanfaes coin finds, 1991–4

	<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Halves</i>	<i>Quarters</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Celtic				1	1
Roman				1	1
Anglo-Saxon	-	-	-	1	1
Stephen	-	1	-	-	1
Henry II, Tealby	2	2	-	-	4
Short Cross	173	131	28	-	332
Long Cross	24	106	5	-	135
Sterlings	50	4	3	-	57
Scots	4	11	3	1	19
Irish	3	5	5	-	13
Continental	5	-	-	-	5
Later medieval	8	1	-	1	10
Post medieval	1	-	-	10	11
Uncertain	-	-	-	1	1
Jetton	-	-	-	1	1
Totals	270	261	44	17	592

¹ For completeness, mention should also be made of the 'penny of Henry II, found at Llanfaes, near Beaumaris' and exhibited by the Rev. Dr Jones at the Cambrian Archaeo-

logical Association's annual meeting of 1863, at Kington (*Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1863, 378).

Llanfaes

Llanfaes, today a tiny village, lies close to the eastern coast of Anglesey, on the Menai Strait about one mile (1.6 km) north of Edward I's castle and town of Beaumaris (Fig. 1). In the thirteenth century, Llanfaes was one of five bond townships (*maerdrefi*) in Anglesey associated with the royal court of Gwynedd, then independent of England. According to evidence from the later years of the thirteenth century, Llanfaes was also the commercial centre of Gwynedd: there was a port, a ferry across the Menai Strait, and a herring fishery. It was the main centre for the import of wine, and it has been suggested that some seventy per cent of the Principality's trade passed through the port.² There were fairs, and a weekly market. All of these activities would have encouraged the use (and loss) of coinage as well as raising significant royal revenue. However, following the war of 1283, and the subsequent revolt led by Madog ap Llywelyn in 1294 (during which the church and probably much of the town were burned), Edward I started to build the castle and new town of Beaumaris, and Llanfaes was run down. In November 1295, the market and fairs were transferred to Beaumaris, which received its charter of incorporation on 15 September 1296. The population of Llanfaes was moved to another *maerdref*, Rhosyr, about twelve miles away; as New Borough, this received its charter on 24 April 1303. The buildings of Llanfaes were dismantled and moved to Beaumaris and by about 1405 Llanfaes, apart from the Franciscan Friary near the shore, had disappeared.³

The Coins

The distribution by date of the coins is therefore of some interest in the extent to which it mirrors the known history of the site. Of the very little there is before the Short Cross period, the Gaulish Celtic issue of the Carnutes is intriguing in hinting at continental connections, but other than observing that it certainly seems to be an ancient loss, lack of certainty about the date of its loss precludes further comment. Celtic coins from Wales as a whole are very rare, apart from a trickle of mainly Dobunnic issues from the Chepstow area to the Vale of Glamorgan.⁴ The finding of a Roman coin tells us little in the absence of other contemporary finds. The Anglo-Saxon fragment, found in close association with two later fragments, was probably present as scrap (see below), as may have been the single Stephen, a clipped, folded and worn cut halfpenny. The Henry II 'Tealby' issues are all worn, and may well be residual, or scrap as well, though loss towards the end of their main currency period cannot be ruled out.⁵ Unworn coins are found for the first time early in the Short Cross series, and from issues of the 1180s onwards there is steady representation throughout the thirteenth century, with a large concentration of Short Cross classes V, VI and VII. (The reign of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth ('the Great', d.1240), who acceded to Eastern Gwynedd in 1195 and by 1218 had secured hegemony over the native Welsh principalities, is one of the high points of independent Welsh history.) There are reasonable numbers of Long Cross, and of Sterling down to class 4. The

² The term 'Principality' here refers specifically to that of Gwynedd (north-western Wales) as ruled by the two Llywelyns (c. 1200–40; 1255–82), not the modern sense of 'Wales'.

³ A.D. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni, 1982), pp. 28, 33, 56–7, 231–8.

⁴ G.C. Boon, 'British coins from Wales', in *Biglis, Caldicot & Llandough*, edited by D.M. Robinson, B.A.R. British Series 188 (Oxford, 1988), p. 92. To the 15 coins listed there may be added four further Dobunnic staters: of ANTED, from Iton, Gwent (*BNJ* 61 (1991), *Coin Register*, p. 146, no. 59), St Arvans, Gwent (*Archaeology in Wales* 34 (1994), 50) and

Penllyn, Vale of Glamorgan (unpublished); and of CATTI, from Mynydd Twyn-glas, near Cwmbran, Gwent (*BNJ* 61, *Coin Register*, p. 146, no. 61); a stater of Tasciovanus, from Bassaleg, Gwent (*AW* 34 (1994), 50); a plated 'Whaddon Chase' stater from St Arvans; and a Dobunnic type B silver coin from Magor, Gwent. The last two coins, found in 1995, were shown to the writer in February 1996.

⁵ For an exceptional survival of a 'Tealby' penny in a hoard buried after 1346, see N.J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards of 1983 and 1984', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 40–68, at p. 43.

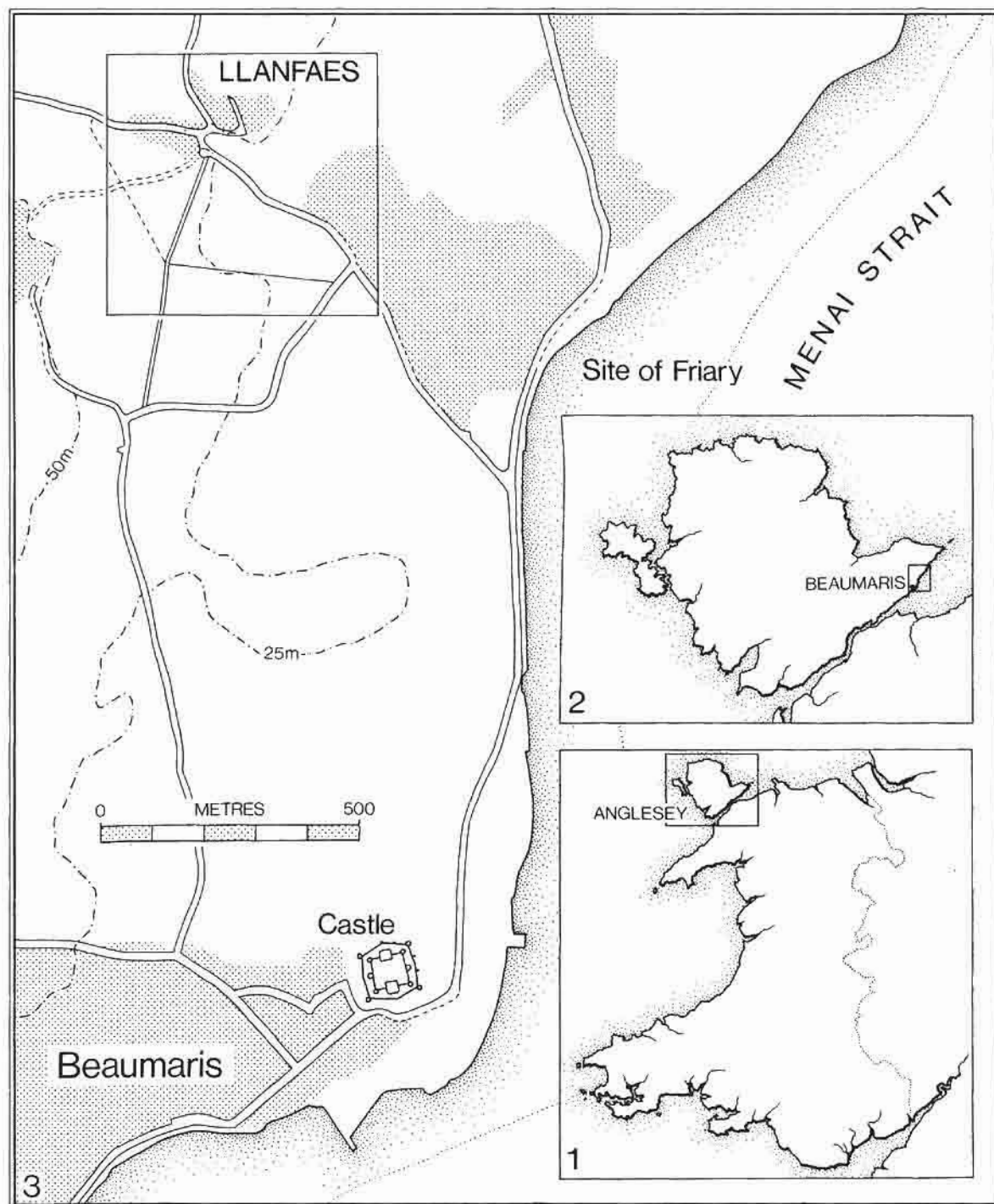


Fig. 1 Llanfaes, Anglesey: location plan.

complete absence of classes 5–8 is of uncertain significance, since these correspond to a period of low mint output, but the small numbers of classes 9–10 and virtual absence of 11–15 argue a cessation of coin use in the first decade of the fourteenth century, at the time when the town is known to have been depopulated.⁶ A trickle of casual losses from the mid fourteenth century onwards presumably originates from agriculture. The Scots and Irish coins tell a similar story, and of the Continental sterlings, none needs to be dated later than 1300. The coin evidence is therefore fully consistent with the history of Llanfaes, where this is known; successive batches of coins examined at Cardiff showed the same general pattern. Unlikely though it may seem at first sight for a Welsh site to produce such a formidable coin list, the casual losses of the thirteenth century appear to have survived at Llanfaes where in most English towns they would long since have been destroyed or rendered inaccessible by subsequent development. The two closest parallels in numismatic terms, Meols in Cheshire and Dunwich in Suffolk, are likewise medieval ports which were abandoned before the modern period.⁷

The approximate findspots for the majority of the coins were plotted by their finders, and the resulting distributions for the three principal coinage periods (Short Cross, Long Cross, Sterling) are shown in figures 2–4. Other finds recovered from the same area included numerous lead weights, derived probably from the attested fishing industry, and small numbers of high-status finds such as gold finger-rings and silver annular brooches.⁸ These and the coins serve the important purpose of putting the lost town of Llanfaes back on the map.⁹ Archaeological survey in neighbouring fields to the west indicates a potential to identify structures and burgage plots, but geophysical survey and trial excavations appear to demonstrate that centuries of agriculture have largely destroyed all but the deepest features in the main field. Bearing in mind this agricultural disruption, and the imprecise nature of the coin plotting, figures 2–4 are at best approximate representations of original coin losses. However, within the main field (the only area to be covered thoroughly) there are visible differences between the currency periods, for instance a noticeable reduction in the area in which sterling pennies are found, compared with the preceding periods. This may be a consequence of reduced commercial activity after 1283, but the high proportion of sterlings in the small number of coins found by limited searching in the field to the north next to the church should be noted.

The sheer numbers of coins found suggest that the area was the site of intense commercial activity – the site of the weekly market and of the Llanfaes fairs.¹⁰ However, not all coin losses are necessarily the consequence of this. A small piece of gold which bears hammer-marks may indicate the local working of precious metals; its composition is consistent with a thirteenth-century date, though this is not certain.¹¹ Two of the coin finds are of interest here:

⁶ See Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards', p. 49. Table 1; for Scottish sterling hoards there is in general one coin of classes 5–7, one of class 8 and ten of class 9 for every 20 of classes 3 and 4; at Llanfaes (App. 1), the numbers (pennies only) are 0, 0, 5, 26 respectively; or, including Appendix 2: 0, 0, 5, 31.

⁷ Dunwich: E.R.H. Hancox, 'Finds of medieval cut halfpence and farthings at Dunwich', *BNJ* 5 (1908), 123–34; R. Seaman, 'A further find of coins from Dunwich', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 27–33. Meols: D.M. Metcalf, 'Some finds of medieval coins from Scotland and the north of England', *BNJ* 30 (1960–61), 88–123, at pp. 111–14.

⁸ M. Redknap, 'Some medieval brooches, pendants and moulds from Wales: a short survey', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, in press.

⁹ The route of an oil pipeline laid in 1973–4 passed through Llanfaes to the south of the main field discussed

here. Amongst the finds recovered from a 'watching brief' were 112 sherds of 13th/early 14th-century pottery. R.B. White, 'Rhosgoch to Stanlow Shell Oil Pipeline', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 27 (1976–8), 463–90 at pp. 486–9.

¹⁰ See M. Blackburn, 'What factors govern the number of coins found on an archaeological site?', in *Coins and Archaeology*, edited by H. Clarke and E. Schia, BAR International Series 556 (Oxford, 1989), pp. 15–24, particularly p. 18. It may be noted that for the Short Cross, Long Cross and Sterling periods, the total face value of the coins listed in Appendices 1–2 is a little under £2. If these were used and lost during the period c. 1200–1305, average annual loss rates are approximately 6d (1200–50); 3½d (1250–80); and 3d (1280–1305).

¹¹ M. Redknap, 'Some brooches' (note 8), especially Appendix 1 by J.P. Northover.

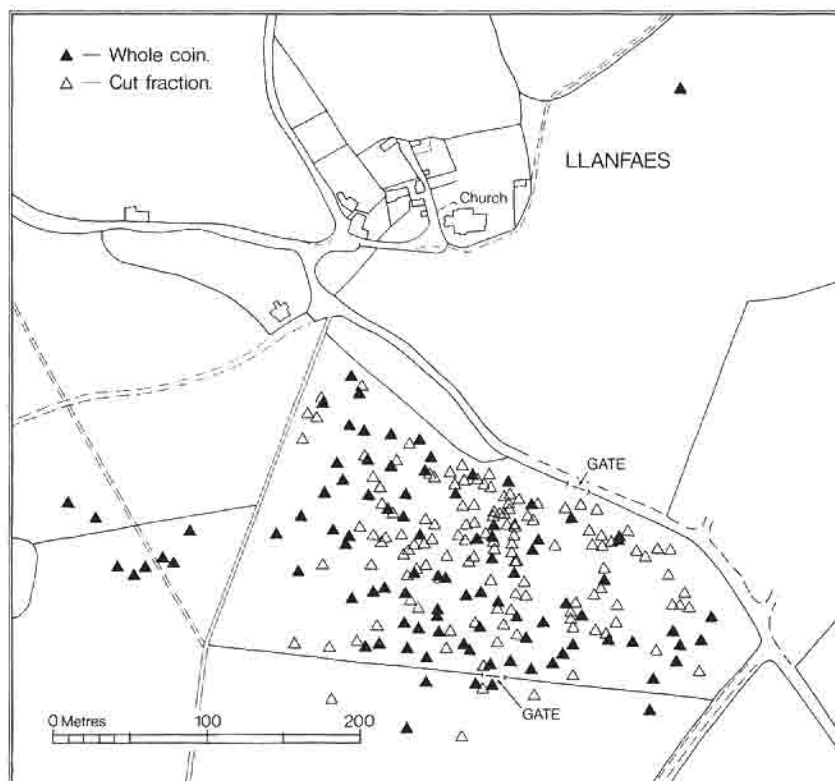


Fig. 2 Distribution of Short Cross pennies and fractions.

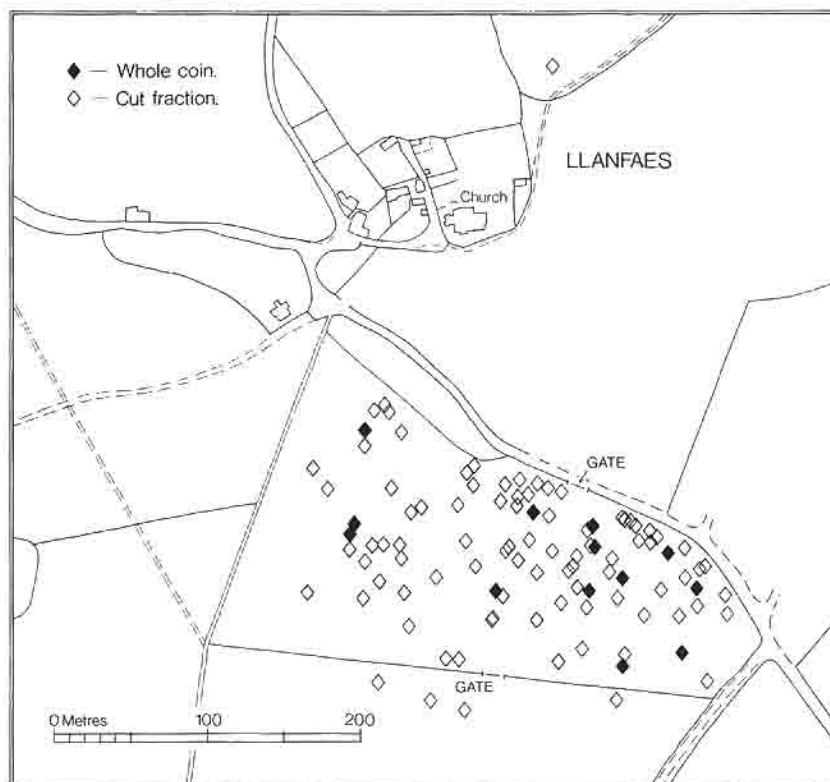


Fig. 3 Distribution of Long Cross pennies and fractions.

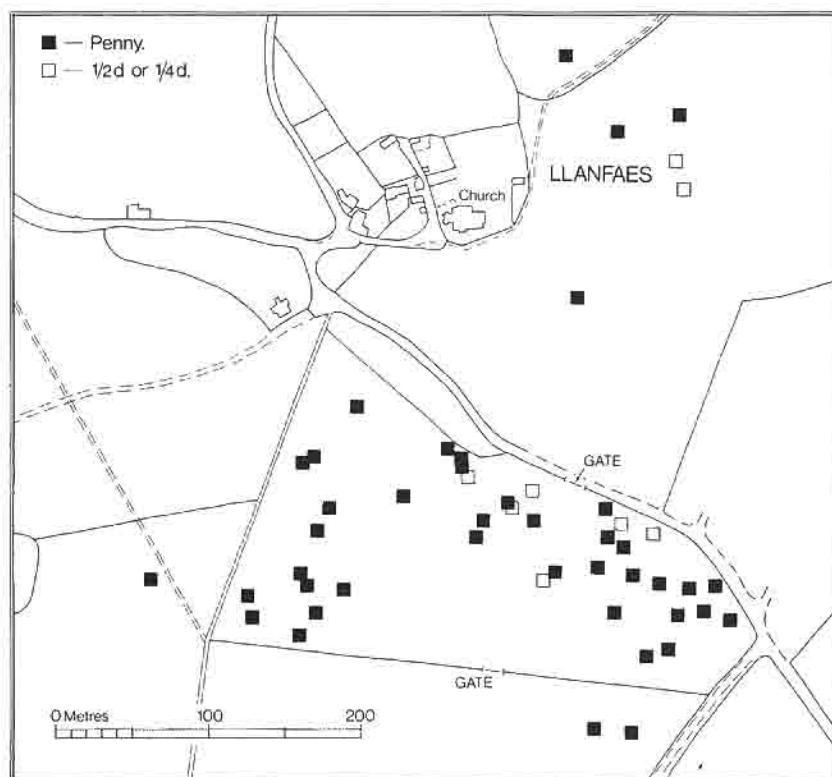


Fig. 4 Distribution of Sterling pennies and fractions.

three fragments of differing dates (nos 3, 336 and 450) were found together and submitted as a single object, while a worn short cross cut half (no. 169) was found wrapped round two illegible silver fragments. These two discoveries may indicate that some at least of the older and fragmentary coins were present as scrap silver. A non-commercial use may also be suggested for a sterling of Alexander III of Scotland (no. 570, see p. 59), though not necessarily at Llanfaes.

Short Cross coinage

Short Cross coins form over half of all the Llanfaes finds and cover the whole period 1180–1247. Although there may be some groups present from small scattered hoards (especially, perhaps, of class VII, which included a number of well preserved, unworn and similarly patinated examples), the coins appear overall to be a sample lost from currency over several decades. All classes are represented, and early types (I–IV) are present in some strength. The states of wear of the coins vary considerably within each class: some were lost or deposited after little active circulation, others are distinctly worn. Classes I–V show a consistently high proportion of cut halves and quarters, abruptly reversed for VI and VII. This may represent the possibility of hoard groups within the later classes, but it is also possible that disproportionate amounts of earlier coins were cut into fractions, which then continued to serve as small change alongside later classes, or that older coins continued to be cut in preference to the more recent.¹²

¹² Two of the five cut halves in the Wrexham hoard, buried in the 1240s, were from coins struck before 1205, both worn:

G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards 1979–1981* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 105–109.

There are very few unworn cut fractions. Small numbers of unworn coins of classes I–IV seem to indicate that coin use on the site was established by the last decade of the twelfth century, or the first decade of the thirteenth. The relatively high overall numbers of classes I–V, when compared with those in hoards buried in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Table 2), support the notion of active coin use and loss at Llanfaes during the first quarter, but there seem to be few reliably recorded British hoards of suitable size, buried c. 1200–25, to provide appropriate comparisons, or to quantify the effect of the renovation of 1205 on the overall circulating medium. The proportions of classes I–IV in these and later hoards can vary considerably.¹³ The evidence of stray finds from the rest of Wales, mainly the ‘anglicised’ south and west (Table 2 and Appendix 3) shows a more even coin loss profile, with a higher proportion of classes I–IV (and hence more firmly established coin use in these areas before 1200?) than for Llanfaes.¹⁴

Including the penny from Kings Lynn reported in Appendix 2, fifteen of the twenty-one mints of the Short Cross period are represented at Llanfaes. The distribution by mint and type of the coins examined at Cardiff is summarised in Table 3.¹⁵ Apart from the significant impact of Rhuddlan (see below), the proportions of the various mints in different types appear to be reasonably consistent with groups reported elsewhere.¹⁶

TABLE 2. Short Cross: 13th-century British hoard and finds groups

		I–IV	V + VI	VII	VIII	Total
Clifton		4	31 + 18	8	-	61
	%	6.6	50.8 + 29.5	13.1	-	
Eccles, c. 1230		200	2,520	2,730	-	5,450
	%	3.7	46.2	50.1	-	
Colchester		1,198	3,179	6,195	-	10,572
	%	11.3	30.1	58.6	-	
Wrexham, 1240s		8	5 + 3	50	1	67
	%	12.0	7.5 + 4.5	74.6	1.5	
‘Naxos’		57	178 + 112	672	274	1,293
	%	4.4	13.8 + 8.7	52.0	21.2	
London, Vintry		24	22	6	-	52
	%	46.2	42.3	11.5	-	
Llanfaes		67	91 + 42	85	5	290
	%	23.1	31.3 + 14.5	29.3	1.7	
Wales, general finds		20	10 + 11	18	1	60
	%	33.3	16.7 + 18.3	30.0	1.6	

(Figures exclude uncertain)

¹³ See also, J.D. Brand, ‘The British coins in the Gisors (1970) hoard’, *BNJ* 40 (1971), 22–43, Table V on p. 29.

¹⁴ Additional references for Table 2: Clifton: R.A.G. Carson, ‘The Clifton (Lancashire) find of Short Cross pennies’, *NC* 1947, 80–2; Eccles: Lord Stewartby, ‘English Short Cross coins from the Eccles hoard’, *NC* 153 (1993), 137–51; Colchester: summarised by J.D. Brand, ‘Gisors hoard’ (note 13), Tables III, V; Naxos: Lord Stewartby, ‘The “Naxos” hoard of thirteenth-century sterlings’, *NC* 154 (1994), 147–66; Vintry: finds seen and unpublished m/s record at B.M.; Wales, general: writer’s finds records, N.M.W.

¹⁵ The figures in Tables 2 and 3 do not distinguish pennies from cut fractions and are therefore an indication of the

number of individual specimens represented: no case was found of two cut fractions deriving from a single original coin.

¹⁶ For types I–IV see, for instance, Bainton, Scotforth and Wainfleet (M.M. Archibald and B.J. Cook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards* vol 1 (BM Occasional Paper, forthcoming)). These type IV hoards show variable proportions of Canterbury (which did not produce type I), depending on the circumstances of hoarding (4.5–34.5%). Llanfaes, where Canterbury accounts for 15.5% of types I–IV from identifiable mints, is closer to the groups in 13th-century hoards such as Eccles (15.3% of Evans types 1 and 2) or Naxos (17.5% of types I–IV).

TABLE 3. Short Cross: distribution by mints (data from Appendix 1)

Mint	I-II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	i-v	?	Total
Bury	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Canterbury	-	1	8	19	9	55	3	-	-	95
Carlisle	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Chichester	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Durham	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Lincoln	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	5
London	18	4	13	38	30	28	1	-	8	140
Northampton	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	4
Norwich	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Oxford	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rochester	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Winchester	4	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	9
York	2	-	2	5	1	-	-	-	-	10
Rhuddlan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	24
Sub-total	29	6	23	81	40	84	4	24	9	300
uncertain	4	1	4	10	2	1	1	-	6	29
Counterfeit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Totals	33	7	27	91	42	85	5	24	18	332

Three Short Cross coins are counterfeit: a farthing of 'Ali(sandre)'; a cut half 'Vb/Va mule' of 'Canterbury'; and a whole penny of 'Iohan of London'. All are likely to be of German origin and belong to a single group (RE) which copies models of classes Va and early Vb.¹⁷ The 'Alisandre' farthing shares the reverse die of RE 2iii, from the Loxbeare hoard (c. 1215); the other two are die-duplicates of RE 1 and 5.¹⁸

Rhuddlan

The twenty-four specimens of the Short Cross coinage of 'RVLA' (comprising thirteen pennies, ten cut halves and one cut quarter) form the third largest mint group in the Short Cross series at Llanfaes, after London (140) and Canterbury (95). The coins of this mint appear very occasionally in English hoards, most recently Wainfleet, Lincolnshire (1990), which contained one RVLA coin out of 380 to class IVa and Loxbeare, Devon (1980), one out of 17 to class VIa.¹⁹ Single finds have also been reported from Hen Blas, near Holywell and from Flint, both in Clwyd and within a few miles of Rhuddlan itself.²⁰ A cut quarter (of Halli) in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, was probably found at Meols, on the Wirral.²¹ These and the prominent showing of this mint at Llanfaes must surely finally banish any doubts as to its location.

¹⁷ Lord Stewartby, 'German imitations of English Short-Cross Sterlings', *NC* 1995, 209-60, at pp. 233-5.

¹⁸ Lord Stewartby, 'German imitations . . .', pp. 240-1; N. Shiel, 'The Loxbeare, 1980 hoard', *Coin Hoards* 7 (1985), 379-81. This is the third British provenance for imitations of this group (with the Shelly hoard, *BNJ* 60, 137, no. 2), which might raise the possibility that it is native in origin, but Lord Stewartby (*in lit.* January 1996) confirmed to me his view that it is Westphalian.

¹⁹ 'Wainfleet, Lincolnshire, 1990', in M.M. Archibald and B.J. Cook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards* vol I (note 16); Loxbeare: Shiel, note 18.

²⁰ Hen Blas: J.F. Manley and J.M. Lewis, 'A collection of medieval artefacts found near Holywell, Clwyd', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (University of Wales) 34 (1987), 270-82, at p. 270; Flint: D. Williams, pers. comm. (Brand 2250).

²¹ See Metcalf, note 7 above; the Short and Long Cross coins at the Grosvenor Museum have been examined by the present writer, but apart from a group of Long Cross cut halves, the Meols finds among them cannot now be identified with certainty.

There is one new reverse die, of Simond type iiic, represented by one whole penny and one cut half (nos 303–4). This die is easily recognised by its unique reading SIMOND·NO·RVLA and on both coins is coupled with the obverse of Brand 3210.²² A further apparent variety (no. 302, a cut half), seems to couple the reverse of B.3370 with a recut(?) version of the obverse of B.3310ff.

The Llanfaes finds do not, however, shed much fresh light on the dating of the Rhuddlan issues. The poor representation of Halli (one penny and one quarter) and Tomas (two halves) underlines the likelihood of the main phase of arrival, use and loss of coinage on the site probably postdates 1200. These two moneyers were active before c. 1195, as is demonstrated by the Aston, Lisieux and Wainfleet hoards.²³ The vast majority of Rhuddlan coins from Llanfaes are of Simon(d), usually in fresh condition, and if their use and loss parallels that of the numerous regular coins of classes V–VII, their production could, in principle, lie at any time from c. 1205 onwards. Simon(d) may indeed have been active slightly earlier, as suggested by Dolley. At least one of his coins (type unspecified) was included in the eight or more Rhuddlan coins in the Newry hoard, which appears to close with English issues of class V and Irish issues of John as King, deposited probably between 1210 and 1215, according to Dolley.²⁴ Two unworn pennies of Henricus complete the Rhuddlan series at Llanfaes. The lack of Rhuddlan coins in the Wrexham, Clwyd, hoard of the 1240s might argue against a late date for these, the last of the mint's issues, but it is by no means certain that the hoard was assembled locally.²⁵ Further hoard evidence from the period 1205–40 will be needed to settle these matters.

Both Brand and Dolley have hesitated to speculate as to 'why these coins were struck in such a comparatively remote corner of the Plantagenet sphere of influence',²⁶ but underlying the problem has always been the seeming incompatibility of the limited historical evidence, cited by earlier numismatists, with the evidence provided by hoard finds, referred to above. A fresh appraisal is due, and the answer may perhaps be found in both economic and political developments in Gwynedd in the later 12th and 13th centuries. Studies by Welsh historians have demonstrated that at around this time in Gwynedd there was a distinct trend towards the commutation of traditional renders in kind into cash payments, and the development of a coin-using economy.²⁷ The evidence comes mainly from the later thirteenth century (e.g. Llanfaes, above), but that of coin finds, particularly the present series, would appear to suggest that the process was in train in the first half of the century. A growing need for cash in northern Wales, and the possibility that silver was being obtained from the Flintshire lead field in the later twelfth century, described for instance by Gerald of Wales in 1188,²⁸ may have been among the factors which motivated local coining. But was this an English coinage, or a Welsh?

²² J.D. Brand, 'The Short Cross coins of Rhuddlan', *BNJ* 34 (1965), 90–7.

²³ Aston: R.H.M. Dolley, 'A note on the chronology of some published and unpublished "Short Cross" finds from the British Isles', *BNJ* 29 (1958–9), 297–321, at pp. 301–7; Lisieux: R.H.M. Dolley, 'The sequence of moneyers at Rhuddlan in the Short-Cross period', *NCirc* September 1963, 226–7; Wainfleet: B.J. Cook, note 16 above.

²⁴ R. Saintbill, 'Additional varieties of Short-Cross pennies', *NC* New Series 1 (1861), 204–6; R.H.M. Dolley, 'Unpublished "Short Cross" finds' (note 23), at p. 311.

²⁵ G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards* (note 12), p. 105.

²⁶ J.D. Brand, 'Rhuddlan' (note 22), 93.

²⁷ T. Jones Pierce, *Medieval Welsh Society* (Cardiff, 1972). Collected essays, notably 'The growth of commutation in Gwynedd during the thirteenth century', pp. 103–25 (esp. pp. 120–3); 'Medieval settlement in Anglesey', pp. 251–87 (esp. pp. 279–81); R.R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 160–4. The process has been observed elsewhere, e.g. A.D. Carr, 'A debatable land: Arwystli in

the Middle Ages', *Montgomery Collections* 80 (1992), 39–54.

²⁸ '... we proceeded from Ruthlan to the small cathedral church of Llanelwy [St Asaph]; from whence ... we continued our journey through a country rich in minerals of silver, where money is sought in the bowels of the earth [Halkyn Mountain], to the little cell of Basingwerk, where we passed the night'. *The Itinerary through Wales*, Everyman Edition (London, 1908), p. 129. There may be a hint of poetic licence here, unless these workings completely removed a silver-rich seam, since there is apparently very little, if any, mention of silver gained from Flintshire lead before the advent of industrial-scale working in the early nineteenth century (J. Thorburn, pers. comm.). However, between 1851 and 1913, Flintshire produced 1,838,320 ounces of silver ore, 7.17% of total U.K. output, exceeding 40,000 oz in eight years, the best being 1851 (56,854 oz/8.43% of U.K. total). The 39,236 oz of 1904 represented 27.71% of the U.K. total (R. Burt, P. Waite and R. Burnley, *The Mines of Flintshire and Denbighshire: metalliferous and associated minerals 1845–1913* (Exeter, 1992), p. xxiv, Table 2). I owe this reference to Richard Bevins.

Although the written history is 'fragmentary' (to use Brand's term), it seems to be fairly clear that for the vast majority of the Short Cross currency period, Rhuddlan belonged to the Princes of Gwynedd. Rhuddlan had been occupied by the English between 1157 and 1167, when it was recaptured by Owain Gwynedd, after whose death it passed to Dafydd ap Owain who held the area until 1195, when it fell to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (Llywelyn the Great) in his bid to reunite Gwynedd under a single ruler. Rhuddlan was taken by King John in 1211, but recaptured by Llewelyn in 1213, remaining then in Welsh hands until 1241, when Englefield (*Tegeingel*: northeastern Clwyd) was ceded to Henry III by Dafydd ap Llywelyn.²⁹ In other words, between 1180 and 1247, Rhuddlan was only certainly in English hands for about eight years, six of them at the very end of the period. The early numismatists such as Lawrence, working from this evidence, not unreasonably attempted to link the Rhuddlan issues to one or other of these periods of English possession.³⁰ However, since there is incontrovertible evidence that two Rhuddlan moneyers were active before 1200, and that a third (Simond) was almost certainly coining before 1210, the possibility that the Rhuddlan Short Cross coinage represents issues on behalf of the princes of Gwynedd must be considered, although it remains possible that some of Simond's coins may have been issued during the English occupation of 1211–13. The origins of the Rhuddlan coinage appear to lie during the time of Dafydd ap Owain, whose relationship with the English crown (he had done homage to Henry II in 1177, and married Henry's half-sister Emma of Anjou) may also be relevant.

The fact that Rhuddlan issues are of English Short Cross type rather than distinctively Welsh need not be an insuperable difficulty. English sterlings were widely copied elsewhere because of their good quality and stable standard, though continental Short Cross imitations belong for the most part to the early thirteenth century. If indeed Welsh, the Rhuddlan pennies must be among the earliest Short Cross imitations. The best means to ensure their acceptance would be the production of coins of good weight and metal (which appears to have been the case – see Appendix 4), of the sole acceptable design at the time. It has been suggested elsewhere that an imitative issue of the time of Cnut (Blackburn's 'Chester Group'), an example of which was found near Degannwy in 1981, may represent a native Welsh response to a need for coin in the early eleventh century.³¹

The idea of the Rhuddlan issues as a Welsh coinage may help to explain two other features, its crude 'local' designs and the scarcity of these coins in English hoards. With no official access to centrally-produced dies, local improvisation would have been necessary. Whilst small production may be an important factor, the westward movement of the coins once produced, to the commercial centre of Gwynedd (at least 24 coins from Llanfaes) or abroad in trade (eight or more in the Newry hoard; one from Lisieux) might also have affected their availability in England. Some, however, will have found their way into English circulation through exchange where the native Welsh and 'English' lands abutted.

Short Cross pennies in Wales

In parallel with the study of the Llanfaes finds, a survey of single finds of Short Cross coinage from Wales has been carried out, based on the National Museum's collection, archaeological site finds, stray finds shown to the writer since 1986 and other sources. Early medieval coins from Wales are few. Little is found before the Short Cross period, and

²⁹ *The History of Flintshire*, vol. 1, edited by C.R. Williams (Denbigh, 1961), pp. 70–77; H. Quinell and M.R. Blockley, *Excavations at Rhuddlan, Clwyd: 1969–73 Mesolithic to Medieval*, CBA Research Report 95 (1994), pp. 216–17.

³⁰ L.A. Lawrence, 'The Short Cross coinage, 1180–1247', *BNJ* 11 (1916), 59–100, at pp. 87–9.

³¹ G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards* (note 12), p. 14.

most of this comes from areas of Anglo-Norman settlement, such as Glamorgan and Pembrokeshire. There are pennies of William I from Cardiff Castle, St Davids (Pembrokeshire) and Caerwent (Gwent); and of William II from Caerwent and Rhuddlan (Clwyd).³² From Henry I's time, a *BMC* V cut halfpenny and a small hoard of Henry I *BMC* XI pennies from Llantrithyd, a single *BMC* X penny of the same reign found near Cowbridge (both in the Vale of Glamorgan), a fragmentary *BMC* XV penny from Ferry Point, Llanstephan (Dyfed) and a *BMC* X Pembroke mint penny from Lamphey (Pembs.) may be cited.³³ As well as the Coed-y-Wenallt (Cardiff) hoard, coins of Stephen's reign have been found at Carew (Pembs.), Llantrithyd and Monmouth.³⁴ Two cut quarter 'Tealby' pennies have recently (1995) been found near Haverfordwest (Pembs.), on a possible market or fair site north of the town, to add to pennies from Caerwent, Mathern and Monmouth (all Gwent).³⁵ However, this pattern may owe something to the regular reporting of finds from these areas to the National Museum, and another recent find, of a Henry I *BMC* XV penny from Llanbedrgoch, Anglesey, demonstrates that his coinage was not confined to the Anglo-Norman areas.³⁶

For the Short Cross period, the pattern is similar, but finds are much more numerous (see Appendix 3).³⁷ This parallels the contemporary increase in England.³⁸ Few of the findspots, however, are unambiguously 'Welsh', though the Rhuddlan and Hen Blas (Clwyd) coins and the finds from the Welsh-held castle at Dryslwyn, near Carmarthen, could represent commercial contact with the 'English' in frontier areas. But in (present-day) Gwynedd, finds from Caernarfon, Harlech and Castell Bryn Gwyn (Anglesey), together with the Clwyd finds, amplify the picture of coin-loss in Welsh territory which is provided by the spectacular series from Llanfaes.³⁹ A fourth Gwynedd find, a class VIIb penny from Degannwy, shows some wear, and may therefore belong either to the Welsh castle destroyed in 1241, or to the English occupation and rebuilding which started in the same year.⁴⁰

Long Cross coinage

The 135 Long Cross pennies and cut fractions listed in Appendix 1 are summarised by mint and class in Table 4. If the coins reported in Appendix 2 are included, seventeen of the twenty Long Cross mints are represented. The proportions of classes II and III, compared with class

³² G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, pp. 46–8; M. Dolley and J.K. Knight, 'Some single finds of Tenth- and Eleventh-century English coins from Wales', *ArchCamb* 119 (1970), 75–82; G.C. Boon, in Quinnell and Blockley, *Rhuddlan* (note 29), p. 164.

³³ Llantrithyd: G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, pp. 103–5; Cowbridge: Coin Register 1990, no. 213 (*BNJ* 60 (1990), 162); Llanstephan: unpublished finds record in N.M.W.; Lamphey: Coin Register 1993, no. 246 (*BNJ* 63 (1993), 153).

³⁴ G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, pp. 37–82; *BNJ* 57, Coin Register, p. 144, no. 193; *BNJ* 63, Coin Register, p. 156, no. 278.

³⁵ See Coin Register 1995, nos 226–7. Searching of the line of the Haverfordwest Link Road scheme during March and April 1995, in advance of its construction, and the forwarding of the finds for recording by the writer, were coordinated by Mr Roy Lewis and the Pembrokeshire Prospectors; the Gwent finds are unpublished.

³⁶ Coin Register 1995, no. 202.

³⁷ There are also two reliably attested hoards: from Slebech, Pembrokeshire (Dyfed), a purse-hoard of twelve coins to c. 1195 (E. Besly, 'Recent coin hoards from Wales, 1985–1992', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 84–90, at p. 86) and Wrexham (1240s: G.C. Boon, note 12 above).

³⁸ S.E. Rigold, 'Small change in the light of medieval site-finds', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs (1279–1344)*, edited by N.J. Mayhew, B.A.R. 36 (Oxford, 1977), pp. 559–80. For the broader picture, see P. Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), chapters 5–11.

³⁹ Recent excavations at Rhosyr (1994) are said to have produced coins of the 'early-mid 13th cent.' (*Archaeology in Wales* 34 (1994), 61) but at the time of writing I have not been able to confirm details; several Long Cross coins have been found there during 1995 (S. Lyon, pers. comm.).

⁴⁰ See L. Alcock, 'Excavations at Degannwy Castle, Caernarvonshire, 1961–6', *ArchJ* 124 (1967), 190–201. The coin was found during these excavations, but is not there mentioned.

V, are higher than those in hoards such as Palmer's Green, Steppingley and Colchester, but as with the Short Cross before, this probably reflects the more continuous nature of coin loss on the site.

One example of class Vf (no. 408) has been pierced by the point of a knife, presumably by way of testing. Two coins (nos 474–5) are counterfeits, copying classes III and V, each with a literate 'Henricus' obverse, but nonsensical reverse readings. The obverse die of no. 474 has some affinities with Dolley and Seaby's class Ia, *O.1*;⁴¹ the reversed Es (or Ds with cross bars) which appear on the reverse of the coin are found on several other imitations. On no. 475 the crown band appears to be split as in Vf, while its reverse belongs to a large group linked by the distinctive ARIC in one quarter. Both may be associated with the Kuinre region.⁴²

TABLE 4. Long Cross: distribution by mints (data from Appendix 1)

<i>Mint</i>	<i>I-II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VII</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bury	1	-	4	1	-	6
Canterbury	-	2	18	-	-	20
Durham	-	-	1	-	-	1
Exeter	-	-	-	-	1	1
Gloucester	1	-	-	-	-	1
Ilchester	-	1	-	-	-	1
Lincoln	1	2	-	-	-	3
London	1	16	32	1	3	53
Newcastle	-	4	-	-	-	4
Northampton	-	3	-	-	-	3
Oxford	-	1	-	-	-	1
Shrewsbury	-	1	-	-	-	1
Wilton	-	2	-	-	-	2
York	1	2	-	-	-	3
uncertain	1	13	13	1	5	33
Counterfeit	-	1	1	-	-	2
Totals	6	48	69	3	9	135

Small change

Before the sterling coinage of Edward I, denominations below a penny were seldom struck, so the main method for supplying these was to cut whole pennies into halves or quarters, using the reverse cross as a guide. A considerable proportion of the Llanfaes finds of Short and Long Cross coins consists of such fractions. One Short Cross specimen (no. 107) is a half which has been scored for a further division which did not take place.

The proportions of Short and Long Cross coins in the form of cut fractions, at Llanfaes and other sites, are summarised in Table 5.⁴³ While Dunwich stands out in both periods for its tiny proportion of whole coins, it seems to be clear that the use and loss of fractions at the two south-eastern sites was very much more intensive than at Meols, Llanfaes or Wales in general

⁴¹ M. Dolley and W.A. Seaby, 'The anomalous Long-Cross coins in the Anglo-Irish portion of the Brussels hoard', in *Mints, Dies and Currency*, edited by R.A.G. Carson (London, 1971), pp. 291–317: see pl. XX, BH 2 and discussion within the text of possible sources of these imitations.

⁴² I am indebted to J.J. North for his observations on these two Long Cross counterfeits.

⁴³ Additional references for table 5: Meols, J.H. Gibson, 'Synopsis of the coins found on the Meols Beach, Cheshire, since 1870 in the collection of Mr C. Potter', *J. Liverpool Numismatic Society*, 1877, 63–7, plus information on Liverpool Museum holdings from *SCBI* 29. This is a very small sample from the overall coins reported from Meols (see Metcalf, note 7) and must be treated with caution.

during the first half of the thirteenth century. During the period 1250–80, the percentages of farthings remain similar at all but Dunwich. Halfpennies, however, show a large proportional increase at Llanfaes and Meols. There is also an increase in the general Welsh figure, which is probably understated, since the sample is small and, depending disproportionately on the N.M.W. collection, may be biased towards the whole pennies.⁴⁴ Perhaps these fractions, the halfpennies especially, act as an index of the monetisation of everyday transactions in Wales (above, p. 54) and the north-west, as opposed to the south-east, where the use of halfpennies and farthings was already well established.⁴⁵ In Scotland, the widespread finding of coins of the Short Cross and Long Cross periods (mainly English) has been noted and the large proportion of cut fractions taken to indicate a degree of sophistication in coin use.⁴⁶

One specimen of an Edwardian sterling (no. 514) appeared at first sight to be a cut halfpenny and thus evidence for the continuation of the practice as late as c. 1300. However, close examination suggested that this coin was probably broken as a result of folding.

TABLE 5. Distribution of denominations at sites in England and Wales

a. Short Cross period

		<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Cut ½d</i>	<i>Cut ¼d</i>	<i>Total</i>
London, Vintry		17	36	24	77
	%	22.1	46.8	31.2	
Dunwich		6	75	75	156
	%	3.8	48.1	48.1	
Meols (partial)		11	*5	1	17
	%	64.7	29.4	5.9	
Llanfaes		176	**143	31	350
	%	50.3	40.9	8.9	
Wales, general		44	24	4	72
	%	61.1	33.3	5.6	

*: includes 1 Irish halfpenny; **: includes 2 Irish halfpennies

b. Long Cross period

		<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Cut ½d</i>	<i>Cut ¼d</i>	<i>Total</i>
London, Vintry		4	15	10	29
	%	13.8	51.7	34.5	
Dunwich		4	34	71	109
	%	3.7	31.2	65.1	
Meols (partial)		12	34	4	50
	%	24.0	68.0	8.0	
Llanfaes		25	110	8	143
	%	17.5	76.9	5.6	
Wales, general		9	10	2	21
	%	42.9	47.6	9.5	

N.B. Irish and Scottish Short Cross and Long Cross types are included

⁴⁴ However, a sample of excavation and stray finds from Scotland between 1978 and 1987 produced similar proportions of pennies; cut halves; quarters to the 'Welsh' Long Cross, for both Short and Long Cross periods: SC, 18:18:2; LC, 12:10:0. J.D. Bateson, 'Roman and medieval coins found in Scotland, to 1987', *PSAS* 119 (1989), 165–88.

⁴⁵ The 'Coin Register' cut-off date of 1180 prevents direct comparisons, but the prolific material reported from Norfolk and Suffolk in Vols. 61–64 of *BNJ* for the two preceding periods

includes, for Stephen and contemporaries, 7 pence, 5 cut halves and 1 quarter; for Henry II 'Tealby', 7 pence, 13 halves and 3 quarters. These figures – if representative – show a remarkable similarity to the changing balance of denominations in the later Welsh SC and LC finds. Do they demonstrate a similar process at work somewhat earlier? Further finds will no doubt extend or modify this picture in these and other areas.

⁴⁶ J.D. Bateson, 'Roman and medieval coins found in Scotland' (note 44), at p. 183.

Scots, Irish and Continental coins

Small percentages of 'foreign' coins are characteristic of hoard and stray finds of the period. The eleven Scots Short Cross coins at Llanfaes, for instance (one for every thirty English), are paralleled by the two from Wales as a whole (1:36). The single fragmentary Crescent and Pellet issue of William I may, as has been suggested for other such specimens, have been present as scrap silver. Numismatic attention may be drawn to no. 556, a Short Cross cut halfpenny combining a 'Le Re Wilam' obverse with a mint-signed reverse of Walter of Perth. The presence of two Irish round halfpennies of John (nos 573–4) is very unusual on the British mainland; another is recorded from Meols (*SCBI* 29, no. 1062). All presumably derive from trading contacts. The five Continental coins are all common types.

One Scots coin, a penny of Alexander III (no. 570), appears to be of non-commercial, though as yet unexplained, significance. As found and submitted, the coin was folded and crimped, with the obverse visible, and retained a certain amount of earth. In removing the earth to obtain a reliable weight, fibres were discovered which on laboratory examination proved to be undyed vegetable fibres, possibly linen. They formed several threads approximately one millimetre thick, each in turn comprising 'two threads loosely Z spun then tightly S plied'.⁴⁷ In other words, the coin has been crimped onto a piece of string. Whether this relates to a method of storing or carrying small numbers of coins, or to some other use, for instance votive, is at present unclear. However, the medieval 'English' practice of bending coins as a vow to a saint, for instance to avert catastrophe or to cure a sick person or animal, is well attested.⁴⁸ The coin would then be presented at the saint's shrine.⁴⁹ Votive wax images were suspended by strings at the 15th-century tomb of Bishop Edmund Lacey in Exeter Cathedral.⁵⁰ If coins were suspended similarly, the use of this Llanfaes find as such an offering at some time would be a distinct possibility. Many coins from the site are to some extent bent; whilst this may derive in part from the subsequent agricultural activity, several were certainly deliberately bent double (e.g., nos 5, 18 and 212).

Metrology

The weights of intact specimens of Short Cross, Long Cross and Sterlings are summarised in Table 6. The unusually large number of well-preserved 'site' coins make an interesting comparison with the information available from hoarded coins and, as might be expected, the Llanfaes coins fall short. To take the Short Cross by way of example: for three recent hoards buried around 1200, and the Wrexham hoard, the following summaries are obtained.⁵¹

Wainfleet, Lincs	c. 1195+	(IVa)	380 pennies	average	1.41g/21.7gr
			3 cut halves		0.72g/11.1gr
Bainton, N. Humberside	c. 1200	(IVb)	129 pennies		1.40g/21.6gr
			4 cut halves		0.69g/10.6gr
Canwell, Staffs	c. 1200	(IV)	40 pennies		1.38g/21.3gr
			7 cut halves		0.60g/9.2gr
Wrexham, Clwyd	1240s	(VIII)	62 pennies		1.35g/20.7gr
			5 cut halves		0.71g/10.9gr

⁴⁷ I am indebted to my colleague Louise Mumford for these observations.

⁴⁸ R. Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (London, 1987), pp. 91–2.

⁴⁹ Gerald of Wales refers, for instance, to the practice of offering coins (pennies) at St Germanus, near Rhayader.

Powys, *Itinerary* (note 28), pp. 15–16) but unfortunately does not specify bending or methods of attachment.

⁵⁰ Merrifield (note 48), p. 88 and pl. 28.

⁵¹ Bainton, Canwell, Wainfleet: Cook and Archibald, note 16; Wrexham: Boon, note 12.

TABLE 6. Llanfaes: weights summary of intact coins listed in Appendix 1

		<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Average wt. (g)</i>	<i>(gr)</i>	<i>No. clipped</i>
Pennies					
<i>Short Cross</i>	I-IV	19	1.21	18.6	3
	V	32	1.32	20.3	2
	VI	27	1.35	20.8	—
	VII	63	1.34	20.6	3
	VIII	3	1.26	19.4	1
	English mints, all	144	1.32	20.3	9
	Rhuddlan	12	1.39	21.4	—
<i>Long Cross</i>	I-III	10	1.30	20.0	—
	V	6	1.16	17.9	1
	All	16	1.25	19.2	1
<i>Sterling</i>	I-9	25	1.33	20.5	—
Halfpennies					
<i>Short Cross</i>	I-IV	32	0.61	9.4	6
	V	49	0.62	9.5	6
	VI	9	0.65	10.0	1
	VII	14	0.60	9.2	5
	VIII	1	0.57	8.8	—
	English mints, all	105	0.62	9.6	18
	Rhuddlan	9	0.66	10.1	—
<i>Long Cross</i>	I-III	37	0.63	9.6	4
	V	53	0.58	8.9	11
	All	90	0.60	9.2	15
<i>Sterling</i>	All	4	0.62	9.5	—
Farthings					
<i>Short Cross</i>	English mints, all	24	0.35	5.4	—
	Rhuddlan	1	0.30	4.6	—
<i>Long Cross</i>	All	4	0.34	5.2	—
<i>Sterling</i>	English	2	0.31	4.7	—
	Irish	4	0.35	5.4	—

Of all series, only the Short Cross pennies of Rhuddlan approach or equal the quality of hoard coins, as befits the 'local' mint: its coins are generally unworn, and none is clipped. The general shortfall in comparison with the hoard coins probably results from a combination of wear, clipping, culling (perhaps) and loss through corrosion, which is not always obvious to the eye. Using a suggested issue standard of $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains,⁵² the Short Cross pennies from English mints are on average nearly ten per cent below standard (2s in the pound), and those of Rhuddlan about five per cent (1s). Pennies of classes I-IV are over 16 per cent lighter on average, below the 2s 6d limit at which old money was allowed to continue current in 1205,⁵³ though it is likely that some at least are later losses (above, p. 51). The numbers of coins which are definitely clipped are given in the last column of Table 6. These are relatively small for pennies but assume greater

⁵² As suggested by Cook in Cook and Archibald, note 16.

⁵³ N.J. Mayhew, in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, edited by C.E. Challis (Cambridge, 1992), p. 98

significance for the cut halfpennies, notably in the Long Cross series, where for class V over 20 per cent of the halves are clipped. Where Long Cross coins are clipped this is often much more severe than for the Short Cross. Several weigh less than 0.5g, the extreme example being no. 461, a halfpenny which at 0.287g (4.4gr) is intrinsically worth less than a farthing. The extension of the voided cross to the edges of the dies was evidently no protection.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to place on record the extensive series of medieval coins from the major commercial centre of independent Wales in the thirteenth century, and to discuss the light that this sheds on the development of coin use in Wales during this period. Since few other single sites have produced coin series of any size for the Short Cross and Long Cross periods, the opportunity has been taken to attempt to place this in context using records of single finds gathered by the writer and others, as well as evidence from hoards.

Acknowledgements. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the contribution of the several finders of the Llanfaes coins. Messrs Andrew Gillespie, Mike Moore and Peter Corbett. Mr Gillespie, who found the majority of the coins, first drew my attention to the site, and has been consistently helpful in lending his own finds and coordinating the loan of coins found by a number of others. His, and Mr Moore's, willingness to make specimens available for the National Collection in Cardiff is also much appreciated. Denis Martin provided details of other coins not seen by the writer (Appendix 2). The Welsh finds listed in Appendix 3 come from a number of sources: metal detectorists, archaeologists, and the published record. I am grateful to Nick Mayhew, Professor Rees Davies, Lord Stewartby and Jeffrey North, for their comments on specific matters. Martin Allen and Christopher Wren have checked, from photographs, my identifications of the Short Cross and Long Cross coins, respectively. Remaining errors are firmly mine. Figs. 1–4 were drawn by Jackie Chadwick.

APPENDIX 1: SCHEDULE OF LLANFAES COINS EXAMINED AT NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES, 1992–4

Conventions: Ligatured letters are underlined; States of wear are self-explanatory, except that 'sl. wear' indicates a coin that is all but unworn, where 'some wear' indicates a coin that is visibly circulated (assessment of wear is always subjective, and presents problems of consistency where several large batches have been examined over a three year period). A bold schedule number indicates an illustrated coin. An asterisk indicates a coin acquired by the National Museum of Wales.

			Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
Celtic						
<i>Gaul, Carnutes</i>						
1.*		bronze, cf. La Tour 6088, 6108	2.298		corroded	
Roman						
<i>House of Valentinian I (364–78)</i>						
2.		bronze, GLORIA ROMANORVM type, emperor and mint uncertain	1.865			worn
Anglo-Saxon						
<i>Cnut?</i>						
3.		Pointed Helmet type? [..]CN?[....]/+I[.....]	0.056		fragment	
Post-Conquest						
<i>Stephen</i>						
4.		Cross Moline type, <i>BMC</i> I, illegible	0.329		? cut ½d; clipped, folded	worn
<i>Henry II, Tealby coinage</i>						
5.	A1?	Norwich, Nicol; NICOL:ON:[NO]REPI	1.367	120	broken (folded) ?same dies as <i>BMC</i> 664	worn
6.*	C2?	Canterbury, Goltep; GOL[.. <u>JEP</u>][....]A	1.299	180	?same dies as <i>BMC</i> 81	worn
7.	D?	London?, Lefwine?; LE[....] ..]	0.444	-90	cut ½d	much worn
8.	?	Uncertain mint and moneyer, illegible	0.504		? cut ½d; clipped?	worn

Weight (g) Axis Notes

Wear

Short Cross Coinage

BURY

9.	VIIaC	Norman	NORMANONSAN	1.470	100		sl. wear
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CANTERBURY

10.	IIIab2	Goldwine	[..]LDWINE·O[...]	0.631	80	cut ½d; bent	sl. wear
11.	IVa	Goldwine	[...]DWINE·ON[...]	0.613	330	cut ½d	worn
12.*	IVa	Meinir	MEINIR·O[.....]	0.707	70	cut ½d	some wear
13.	IVa*	Ulard	VLARD·ON·CANT	0.902	220	clipped	worn
14.	IVa	uncertain	[...]D·ON·CA	0.495	340	cut ½d	worn
15.*	IVb	Roberd	RO[...]D·ON·CA	1.412	330		some wear
16.*	IVb	Ulard	VLARD·ON·CANT	1.193	150	(or IVa?: obv.d/s)	some wear
17.	IVb	uncertain	[.....]N·CA	0.310	120	cut ½d	sl. wear
18.	IV	Ulard	VLARD·O[...]	0.662	200	cut ½d; folded	some wear
19.	Va1/Va2	Coldwine	COLDWINE·ON·C	1.464	310		sl. wear?
20.*	Va1/Va2	Samuel	SAMVEL·ON·CAN	1.387	200	sl. bent	unworn
21.	Va2	Hernaude	HERNAVD·ON·C	1.323	330	ornamental R, obv.	sl. wear
22.*	Vb1	Iohan	IOHAN[·ON·]CANT	1.351	10		sl. wear
23.	Vb1 or b2	Simon	SIM[... ..]NT	0.649	100	cut ½d	worn
24.	Vb2	Roberd	ROBERD·ON·CA	1.176	270		unworn; corr.
25.	Vb2	Iohan	[...]AN·ON·C[...]	0.670	340	cut ½d	sl. wear
26.	Vb2	Iohan M	IOHAN·M·ON·CA	1.318	270	bent	worn?
27.	Vb2	Samuel	[..]AM[...]N·CA[...]	1.014	110	frags.	sl. wear?
28.	Vb2	Samuel	SAM[... ..]CAN	0.756	180	cut ½d	some wear
29.	Vb2 or b3	Arnaud	ARNAV[... ..]	0.636	150	cut ½d; bent	worn
30.	Vb2 or b3	uncertain	[.....]·ON·CAN	0.652	240	cut ½d; has been bent	some wear
31.	Vb2, b3 or c	Coldwine	CO[.....]E·ON·C[...]	0.917	300	fragments	worn?
32.	Vb2, b3 or c	Sim(on)	SIM[... ..]JANT	0.548	180	cut ½d	sl. wear
33.	Vb2 or c	Iohan B or - M	IOHAN[... ..]	0.734	45	cut ½d	sl. wear?
34.	Vb	Coldwine	COL[... ..]CA	0.553	120	cut ½d; bent, incomplete	sl. wear
35.	Vb	Coldwine	COLDWI[... ..]	0.533	330	cut ½d; sl. bent	corroded
36.	Vb	Coldwine	[.....]E·ON·C	0.403	?	cut ½d, fragment	?
37.	Vb	Iohan ..	IOH[... ..]CA	0.777	30	cut ½d	worn
38.	Vlb2	Henri	hENRI[... ..]	0.787	0	fragment	some wear?
39.	Vlb2	Hiun	hIVN·ON·CANTE	1.351	240	sl. bent	some wear
40.	Vlb2	Simun	hIMVN·ON·CANTE	1.376	160		some wear?
41.	Vlc1	Henri	hENRI·ON·CANTE	1.374	180		worn
42.	Vlc1	Hiun	hIVN·ON·CANTER	1.241	200		corroded
43.	Vlc1	Roger	ROGE[...]WANTE	1.361	0		worn
44.*	Vlc1	Samuel	SAMVEL·ON·CAN	1.446	80		sl. wear?
45.	Vlc3	Iohan	IOHAN·ON·CANTE	1.380	330		sl. wear
46.	Vlc(1?)	Henri	hENRI·O[... ..]	0.678	300	cut ½d	unworn
47.	VIIa	Henri	hENRIONCANTE	1.398	340		some wear?
48.	VIIa	Henri	hENRIONCANTE	1.356	180		sl. wear?
49.	VIIa	Henri	hENRIONCANTE	1.350	270	bent	worn?
50.	VIIa	Henri	hEN[... ..]JANTE	1.014	180	fragment	some wear
51.	VIIa	Ioan	IOANONCANTER	1.409	45		some wear?
52.	VIIa	Ioan	IOANONCANTER	1.388	330		unworn?
53.	VIIa	Ioan	IOANONCANT	1.384	100		sl. wear?
54.	VIIa	Ioan	IOANONCANTE	1.340	330		sl. wear?
55.	VIIa	Ioan	IOAN·ON·CANTE	1.339	330		unworn

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
56.*	VIIaA	Iun	I-VNONCANTE	1.317	120	*stop a die flaw?	sl. wear
57.	VIIa	Iun	IVNONCANTE	1.477	0		unworn?
58.	VIIa	Roger	ROGERONCAN	1.431	40	bent 90°	sl. wear
59.*	VIIaC	Roger of R	ROGEROFRON	1.466	100		sl. wear
60.	VIIaD?	Roger of R	ROGER-OF-R-ONC	1.398	240		sl. wear
61.	VIIa	Samuel	SAMVELONC	1.398	280	encrusted	some wear?
62.	VIIa	Samuel	SAMVELONCAN	1.392	210		sl. wear?
63.	VIIa	Samuel	SAMVELONCA	1.349	0		sl. wear
64.	VIIa	Samuel	SAMVELONCAT	1.347	190	bent 90°	sl. wear?
65.	VIIaA	Simun	SIMVNONCANT	1.361	0		sl. wear
66.	VIIaB-C	Simun	SIMVNONCANTER	1.447	0		sl. wear?
67.*	VIIaC	Simun	SIMVNONCANT	1.372	300		sl. wear
68.	VIIa	Simun	SIMVNONCANTE	1.292	160		some wear?
69.	VIIa	Simun	SIMVNONCANTE	1.388	30	bent	some wear?
70.	VIIaA	Tomas	[....]SONCANT	1.335	180		worn
71.	VIIa	Tomas	TOMASONCANT	1.406	270	bent	unworn
72.*	VIIa	Tomas	TOMASO[...]AN	1.348	180		some wear
73.	VIIa	uncertain	[....]NCANT	0.647	200	cut ½d	sl. wear
74.	VIIa	uncertain	[....]-ON-CAN	0.465	240	cut ½d	worn
75.	VIIa	uncertain	[....]JNTE	0.320	330	cut ½d	unworn
76.	VIIa or bA	Henri	hENRION\\\\\\\\N	1.394	270	d/struck	sl. wear
77.	VIIa-b	Roger/- of R	ROGER[.....]	0.619	280	cut ½d	sl. wear
78.	VIIb	Ioan	IOA[...]AN	0.489	120	cut ½d; clipped.	worn
						chipped	
79.	VIIb	Ioan Chic	[....]ChICON[...]	0.916	?	clipped; d/s o/r	some wear
80.*	VIIb	Osmund	OSHVNDON[...]A	1.177	150	bent	cleaned!
81.	VIIbB	Roger/- of R	ROGERO[....]	0.547	330	cut ½d; clipped	worn
82.	VIIb	Roger	ROGERONCAN	1.376	210		some wear?
83.	VIIb	Roger of R	ROGEROFR-ONC	1.462	180		unworn?
84.	VIIb	Roger of R	ROGER-OF-R-ONC	1.387	30		sl. wear
85.	VIIb	Roger / - of R	[...]GER[....]	0.310	?	cut ½d	worn
86.	VIIb	Salemun	SALEMVNONC	1.315	180		some wear?
87.	VIIb	Simun	SIMVNONCANTE	1.356	170		some wear?
88.	VIIbB	Tomas	Tw[.....]NTE	0.739	270	cut ½d	worn
89.	VIIb	Tomas	[....]SONCANT	1.232	150		sl. wear?
90.	VIIb	uncertain	[.....]ON-CAN	0.668	90	cut ½d	some wear
91.	VIIb	uncertain	[.....]NCAN	0.506	330	cut ½d; clipped	worn
92.	VIIb	uncertain	[....]JAN	0.234	30	cut ½d	sl. wear
93.	VIIcB	Nichole	NICH[...]AN	1.299	90		worn?
94.	VIIc	Ioan FR	\\\\\\\\N-F-R-ONCAN	1.273	?	d/struck	sl. wear?
95.	VIIc	Ioan FR	IOAN-F-R[.....]	0.666	210	cut ½d	sl. wear
96.	VIIc	Nichole	NICHOLEONCAN	1.221	280		sl. wear
97.	VIIc	Willem	[....]EMONCAN	1.059	320	clipped	worn
98.	VIIc	Willem	WIL[...]JA	0.469	90	cut ½d; clipped	worn
99.	VIIc	uncertain	[....]ONCAN	0.479	60	cut ½d; clipped	worn
100.	VII	Henri	[...]RIONC[...]	0.649	210	cut ½d	worn
101.	VII	Iohan	IOhAN[....]NT	0.578	210	fragment	worn
102.	VIIIb2	Nichole	NICH[...]ANT	1.278	300		unworn?
103.	VIIIb2	Nichole	NIC\\\\\\\\ON-CANT	1.011	240	clipped?	worn?
104.*	VIIIb3	Iohan	IOhAN[....]AN	1.161	0	two frags.	unworn?

CARLISLE

105.	Ib	Alain	[....]N-CA[...]	0.356	60	cut ½d; BNJ 49, rev die Ca 148	sl. wear
106.*	Vb1/Vb2	Tomas	TOMAS-ON-CAR	1.433	80	dies CA515/516	sl. wear?

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
CHICHESTER							
107.*	Vb2 or b3	(Willelm)	[.....]I-ON-CIC	0.648	90	cut ¼d; rev. scored for further division	sl. wear
108.	Vb2	Pieres	PIERES-ON-CICE	1.375	300	bent	sl. wear
DURHAM							
109.*	Vb-VIa	(Pieres)	[.....]DVR	0.351	150	cut ¼d	unworn
LINCOLN							
110.	Ib	Lefwine	LEF[.....]ICO	0.694	200	cut ¼d	sl. worn
111.*	Va2	Iohan	IOhAN-ON-NICO	1.319	150	sl. bent	worn
112.*	Vb2	Hue	hVE-ON-NICOLE	1.461	60		some wear
113.	Vb	uncertain	[.....]ON-NICOL	0.609	330	cut ¼d	worn?
114.*	Vb2, b3 or c	Hue	hVE[.....]OLE	0.592	330	cut ¼d	sl. wear
LONDON							
115.	Ia1/Ia2	Alain	[...]AIN-O[.....]	0.316	180?	cut ¼d	unworn
116.	Ia2	Reinald	[...]NALD[.....]	0.303	80	cut ¼d	sl. wear
117.	Ia4	Aimer	[...]ER-ON-L[...]	0.845	0	cut ¼d	some wear
118.	Ia4	Randul	RAN[.....]LVN	0.686	45	cut ¼d	sl. wear?
119.	Ia5	Reinald	REINAL[.....]N-LVN[...]	1.079	330	sl. bent; chipped	some wear
120.	Ib	Davi	DAV[.....]	0.398	90	cut ¼d	sl. wear
121.	Ib	Raul	RA[.....]	0.602	30	cut ¼d	worn
122.	Ib	Iefrei	[.....]EI-ON-LV[...]	0.549	210	cut ¼d	unworn
123.	Ib	uncertain	[.....]ON-LVND	0.554	300	cut ¼d; clipped	some wear
124.	Ic	Gilebert	[.....]T-ON-LVN	0.590	60	cut ¼d; bent	some wear
125.	Ic	Pieres	PIERES-ON-LVND	1.281	240	bent	some wear
126.	Ic	Pieres	PIERES-ON-LVND	1.241	90	folded	worn
127.	Ic	Pieres	[...]RES-[.....]	0.371	240	cut ¼d	worn
128.	Ic	Raul	RAVL-ON-LVND	1.084	80	bent	worn/corr.
129.	Ic	Raul	RAVL-O[.....]	0.732	200	cut ¼d	sl. wear
130.	Ic	Raul	RAVL-O[...]	0.556	330	cut ¼d	worn
131.	Ic	uncertain	[.....]N-LVND	0.553	130	cut ¼d	worn
132.	II	Raul	RAVL-ON-LVN	1.328	270	bent	worn
133.*	IIIab2	Aimer	AIMER-ON-LVN	1.361	80		some wear
134.	IIIab2	Aimer	WWMER-[.....]	0.717	150	cut ¼d	worn
135.*	III	uncertain	[.....]ON-LVN	0.729	240	cut ¼d	sl. wear
136.	III	uncertain	[.....]N-LVN	0.476	310	cut ¼d; clipped	sl. wear
137.	IVa*	Willelm	WILLELM-ON-LVND	1.352	340		worn
138.*	IVa*	Willelm	WILLELM-ON-LVND	1.366	100		some wear
139.*	IVa	Ricard	RICARD-ON-LV[...]	1.124	330		worn
140.	IVa	Ricard	RICARD-ON-LVN	1.122	90	bent	unworn
141.	IVa	Ricard	RICARD-ON-LVND	1.047	90	clipped	worn
142.	IVa	Ricard	[...]ARD-ON-L[...]	0.595	210	cut ¼d	worn
143.	IVa	Stivene	STIVENE-ON-LVN	1.326	0		some wear
144.	IVb	Stivene	STIVEN[.....]	0.543	200	cut ¼d; clipped	worn
145.	IVb	uncertain	[.....]ON-LVND	0.716	200	cut ¼d; sl. bent	unworn?
146.	IVb?	Stivene	[...]WNE-W[...]	0.581	330	cut ¼d; clipped	much worn
147.	IV	Fulke	FVL[.....]ND	0.429	270	cut ¼d; bent	worn?
148.*	IV	Henric	hENRIC[.....]	0.591	270	cut ¼d	some wear
149.	IV	uncertain	[.....]ON-L[...]	0.370	180?	cut ¼d	worn
150.	Va2	Henri	hEN[.....]VND	0.721	180	cut ¼d	some wear
151.	Va2 or Vb1/a2	Willem	WILLEM[.....]	0.621	330	cut ¼d	sl. wear?

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
152.	Vb1/Va2	Fulke	FVL[.....]VND	0.634	240	cut ½d; same dies as SCB/ 12 (Oxford), 548?	worn
153.	Vb1	Rener	REN[... ..]	0.348	150	cut ½d	sl. wear?
154.	Vb1 or b2	Fulke	FVL[.....]NDE	0.588	120	cut ½d	sl. wear?
155.	Vb2	Beneit	BENEIT-ON-LVND	1.390	170		unworn
156.	Vb2	Beneit	[...]NEIT-ON[...]	0.713	270	cut ½d	sl. wear
157.	Vb2	Ilger	[...]ER-ON-LV[...]	0.758	320	cut ½d	sl. wear?
158.*	Vb2	Ilger	ILGER[.....]	0.673	0	cut ½d	some wear
159.	Vb2	Willelm L	W[.....]L-ON-LV	1.310	280	folded	sl. wear
160.	Vb2 or b3	Rener	RENER[... ..]	0.590	0	cut ½d	worn
161.*	Vb2 or b3	Willelm T	[.....]I-T-ON-LVN	0.670	90	cut ½d	sl. wear
162.	Vb3	Willelm L	WILLELM-L-ON-LV	1.325	300		worn?
163.	Vb3	Willelm T	WILLELM-T-ON-LV	1.397	160		unworn?
164.	Vb	(Willelm) B	[.....]I-B-ON-LV	0.658	190	cut ½d	some wear
165.	Vb	Willelm L	[...]ILLELM-L-ON-LV	1.125	140	fragments	corr.
166.	Vb	Willelm ..	WIL[.....]N-LVN	0.635	60	cut ½d	some wear?
167.	Vb2, b3 or c	Willelm	WILLEL[... ..]	0.605	300	cut ½d	worn
168.	Vb-c	Ricard B	[...]ARD-B-O[...]	0.450	40	cut ½d; clipped, frag.	some wear
169.	Vb-c	Willelm L	[.....]L-ON-LV[...]	0.900	?	cut ½d; wrapped around two illegible fragments	worn
170.*	Vc	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	1.326	0	corroded	sl. wear?
171.	Vc	Abel	ABEL-ON-LV[...]	1.266	30	bent	worn
172.	Vc	Beneit	BENEIT-ON-LVN	1.340	0		some wear
173.	Vc	Ilger	ILG[...]-ON-LVND	1.441	210	bent	worn
174.*	Vc	Ilger	ILGER-ON-LVNDE	1.352	190		sl. wear
175.	Vc	Ilger	ILGER-ON-LVND	1.345	270	bent	unworn?
176.	Vc	Ilger	ILG[... ..]VND	0.531	100	cut ½d	worn
177.	Vc	Rauf	RAVF-ON-LVNDE	1.362	180		sl. wear
178.	Vc	Rauf	RAVF-ON-LVNDE	1.331	320		sl. wear
179.*	Vc	Rauf	RAVF[.....]DE	0.756	70	whole penny, but much clipped	worn
180.*	Vc	Rener	RENER-ON-LVND	1.102	90	clipped?	worn
181.	Vc	Walter	WALTER-ON-LV	1.416	330		worn
182.	Vc	Walter	WA[.....]LV	0.671	150	cut ½d	worn?
183.	Vc	Willelm ..	WILLELM[... ..]	0.662	70	cut ½d	worn
184.*	Vc	Willelm ..	WIL[.....]	0.446	60	cut ½d; clipped	worn
185.	Vc	Willelm ..	W[.....]N-LVN	0.753	30	cut ½d	worn
186.	Vc	uncertain	[.....]N-LVNDE	0.614	110	cut ½d; sl.bent	worn
187.	Vc	uncertain	[.....]VN	0.598	?	cut ½d; d/s O/R	unworn
188.	Vc-VIa	Abel	ABE[... ..]DE	0.494	150	cut ½d	worn? (corr.)
189.	Vc-VIa	Rauf	[...]VF-ON-L[?][...]	0.675	330	cut ½d; chipped	worn
190.*	Vc-VIa	Rauf	RAVF-O[.....]	0.664	240	cut ½d	worn
191.	Vc-VIa	Rauf	[...]VF-ON-LV	0.657	120	cut ½d	worn
192.	Vc-VIa	Rauf	[...]LF-ON-LV[...]	0.594	270	cut ½d	sl. wear
193.	Vc-VIa	Walter	WA[... ..]LVN	0.400	200	cut ½d; clipped, bent	much worn
194.	Vc-VIa	uncertain	[.....]ON-LVNDE	0.757	60	cut ½d	worn
195.	V-VI	Willem	[...]LEN[...]	0.371	90	cut ½d	worn
196.	VIa1	Abel	ABEL-O[... ..]	0.732	80	cut ½d	worn
197.	VIa1	Rauf	RAVF-ON-LVNDE	1.310	270		sl. wear
198.	VIa1	Walter	WALTER-ON-LVN	1.452	120		worn
199.	VIa1	Walter	WALTER-ON-LV	1.334	0		worn
200.*	VIa1	Walter	WALTER-ON-LVN	1.327	0		some wear
201.	VIa1	Rauf	[...]VF-ON-LV[...]	0.711	260	cut ½d	sl. wear
202.	VIa2	Walter	WALTER-ON-LVN	1.335	90		sl. wear
203.*	VIb1	Abel	ABEL[... ..]LVNDE	1.391	160		some wear
204.	VIb1	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	1.344	340		unworn?
205.	VIb1	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	1.304	100	bent to 90°	sl. wear

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
206.	V1b1	Ilger	ILGER-ON-LVNDE	1.380	90		sl. wear
207.	V1b1	Ilger	ILG[...][VN]	0.715	200	cut ½d	worn
208.	V1b1	Raulf	RAVLf-ON-LVNDE	1.312	30		worn?
209.	V1b1	Walter	WALTER-ON-LVN	1.346	180		some wear?
210.	V1b1	Walter	WAL[...][N-LV	1.303	300	bent	worn
211.*	V1b1	Walter	WLATER-ON-LVN	1.352	210		sl. wear?
212.*	V1b2	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	1.321	30	folded (broken)	unworn
213.*	V1b2	Ilger	ILGER-ON-LVNDE	1.334	0		unworn
214.	V1b2	Rauf	RAVf-ON-LVNDE	1.357	140	bent	sl. wear
215.*	V1b2	Raulf	RA[.....]ND	0.632	240	cut ½d	some wear
216.	V1c	Rauf	[..]Vf-ON-LV[..]	0.579	330	cut ½d	worn
217.	V1c1	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	1.444	315		some wear
218.	V1c1	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	1.409	80		sl. wear?
219.	V1c1	Abel	[..]EL-ON-LVNDE	1.244	60	incomplete	unworn
220.	V1c1	Ilger	ILGER-ON-LVNDE	1.316	170		unworn?
221.	V1c1	uncertain	[.....]NDE	0.336	-0	cut ½d	sl. wear
222.	V1c2	Ilger	ILGER-ON[...]	0.675	160	cut ½d; ornamental	
						R, obv.	some wear
223.*	V1c2	uncertain	[.....]N-LV[..]	0.346	200	cut ½d; ornamental h, obv.	sl. wear?
224.	V1c2/V1c3	Rauf	RAVf-ON-LVNDE	1.278	90	ornamental Rs, obv.	sl. wear
225.	V1(c1?)	uncertain	[.....]N-LVNDE	0.483	150	cut ½d; clipped	worn
226.	VIIa	Abel	ABELONLVNDE	1.396	100		some wear
227.	VIIa	Elis	[ELIS]ONLVNDE	1.419	0		unworn
228.	VIIaC	Elis	ELISONLVNDE	1.389	0		sl. wear
229.*	VIIa	Elis	hELISONLVNDE	1.375	300		sl. wear?
230.	VIIa	Ilger	ILGERON[...][DE	1.387	60		some wear
231.*	VIIa	Ilger	ILGERONLVND	1.358	180		sl. wear?
232.	VIIa	Ilger	ILGERONLVND	1.355	240		sl. wear?
233.	VIIa	Rauf	RAUFONLVNDE	1.348	180		sl. wear
234.	VIIa	Rauf	RAVFON[AVFO]DE	1.347	290	d/struck	sl. wear?
235.*	VIIa	Rauf	RA[.]FONLVNDE	1.298	280	ornamental D; has been bent	some wear
236.	VIIaA	Raulf	RAVLfONLVND	1.369	180		sl. wear?
237.	VIIa	Raulf	RAVLfONLVND	1.365	315		sl. wear?
238.	VIIa	Rau(l)f	RA[.....]VND	0.556	150	cut ½d; clipped	worn
239.*	VIIaD or bA	Terri	TER-RIONLVND	1.194	150		unworn?
240.	VIIb	Elis	ELISONLVNDE	1.398	60		sl. wear
241.	VIIb	Ledulf	LEDVLfONLVND	1.217	340	sl. bent	cleaned!
242.	VIIb	Raulf	RAULfONLVND	1.453	0		sl. wear
243.*	VIIb	Raulf	RAVLfONL[...]	1.398	270		sl. wear?
244.	VIIb	Raulf	RAVLfONLVN	1.354	120		sl. wear
245.*	VIIb	Ricard	RIC[.....]VND	0.721	270	cut ½d	some wear
246.	VIIbA	Terri	TERRIONLVND	1.387	210		some wear
247.	VIIbA	Terri	TERRIONL[...]	1.305	0		sl. wear?
248.	VIIb	Terri	TERRIONLVND	1.397	240		some wear?
249.	VIIb?	Gifrei	WREIONLVN	1.071	150	bent; clipped	worn
250.*	VIIc	Nichole	NICHOLEONLV	1.235	140		some wear
251.*	VIIc	Nichole	NICHOLEONLV	1.270	20	corroded	sl. wear
252.*	VIIc	uncertain	[.....]LVN	0.599	160	cut ½d	worn
253.	VII	uncertain	[.....]ONLVN	0.603	?	clipped	worn
254.*	VIIIb2	Nichole	NICHOLE ONLVN	1.478	240	triple pellet stops	some wear
NORTHAMPTON							
255.*	Ib	Walter	WALTER-ON-NOR	1.314	270		sl. wear
256.	Ic	uncertain	[.....][NOR	0.430	270	cut ½d	unworn

				Weight (g)		Axis	Notes	Wear
257.	Vb2	Robert T	[.....]DTON-NOR	0.676	90		cut ¼d	sl. wear?
258.*	Vc	Adam	ADAM-ON-NORh	1.294	0		buckled	some wear
NORWICH								
259.*	Vb2	Renaud	RENAVD-ON-NOR	1.414	0			sl. wear
260.*	Vb3	Gifrei	GIFREI-ON-NOR	1.328	0			sl. wear?
261.	Vb	Gefrei	[...]REI-ON[...]	0.497	240		cut ¼d; clipped	worn
OXFORD								
262.	Ib	uncertain	[...]XEN[...]	0.328	?		cut ¼d	corroded
263.	Vb1	Henri	hE[... ..]SE	0.647	-100		cut ¼d; d/struck	sl. wear?
ROCHESTER								
264.	Vb2	Alisandre	[...]SAN-ON[...]	0.758	280		cut ¼d; BNJ 59 rev. die a2	some wear
265.	Vb2	Hunfrei	[...]FREI-ON[...]	0.556	250		cut ¼d; sl. bent	sl. wear?
WINCHESTER								
266.	Ia2	uncertain	[.....]IN	0.442	60		cut ¼d	worn
267.	Ia4	Adam	ADAM-ON[.]PINC	1.345	260		holed (recent)	worn
268.	Ic	Adam	ADAM-ON-WINC	1.133	30		bent	corroded
269.	Ic	Gocelm	GOCELM-ON-WIN	1.176	200		has been bent	worn
270.	IIIab2	Gocelm	GOCELM[.....]	0.756	300		cut ¼d	unworn
271.	Vb1	Iohan	IOhAN-ON-WINC	1.346	100			some wear
272.	Vb1	Lukas	LVK[... ..]INC	0.506	240		cut ¼d; bent	some wear
273.	Vb	Lukas	LVK[... ..]WINC	0.635	120		cut ¼d; sl. bent	unworn?
274.	Vb	uncertain	[.....]ON-WIN	0.731	120		cut ¼d	sl. wear?
YORK								
275.	Ib	uncertain	[.....]ERW	0.386	130		cut ¼d	sl. wear
276.	Ib	uncertain	[.....]RW	0.217	20		frag.	sl. wear
277.*	IVa	Turkil	[...]hIL-ON-E[...]	0.609	270		cut ¼d	worn
278.	IVb	Davi	DA[... ..]ERV	0.465	150		cut ¼d; clipped	some wear
279.	Va2	Davi	DA[... ..]N-EVER	1.158	200		incomplete	corroded
280.*	Vb2	Davi	DAVI-ON-EVER	1.387	200		sl. bent	some wear
281.	Vb2	Davi	[...]VI-ON-EV[...]	0.589	330		cut ¼d	corroded
282.	Vb2	Nicole	NICOLE-ON-EVE	1.378	30		rev. die recut?	sl. wear
283.	Vb2	Nicole	[.....]ON-EVE	0.622	330		cut ¼; BNJ 59 rev. die n8	some wear?
284.	Vlc3	uncertain	[... ..]ERY	0.330	330		cut ¼d	worn
RHUDDLAN								
285.	i	Halli, B.1020	hALLI-O[.]VLA	1.411			folded	unworn?
286.*	i	Halli, B.1030?	hA[... ..]	0.300	320		cut ¼d	some wear?
287.	iic	Tomas, B.2310	[...]S-ONRV[...]	0.707	170		cut ¼d; bent	unworn
288.	iic	Tomas, B.2310	TOMAS-O[... ..]	0.624	330		cut ¼d	some wear?
289.*	iie	Simond, B.2520	SIMON-ON-RVLA	1.232	90		sl. bent	unworn
290.	iie	Simond, B.2520	SIMO[... ..]ON-RVLA	1.458	60		rev. die recut?	unworn
291.	iie	Simond, B.2520?	SIM[... ..]VLA	0.567	240		cut ¼d	sl. worn
292.	iic	Simond, B.3315?	SIMO[... ..]VLA	0.676	330		cut ¼d	some wear
293.*	iic	Simond, B.3330	SIMOND-ON-RVLA	1.341	270			unworn
294.*	iic	Simond, B.3330	SIMOND-ON-RVLA	1.215	200		chipped, bent	sl. wear?
295.	iic	Simond, B.3330	SIM[... ..]VLA	0.768	0		cut ¼d	unworn?

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
296.	iiic	Simond, B.3330	[....]ND·OI[....]	0.337	300	cut ½d, frag.	some wear
297.	iiic	Simond, B.3335	SIMON·ON·RVLA	1.433	30		unworn?
298.*	iiic	Simond, B.3335	[...]ON·ON·R[...]	0.557	180	cut ½d; bent	sl. wear?
299.	iiic	Simond, B.3335	SIM[... ..]VLA	0.680	170	cut ½d	sl. wear?
300.	iiic	Simond, B.3335	SRVLA·ON·RVLA	1.473	?	d/s, images at 180° from each other	unworn
301.	iiic	Simond, B.3360	SIMON·ON·RVLA	1.423	180		sl. wear
302.*	iiic	(Simond), B.-?	[.....]·ON·RV[...]	0.607	170	cut ½d; obv. = B.3310ff., recut; rev. as B.3370	sl. wear?
303.*	iiic	Simond, B.-	SIMOND·NO·RVLA (sic)	1.428	300	new rev. die; obv. as B.3210	sl. wear
304.*	iiic	Simond, B.-	SIM[.....]VLA	0.737	270	cut ½d; new rev., as previous coin	sl. wear?
305.*	iv	Simond, B.4010	ALVRNODOMIS	1.358	180	bent	sl. wear?
306.*	iv	Simond, B.4010	same dies	1.287	330	sl. bent	unworn?
307.*	iv/v	Henricus, B.4510	hENRICVS·ON·RVLA	1.369	90		unworn?
308.*	v	Henricus, B.5020	hENRICVS·ON·R [flaw]	1.508	270	sl. bent	unworn

UNCERTAIN

309.	Ib	Alain	ALAIN[... ..]	0.606	180	cut ½d; bent 90°	sl. wear
310.	Ib	Hugo	hVGO·ON[... ..]	0.621	320	cut ½d	sl. wear
311.	Ib	Willelm	[...]ELM[... ..]	0.346	30	cut ½d	sl. wear
312.	Ib?	uncertain	[...]RA[... ..]	0.289	?	fragments	
313.	III	Ricard	RICARD[... ..]	0.606	60	cut ½d	some wear
314.	IV	Wille(l)m	WIL[... ..]	0.314	140	cut ½d	worn
315.	IVb-c	uncertain	[...]IE·ON[... ..]	0.656	100	cut ½d	worn
316.	IVb	Ricard, London?	RICAR[... ..]	0.804	80	much clipped	worn
317.	IVb	Will...	WILL[... ..]	0.428	240	cut ½d; clipped, bent	worn
318.	IV?	uncertain	[... ..]	1.413	?	folded; poorly struck	worn
319.	Vb	Adam	ADAM[... ..]	0.682	330	cut ½d	worn?
320.	Vb	Ricard ..	RICAR[... ..]	0.517	140	cut ½d; clipped	worn
321.	Vb1 or b2	Roberd	[...]ERD·ON[... ..]	0.414	290	cut ½d; clipped	worn
322.	Vb	Tomas?, York?	[...]A?S·ON·E?[... ..]	0.557	220	cut ½d	worn
323.	Vb	Tomas	TOMAS[... ..]	0.745	320	cut ½d	sl. wear
324.	Vb	uncertain, Lon?	[...]ON·I[... ..]	0.342	270	cut ½d	worn
325.	Vb2-c	Willelm	[...]ELM[... ..]	0.342	?	cut ½d; clipped	worn
326.	Vc	Iohan ..	IOHAN[... ..]	0.654	300	cut ½d	worn
327.	V	London?	[...]LV[... ..]	0.491	?	cut ½d	sl. wear?
328.	V	uncertain	[...]·ON[... ..]	0.311	160	cut ½d	sl. wear
329.	VI(b1?)	Walter	WA[... ..]	0.475	250	cut ½d	worn
330.	VI	Walter	WALTE[... ..]	0.644	250	cut ½d	worn
331.	VI-VII	uncertain	?	frags.		cut ½d	worn, corr.
332.	VIIa	Rauf?	[...]VF·ON[... ..]	0.475	300	fragment	sl. wear?
333.	VII?	Willelm	WIIWEL[... ..]	0.407	?	cut ½d; clipped	much worn
334.	VIIIb3	Nichole	NIC[... ..]N?	0.571	180	cut ½d; bent	worn
335.	?	uncertain	[...]RN[... ..]	0.393	180?	cut ½d; counterfeit?	sl. wear
336.	?(Ib?)	uncertain	[...]VFR[... ..]	0.184	?	fragment	sl. wear?
337.	?	uncertain [defaced: Short Cross or earlier?]		0.482	?	cut ½d	(-)

COUNTERFEIT

338.*	'Va/Vb mule'?		[...]ON·CAN	0.632	320	cut ½d; die-dupl. NC 1995, p. 240. RE I.	unworn
339.*	'Va'	'Alisandre'	ALI[... ..]	0.382	160	cut ½d; same rev. die as NC 1995, p. 241. RE 2iii.	some wear?

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
340.*	'Vb'	'Iohan, London'	IOHAN-ON-LVND	1.401	180	die-dupl. NC 1995, p. 241, RE 5.	unworn
Long Cross Coinage							
BURY							
341.	Iib	Ion	ION-ONS-EDM-VND	1.213	270		sl. wear
342.	V	(Ion)	[...]-ONS-EIN-[...]	0.591	330	cut ½d	worn
343.	Va3-b2	Randulf	[...]-FON-S'ED	0.671	320	cut ½d	some wear
344.	Vb-c	Randulf	[...]-DVL-[...]	0.325	300	cut ½d	sl. wear
345.	Vc	Randulf	[...]-DVL-FON-[...]	0.371	110	cut ½d; clipped	worn
346.*	VII	(Ioc?)	[...]-ONS-EIN	0.373	90	cut ½d; clipped	worn
CANTERBURY							
347.	IIIb	uncertain	[...]-WC-ANT	0.559	330	cut ½d	some wear?
348.*	III	Nichole	NIC-[...]-ANT	0.590	230	cut ½d; bent	sl. wear
349.	Vb2	Nichole	NIC-OLE-ONC-ANT	1.105	240		unworn
350.	Vb	Nichole	NIC-[...]-ANT	0.532	60	cut ½d	sl. wear
351.*	Vc	Willem	WIL-LEM-ONC-ANT	1.355	190		some wear
352.	Vc	uncertain	[...]-CAN-TER	0.753	200	cut ½d	sl. wear
353.*	Vc	uncertain	[...]-ON-CAN	0.668	100	cut ½d	some wear
354.	Vc	uncertain	[...]-ONC-ANT	0.657	200	cut ½d	sl. wear
355.	Vc-h	Walter	WAL-[...]-ANT	0.707	300	cut ½d; bent	some wear
356.	Vc on	uncertain	[...]-ONC-ANT	0.674	210	cut ½d	sl. wear
357.	Vg	Walter	WAL-TER-ONC-ANT	1.030	280		sl. wear
358.	Vg?	Nichole	NIC-[...]-ANT	0.642	180	cut ½d	some wear
359.	Vg?	Robert	[...]-ERT-ONC-[...]	0.755	0	cut ½d	sl. wear?
360.	V	Ion	IOH-SON-[...]	0.441	120	cut ½d; clipped	sl. wear
361.	V	Nichole	NIC-[...]-ANT	0.662	140	cut ½d	worn
362.	V	Nichole	[...]-OW-ONC-[...]	0.579	0	cut ½d	some wear
363.	V	W ...	W[...]-ANT	0.459	80	cut ½d, frag.	
364.	V	uncertain	[...]-ONC-ANT	0.635	230	cut ½d	sl. wear
365.	V?	uncertain	[...]-ONC-ANT	0.406	0?	cut ½d; clipped; obv. irregular?	worn
366.	V	uncertain	[...]-ONC-[...]	0.318	20	cut ½d	worn
DURHAM							
367.	Vc	Ricard	RI[...]-OND-VR[...]	0.731	210	penny, broken	worn
EXETER							
368.	II-IIIa	Ion	[...]-N-ONE-CCE	0.797	0	fragment	worn
GLOUCESTER							
369.	Iib	Lucas	LVC-[...]-LOV	0.715	240	cut ½d; bent	worn
ILCHESTER							
370.	IIIa	Huge	hVG-[...]-LCE	0.850	270	cut ½d	worn
LINCOLN							
371.	IIa	uncertain	[...]-ONL-INC	0.391	150	cut ½d; clipped	sl. wear
372.*	IIIb	Ion	ION-ONL-INC-OLN	1.262	60		sl. wear?
373.	IIIc	Ion?	[...]-INC-OLN	0.543	240	cut ½d; bent	some wear

LONDON

374.	IIb	Nichole	NIC-[...]-VND	0.495	100	cut ½d; clipped	sl. wear?
375.	IIIa	Nichole	NIC-OLE-ONL-VND	1.350	60		sl. wear?
376.	IIIab1-2	Nichole	NIC-[...]-VND	0.766	240	cut ½d	worn
377.	IIIab1-2	Nichole	[...]-OLE-ONL-[...]	0.444	60	cut ½d; clipped	sl. wear
378.	IIIa-b	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.562	150	cut ½d; frag.	sl. wear?
379.	IIIb	Henri	hEN-RIO-NLV-NDE	1.379	200		some wear
380.*	IIIb	Nichole	NIC-OLE-ONL-VND	1.336	120		unworn
381.	IIIb	Nichole	NIC-OLE-ONL-VND	1.197	30		worn
382.	IIIb-bc	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.700	150	cut ½d	sl. wear
383.	IIIbc	Nichole	[...]-OLE-ONL-[...]	0.576	100	cut ½d; obv. <u>ENR</u>	sl. wear
384.	IIIbc	uncertain	[...]-NLV-NDE	0.728	90	cut ½d; obv. <u>ENR</u>	unworn
385.	IIIb-c	Nichole	NIC-[...]-VND	0.567	320	cut ½d	sl. wear
386.*	IIIc	Henri	hE[...]-NDE	0.572	0	frag. of cut ½d	sl. wear
387.	IIIc	Nichole	NIC-OLE-ONL-VND	1.430	30		unworn
388.	IIIc	Nichole	NIC-[...]-VND	0.697	80	cut ½d	sl. wear
389.*	III	uncertain	[...]-NLV-NDE	0.549	90	cut ½d; bent	sl. wear
390.	III	uncertain	[...]-NLV-NDE	0.610	20	cut ½d; bent	worn
391.	III-IV	Nichole	NIC-[...]-VND	0.579	320	cut ½d	sl. wear
392.	III-IV	uncertain	[...]-NLV-NDE	0.563	30	cut ½d	worn
393.	Va1-2	uncertain	WV-[...]-VND	0.535	200	cut ½d	worn
394.	Va2	Henri	hEN-[...]-NDE	0.735	160	cut ½d; folded	sl. wear
395.*	Va2-3	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.598	150	cut ½d	sl. wear
396.	Va-b?	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.444	80	cut ½d; clipped	sl. wear
397.	Va-b	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.625	180	cut ½d	sl. wear
398.*	Va; Vb2-c	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.607	150	cut ½d	sl. wear?
399.	Vb	Ricard	RIC-[...]-WNL-WW	1.163	?	incomplete; d/struck; bent	unworn
400.	Vb	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.608	140	cut ½d	worn
401.	Vc	Davi	DAV-ION-[...]	0.686	150	cut ½d	some wear
402.	Vc	Nichole	NIC-[...]-VND	0.640	330	cut ½d; double-barred N	sl. wear
403.*	Vc	Willem	[...]-LEM-ONL-[...]	0.638	30	cut ½d	sl. wear
404.	Vc	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.667	30	cut ½d	unworn
405.	Vc	uncertain	[...]-NLV-NDE	0.580	200	cut ½d	some wear
406.	Vc?	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.502	330	cut ½d; has been bent	sl. wear
407.*	Vd?	uncertain	[...]-ONL-[...]	0.349	100	cut ½d; clipped	sl. wear
408.*	Vf	Henri	hEW-RIO-NLV-NDE	1.231	180		sl. wear
409.	Vf	uncertain	[...]-LVN-DEN	0.570	30	cut ½d	some wear
410.	Vf-h	uncertain	[...]-OWL-VND	0.628	270	cut ½d	sl. wear
411.	Vg	Renaud	REN-AVD-ONL-VND	1.297	140	bent, chipped	sl. wear
412.	Vg	Renaud	REN-AVD-ONL-VND	1.172	30	bent	sl. wear
413.	Vg	Renaud	REN-AVD-ONL-VND	1.047	220	clipped	some wear
414.	Vg	Renaud	REN-[...]-VND	0.661	200	cut ½d	sl. wear
415.	Vg-h	Renaud	REN-[...]-VND	0.382	120	cut ½d; clipped	sl. wear
416.	Vg	uncertain	[...]-WV0-NLV-[...]	0.585	300	cut ½d	sl. wear
417.	Vg	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.565	120	cut ½d	worn
418.	Vg?	Nichole	[...]-OLE-ONL-[...]	0.628	300	cut ½d	some wear
419.	Vg?	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.629	180	cut ½d	worn
420.	V	Ricard	RIC-[...]-VND	0.607	100	cut ½d	unworn
421.	V	Ricard	RIC-[...]-VND	0.601	240	cut ½d	sl. wear
422.	V	Ricard	[...]-ARD-ONL-[...]	0.582	30	cut ½d	sl. wear
423.	V	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.692	330	cut ½d	sl. wear
424.	V	uncertain	[...]-ONL-VND	0.603	300	cut ½d	sl. wear
425.	VII	Renaud	[...]-AVD-WV-[...]	0.441	340	cut ½d; clipped	some wear
426.*	class?	uncertain	[...]-NDE	0.410	330	cut ½d	unworn

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
NEWCASTLE							
427.*	IIIb	Henri	hEN-RIO- <u>NNE</u> -WEC	1.242	0	sl. bent	some wear
428.	III	uncertain	[...]-NNE-WEC	0.615	120	cut ¼d	sl. wear
429.	IIIb-c	uncertain	[...]- <u>W</u> -NNE-[...]	0.527	300?	cut ¼d; clipped	worn
430.*	III	uncertain	[...]-CAS	0.308	180	cut ¼d; clipped, broken	unworn
NORTHAMPTON							
431.	IIIa	Lucas	[...]-ASO-NNO-[...]	0.603	300	cut ¼d	sl. wear
432.	IIIb	Lucas	LVC-ASO-ONN- <u>QR</u> h	1.337	100		sl. wear
433.	IIIa-b	Tomas	[...]-ASO-NN-[...]	0.610	240	cut ¼d	sl. wear
OXFORD							
434.	IIIb?	Adam	[...] <u>MQN</u> -OXO-[...]	0.452	240	cut ¼d; clipped	some wear
SHREWSBURY							
435.	IIIa	Nicole	NIC-[...]-ROS	0.688	200	cut ¼d	some wear
WILTON							
436.*	IIIb	Ion	ION- <u>QNW</u> -ILT-[...]	1.262	180		some wear
437.	III	Willem	WIL-[...]-WIL	0.626	320	cut ¼d	sl. wear
YORK							
438.*	IIb	Renner	REN-ERO[...]	0.828	120	cut ¼d	sl. wear?
439.	IIIb	Tomas	<u>TOM</u> -[...]- <u>ERW</u>	0.659	160	cut ¼d	sl. wear
440.	IIIb	uncertain	[...]-ONE- <u>VER</u>	0.576	150	cut ¼d	unworn?
UNCERTAIN MINTS							
441.*	Ib/II	Nicole	NIC-OLE-[...]	0.631	340	cut ¼d	unworn
442.*	IIIa	Willem	WIL- <u>LEM</u> -[...]	0.739	150	cut ¼d	unworn
443.	IIIb	Lucas	LVC-ASO-[...]	0.699	30	cut ¼d	some wear
444.	IIIb	Nichole	NIC-OLE-[...]	0.731	330	cut ¼d	sl. wear?
445.	IIIb-c	Nichole	NIC-OLE-[...]	0.610	330	cut ¼d	sl. wear?
446.	IIIb-c	Willem	[...]- <u>LEM</u> - <u>QNW</u> -[...]	0.621	100	cut ¼d	sl. wear?
447.	IIIc	Walter	WAL-TER-[...]	0.771	0	cut ¼d	some wear
448.	IIIc?	Henri	hEN-RIO-[...]	0.680	330	cut ¼d	some wear
449.	III	Henri	hEN-RIO-[...]	0.535	30	cut ¼d	worn
450.	III	Nichole	NIC-[...]	0.415	240	cut ¼d; frag.	sl. wear?
451.	III	Willem	WIL- <u>LEM</u> -[...]	0.569	330	cut ¼d	sl. wear?
452.	III	uncertain	[...]- <u>WER</u> ?- <u>TOW</u> -[...]	0.593	?	cut ¼d; chipped; ?Gilbert/Cant. or Tomas/York	worn
453.	III	uncertain	[...]- <u>W</u> -ONN-[...]	0.615	270	cut ¼d	worn
454.	III	uncertain	[...]-ION-...	0.245	160	cut ¼d; frag.	some wear
455.	III-IV	Henri	hEN-[...]	0.367	270	cut ¼d	sl. wear
456.	III-IV	Nichole	[...]-OLE-[...]	0.302	180	cut ¼d	sl. wear
457.	Va-b	Willem	WIL- <u>LEW</u> -[...]	0.500	240	cut ¼d	unworn?
458.*	Va-c	Willem	WIL-[...]	0.350	0	cut ¼d	sl. wear?
459.*	Vc	Nichole	NIC-OLE-[...]	0.689	240	cut ¼d	sl. wear
460.	Vc	Ricard	RIC- <u>ARD</u> -[...]	0.565	170	cut ¼d	sl. wear
461.	Vc	uncertain		0.287	?	cut ¼d; much clipped	worn
462.*	Vc-g	Ricard	RIC-[...]	0.445	190	frag. of cut ¼d	unworn

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
463.	Vg	Renaud	REN-AVD-[... ...]	0.575	180	cut ½d	some wear
464.	Vg	Renaud	REN-AVD-[... ...]	0.425	130	cut ½d; clipped	some wear
465.	Vg-h	Renaud	[...]-AVD-QN\-[...]	0.615	280	cut ½d; clipped	worn
466.	Vg-h?	Ricard	RIC-\W\-[... ...]	0.480	150	cut ½d; clipped	worn
467.	V	Nichole	NIC-OLE-[... ...]	0.633	30	cut ½d	unworn
468.	V	Nichole	NIC-\[... ...]	0.468	20	cut ½d (frag.)	worn
469.	V	uncertain	[... ...]-ONL?-W\	0.363	?	cut ½d; clipped	sl. wear
470.	VII	uncertain		0.302	?	cut ½d, severely clipped	sl. wear
471.	?	uncertain		0.459	?	frags.	some wear?
472.	?	uncertain		0.307	?	cut ½d, severely clipped	worn
473.	?	uncertain		0.301	?	cut ½d; clipped	worn

COUNTERFEIT

474.*	'III'	uncertain	RIE-ORD-RIE-SED(?)	1.149	?		some wear
475.*	'VI'	uncertain	RIE-R\W\-\W\-\ARIC	1.176	?		sl. wear

Sterlings

Edward I

476.	penny	1c	London	1.292	30		some wear
477.*	penny	1d	London	0.972	180	frag.	sl. wear
478.*	penny	1d	London	0.946	90	frag.	worn
479.	penny	2a	London	1.318	20	N of LON double-barred	sl. wear
480.	penny	2a	London	1.302	60	buckled	some wear
481.*	penny	2a	London	1.297	330		some wear
482.	penny	2b	Bristol	1.329	10		worn
483.	penny	2b	London	1.340	90		unworn
484.	penny	2b	London	1.213	330	incomplete	sl. wear?
485.	penny	3c, early h	London	1.390	200		worn
486.	penny	3d	Bristol	0.973	240	frags.	sl. wear
487.	penny	3d	Lincoln	1.165	90	bent, chipped	some wear
488.	penny	3d	London	1.336	210	bent	sl. wear
489.	penny	3d	London	1.312	270	chipped	sl. wear
490.	penny	3d	London	1.123	30	frag.; has been bent	sl. wear
491.	penny	3e	York	1.240	30		sl. wear?
492.	penny	3f	Canterbury	1.284	240		sl. wear
493.*	penny	3g	London	1.197	330	large fragment	some wear
494.	penny	3	York	1.145	?	chipped; d/struck	sl. wear
495.	penny	4a ₄	Canterbury	1.354	300		sl. wear
496.	penny	4a	Canterbury	1.322	180		unworn?
497.*	penny	4a ₄	London	1.319	180		sl. wear?
498.	penny	4a	London	1.361	90		worn
499.	penny	4b	Canterbury	1.308	200	bent	sl. wear?
500.	penny	4b	London	1.233	0		unworn?
501.*	penny	4b	London	1.269	270	corroded	some wear
502.	penny	4c	London	1.372	90		unworn
503.	penny	4c	London	1.258	330	bent, chipped	some wear?
504.*	penny	4c	Canterbury	1.418	180		some wear
505.	penny	4c?	Canterbury	1.325	200		some wear
506.	penny	4d	Canterbury [CIVI]	1.312	180	chipped	sl. wear?
507.	penny	4	Canterbury	1.358	80		worn
508.*	penny	4	Durham	1.098	290	incomplete	sl. wear
509.	penny	4	York	1.338	240	folded	worn

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
510.	penny	4?	London	1.417	?	wt. includes earth	worn?
511.	penny	9a?	London	1.390	90	has been folded	unworn
512.	penny	9b ₁	London	1.310	200	buckled	sl. wear
513.*	penny	9b	Kingston-upon-Hull	1.334	330	chipped	worn
514.	penny	9b	London	0.658	30	frag., approx half cut? or broken by folding	worn
515.	penny	9	Bury St Edmunds	1.475	?	folded, rev. visible; wt. includes earth	worn
516.*	penny		Berwick, type IVa	1.472	180		unworn
517.*	penny		Berwick, type IVc	1.374	330		unworn
518.	halfpenny	3c-e	London	0.626	240		some wear
519.	halfpenny	3c-e	London	0.600	180		worn
520.	halfpenny	3c-e	London	0.597	180	buckled	worn
521.	halfpenny	3g	London	0.673	320	bent	sl. wear
522.*	farthing	3de	Lincoln	0.307	90		some wear
523.	farthing	3de	York, N.1053/2	0.303	180		unworn

Edward I-II

524.	penny	10cf2	London	1.204	280	corroded	sl. wear?
525.	penny	10cf3	Canterbury	0.573	200	frag.	worn
526.	penny	10cf	Canterbury	1.266	0	corroded	sl. wear?
527.	penny	10cf	Canterbury	1.241	30	bent, chipped	worn
528.	penny	10cf	Canterbury	1.133	270	clipped	worn
529.	penny	10cf	London	1.369	160	buckled	unworn
530.	penny	10cf	London	1.061	170	incomplete	sl. wear?
531.	farthing	10-11	London	0.320	120		sl. wear?
532.	penny	?	uncertain	0.607	?		much worn

*Later medieval coins**Edward III*

533.*	penny	'Florin', D1	Durham	1.156	270	cf. <i>SCBI</i> 39, 1094	some wear
534.	half groat	Pre-Treaty D	London	2.110	120		sl. wear
535.	penny	Post-Treaty?	York, as N.1295?	0.913	30		worn
536.*	penny		York	0.707	?	bent, chipped	much worn
537.	penny		York	0.706	90		much worn
538.	penny		Ed.III, York?	0.623	?	battered	much worn
539.	halfpenny	London		0.166	?	frag., clipped	much worn

Edward IV, 1st reign

540.*	penny, light coinage		York, local dies, N.1594	0.612	280		sl. wear?
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Edward IV, 2nd reign

541.	penny		Durham, local dies, N.1666	0.581	20	bent	worn
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Edward IV?

542.	penny		York, local dies	0.627	100		worn
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Weight (g) Axis Notes

Wear

Post-medieval coins

Henry VII

543.	half groat, facing bust, 3a	Canterbury	1.425	330		worn
544.	half groat, facing bust, 3a	London, p.m. lys N.1708	0.930	80	chipped	worn

Mary

545.	groat		0.879	?		worn flat
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Elizabeth I

546.	shilling	p.m. Tun	5.617	100	bent	unworn?
547.	threepence?		1.079	?		worn flat
548.	half groat	p.m. Hand	1.089	90	bent	worn
549.	half groat	p.m. Tun?	0.893	180		much worn

James I

550.	penny	p.m. uncertain	0.470	?	rolled	sl. wear?
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Uncertain

551.	?a post-1662 'crooked' sixpence		1.714			worn flat
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Victoria

552.	fourpence	1840	1.770			worn
553.	threepence	1900	1.376			some wear

Scotland

William I, crescent and pellet coinage

554.	uncertain fragment		0.394			sl. wear?
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William I, Short Cross Coinage with mint name

555.	Hue, Edinburgh	W[.....]S·R[...]/h[.....] DNEB:	0.731	?	cut ½d, bent	unworn?
556.*	(Walter), Perth	[...]WILA[...]/[...]NPER[...]	0.585	-210	cut ½d; same rev. die as Burns, pl. V, 44a	some wear

William I, Short Cross coinage without mint name

557.*	II	Hue Walter	L[.....]/[...]WA[.....]	0.633	150?	cut ½d; cf. SCBI 35, 63	some wear
558.*	III	Hue Walter	LERE[.....]/[...]WA[.....]	0.677	60?	cut ½d; cf. SCBI 35, 70	worn?
559.*	IV	Henri Le Rus	[.....]LAM[...]/[...]RILER[...]	1.410	30	cf. SCBI 35, 78	some wear
560.	IV	Henri Le Rus	[...]REIW[...]/[...] RILER[...]	0.782	-330	cut ½d	worn

				Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
561.	IV	Henri Le Rus	LER[... ..]/h[... ..]				
			RVS	0.569	30	cut ¼d	worn
562.	IV	Henri Le Rus	[... ..]WIL[...]/[... ..]NWLE[...]	0.498	280	cut ¼d	worn
563.		Hue Walter?	/[... ..]LTER[...]	0.594		cut ¼d	some wear
564.		uncertain	[... ..]ILA/[... ..]E	0.585		cut ¼d	unworn
565.		uncertain	[... ..]ER[...]/illegible	0.251	?	cut ¼d	some wear?

Alexander III, Long Cross Coinage

566.	II	Walter	[... ..]WA[... ..] (Glasgow)	0.254	?	cut ¼d; same dies as Burns pl. XII, 118B; same rev. die as SCB/ 35, 95	some wear
567.*	II	Robert	ROB-[... ..] (Berwick)	0.529	180	cut ¼d	some wear
568.*	VII	Ion Cokin, Perth	ION-CO-ON-PER	1.404	150	? same rev. die as Spink 57, 101	sl. wear
569.		Walter, Glasgow?	bust 1./[... ..]-LT-[... ..]	0.371	0	cut ¼d	sl. wear

Alexander III, Sterling

570.	penny, class E		?	1.430	?	folded, obv. only visible	sl. wear?
571.*	penny, class E?		26 points	1.381	70		unworn
572.	halfpenny		2 × 6 points	0.610	270	chipped	some wear

*Ireland**John, Dominus, coinage of c. 1190–99*

573.*	halfpenny	Adam, Dublin	ADAMONDV[...]	0.679	120		worn
574.*	halfpenny	Willelm, Dublin	WI[... ..]ONDV	0.655	~90	class IIa, dies I/I as SCB/ 10, 275–81	sl. wear

John, coinage of 1204/5–10

575.		Roberd, Dublin	ROBE-RDON-DIVE	1.385			unworn
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Henry III, Long Cross Coinage

576.*	1e	(Davi)	[... ..]-EVE-LIN	0.624	290	cut ¼d	sl. wear
577.	Dykes A	Ricard	RIC-ARD-[... ..]	0.586	180	cut ¼d; cf. SCB/ 10, 428–9 for dies?	unworn
578.		uncertain	[... ..]-OND-I[...]	0.475	100	cut ¼d; frag.	sl. wear
579.		Davi	[... ..]-ION-[... ..]	0.301	180	cut ¼d	sl. wear

Edward I

580.	penny	North A–B	Dublin	0.687	20	frags.; clipped	worn
581.	penny	North C(2)	Dublin	1.211		chipped; obv. S1	
582.	farthing	group I	Waterford	0.301	270		sl. wear
583.*	farthing	group I	Dublin	0.406	200		sl. wear?
584.	farthing	North B2?	Dublin	0.316	330	obv. ER-ANG-LIE	sl. wear?
585.*	farthing	North B2?	Dublin	0.374	240	obv. ERA-IIG-LIE	sl. wear?

			Weight (g)	Axis	Notes	Wear
Continental						
<i>Brabant, John I (1261–94)</i>						
586.*	Sterling ('Brabantinus')	Walt, Mayhew type 1	1.322	270		some wear
<i>Brabant, John I, or II (1294–1312)</i>						
587.*	Brussels Sterling (crocard)	Mayhew 40	1.342	10		some wear?
<i>Flanders, Gui de Dampierre (1279–1305)</i>						
588.*	Alost Sterling	Mayhew 1	1.356	150		sl. wear
<i>Hainaut, Jean d'Avesnes (1280–1304)</i>						
589.*	Valenciennes sterling	Mayhew 24	1.239	60	chipped	sl. wear?
<i>Louvain, John (1285–1309)</i>						
590.*	Herstal sterling	Mayhew 80 (later 1290s)	1.108	200		sl. wear

Jetton

French, Crown/cross fleurdelysé, probably post-1340	1.880	much chipped
591. +AVEM[...A]:GRACIA:PLEN; stops, double saltires		.

Uncertain

592. Silver disc: ?penny or similar, hammered flat	0.985
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APPENDIX 2: SUPPLEMENTARY COINS REPORTEDLY FOUND AT LLANFAES

The following list is compiled from information kindly supplied by Denis Martin. These coins have not been examined by the writer, and the identifications are almost entirely as supplied, as are readings, where given. Because these identifications have not been checked independently, and the possibility that there may be some overlap with the main series, these coins are not included in the figures given in Tables 1–5.

Henry II Tealby

- 1a. Uncertain fragment
- 2a. Uncertain, cut ½d

Short Cross

3a.	1a	Northampton	Raul	[..]AVL-ON-NO[.]	cut ½d; square C on obv.
4a.	1b	London	Reinald		
5a.	1b	?	Walter		
6a.	1b?	?	Raul	RAVL-[.....]	cut ½d
7a.	1b?	?	?		cut ½d?, broken

8a.	Ib	London	?	[.....]LVN	cut 1/4d
9a.	IVa	Canterbury	Reinald		cut 1/4d
10a.	Vb2	London	Ilger	ILGER-ON-LVNDE	
11a.	Vb2	Winchester	Miles	MILES-ON-WINCE	
12a.	Vb3	King's Lynn	Iohan	IOHAN-ON-LEN	
13a.	Vb	London	Rener		
14a.	Vb	London	Willelm L		
15a.	Vc	London	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVN	
16a.	Vc	London	?		cut 1/4d
17a.	V?	Canterbury	Colwine	COL[.....]N-CA	cut 1/4d
18a.	V?	Canterbury	Roberd	ROBERD-ON-CANT	
19a.	Via2	London	Rauf	RAVF-ON-LVND	
20a.	Via	Canterbury	Iohan	IOHAN-ON-CAN	
21a.	Via	London	Ilger	ILGER-ON-LVNDE	
22a.	Vib	London	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	
23a.	Vib?	London	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	
24a.	Vib	London	Walter	WALTER-ON-LV	
25a.	Vic1	London	Abel	ABEL-ON-LVNDE	
26a.	Vic3	London	Abel		
27a.	Vic3	London	Ilger	ILGER-ON-LVNDE	
28a.	VI	Canterbury	Roger..	ROG[.....]NT	cut 1/4d
29a.	VI?	?	?		cut 1/4d
30a.	VI?	London	Ilger		cut 1/4d
31a.	VI-VII	Canterbury	Tomas	TO[... ..]NTE	cut 1/4d
32a.	VIIa	Canterbury	Walter	WALTERONCANT	
33a.	VII(a?)	London	Elis	ELISONLVN-DE	
34a.	VIIb	Canterbury	Ioan Chic	IOAN-CHIC-ONCA	Ns reversed
35a.	VIIc	London	Adam	ADA[... ..]NDE	
36a.	VII	Bury	Norman		
37a.	VII	Canterbury	Henri		
38a.	VII	Canterbury	Henri		
39a.	VII	Canterbury	Tomas		cut 1/4d
40a.	VII	London	Elis		
41a.	VII?	?	Willelm	WILLELM[... ..]	large fragment
42a.	VIIIb1?	Canterbury	Nichole		fragment
43a.	?	Canterbury	Willem		folded
44a.	?	Canterbury	?	[.....]ONC[...]	cut 1/4d
45a.	?	London	Willelm	WILLELM-ON-LV	
46a.	?	London	?	[.....]E-ONLVN	cut 1/4d
47a.	?	London	Rau..		cut 1/4d
48a.	?	London	Walter		cut 1/4d
49a.	?	London	?		cut 1/4d, bent
50a.	?	?	Adam		cut 1/4d
51a.	?	?	Rob..	ROB[.....]	cut 1/4d
52a.	?	?	Tomas	TOM[ON...]	cut 1/4d
53a.	?	?	?		cut 1/4d
54a.	?	?	?		cut 1/4d/cut 1/4d
55a.	?	?	?		cut 1/4d
56a.	?	?	?		cut 1/4d
57a.	ii	Rhuddlan	Tomas	TOMAS-ONRVLA (N reversed)	(= B.2410? - 'same obv. die as Elmore Jones 1837')
58a.	iii	Rhuddlan	Simond	SIMOND-NO-RVLA	(as nos 303-4?)
59a.	iii	Rhuddlan	Simon(d)	SIMON-ON-RVLA	(several possibilities)
60a.	iii	Rhuddlan	Simon(d)	SIMON-ON-RLVA	'same dies as previous'
61a.	iii	Rhuddlan	Simon(d)	SIMON-ON-RVLA	'same dies as previous'
62a.	c'feit?			'garbled legend'	cut 1/4d

Long Cross

63a.	II-III	Exeter			fragment
64a.	IIIa	Hereford	Walter	WAL-[... ..]-ERE	cut 1/4d

65a.	IIIa	Northampton	Lucas		cut ½d, broken
66a.	IIIab	Carlisle	Adam		cut ½d
67a.	IIIb	Northampton	Tomas		
68a.	III	Bristol	Walter		
69a.	III	Bristol			cut ½d
70a.	III	Canterbury	Willem	WIL-[...]-ANT	cut ½d
71a.	III	Hereford	Ricard		cut ½d
72a.	III	London	Henri		
73a.	III	London	?		cut ½d
74a.	III	London	?	[...]-ONL-VND	cut ½d
75a.	III	Northampton	?		cut ½d
76a.	III?	Canterbury	?	[...]-ONC-ANT	cut ½d
77a.	III	?	?		fragment
78a.	III?	London	Nichole	[...]-OLE-ONL-[...]	cut ½d
79a.	III?	London	?	[...]-EN	cut ½d
80a.	III?	?	Nichole	NIC-OLE-[...]	cut ½d
81a.	III?	?	?		cut ½d
82a.	III?	?	?	'unusual legend'	(counterfeit?)
83a.	Va-b	Canterbury	?	[...]-ONCANT	fragment
84a.	Vc	London	Henri	hEN-RIO-NLV-ND	
85a.	Vc	London	Ion	ION-[...]-DEN	cut ½d
86a.	Vg	Canterbury	Walter	WAL-TER-ONC-ANT	
87a.	Vg	London	Renaud	REN-AVD-ONL-VND	
88a.	Vg	?	Ricard	RIC-ARD-[...]	cut ½d
89a.	V?	Canterbury	Nichole	[...]-OLE-ONC-[...]	cut ½d
90a.	V?	London	?	[...]-VND	cut ½d
91a.	V?	?	Willem	[...]-LEM-[...]	cut ½d
92a.	?	Canterbury	Gilbert		folded
93a.	?	Canterbury	Nichole	[...]-OLE-ONC-[...]	cut ½d
94a.	?	London	?	[...]-VND	cut ½d
95a.	?	?	?		cut ½d

Sterlings

96a.	Edward I	penny	3d	London	
97a.		penny	3d	London	
98a.		penny	3g	Bristol	
99a.		penny	3g	London	
100a.		penny	3	Canterbury	
101a.		halfpenny		London	fragment
102a.		farthing		Lincoln	
103a.		farthing		London	fragment
104a.	Edward I/II	penny	10cf	Canterbury	
105a.	Edward I/II	penny	10cf	Canterbury	
106a.	Edward I/II	penny	10cf	Durham	
107a.	Edward II	penny	13	Canterbury	

Post-medieval

108a.	Elizabeth I	half groat	p.m. Crescent
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Ireland

109a.	Long Cross	Dublin, Davi		cut ½d
110a.	Long Cross	Dublin, Ricard	RIC-[...]-VEL	cut ½d
111a.	Edward I	halfpenny	Dublin	

Uncertain

112a.	'Unidentified fragments'.
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Summary

	<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Halves</i>	<i>Quarters</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Henry II, Tealby		1		1	2
Short Cross	33	15	9	3	60
Long Cross	8	18	4	3	33
Sterlings	9	1	2		12
Irish		3			3
Post-medieval				1	1
Uncertain				1	1
Totals	50	38	15	9	112

APPENDIX 3: FINDS OF SHORT CROSS COINS FROM WALES

<i>County</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Site type</i> (where known)	<i>Class</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Denom.</i>
Clwyd	Dyserth	Castle	5b	Canterbury	Samuel	penny
Clwyd	Dyserth	Castle	7a-c	London	Ilger	penny
Clwyd	Flint		11e	Rhuddlan	Simon	penny
Clwyd	Hen Blas		5a-c	Lincoln	uncertain	cut ½d
Clwyd	Hen Blas		11e	Rhuddlan	Simond	penny
Clwyd	Rhuddlan		1b	London	Iefrei	penny
Clwyd	Rhuddlan		1c	Winchester	Adam	cut ½d
Clwyd	Rhuddlan		1c-4b?	York	Everard	cut ½d
Dyfed	Cardigan		7b-c	(London)	Ledulf	cut ½d
Dyfed	Cardmarthen	Grey Friars	7a-c	London	Ilger	cut ½d
Dyfed	Dryslwyn	Castle	4a	London	Goldwine	penny
Dyfed	Dryslwyn	Castle	6a-c	London	Ilger	penny
Dyfed	Dryslwyn	Castle	6a-c	London	Walter	cut ½d
Dyfed	Fishguard		4a	Canterbury	Roberd	penny
Dyfed	Fishguard		5b	Carlisle	Tomas	penny
Dyfed	Haverfordwest	fair/market site?	5bi	(London)	Ilger	cut ½d
Dyfed	Haverfordwest		8b1	London	Nicole	penny
Dyfed	Llanstephan	ferry	6a-c	uncertain	uncertain	cut ½d
Dyfed	Llanstephan	ferry	7b	London	Raulf	cut ½d
Dyfed	Llanstephan	ferry	7?	uncertain	uncertain	cut ½d
Dyfed	Newport	burgages	4a	Canterbury?	Reinald?	cut ½d
Dyfed	Pembroke		4a	London	Ricard	penny
Dyfed	Pembrokeshire		7bC	London	Adam	penny
Dyfed	Pembrokeshire?		5a11*?	Norwich/ N'hampton	uncertain	cut ½d/broken
Dyfed	Penally		Scotland		Hue, Walter	penny
Dyfed	Slebech		1-4a			hoard (12)
Dyfed	St Florence		7b	Canterbury	Tomas	penny
Dyfed	Tenby		4	Canterbury	Meinir	penny
Dyfed	Tenby		4b	London	Willelm	penny
Dyfed	Tenby		7b	London	Adam	penny
Dyfed	Tenby		7bA	London	Terri	cut ½d
Glamorgan, Mid	Coychurch		4a-c	Norwich	Willelm	penny
Glamorgan, Mid	Ewenny	fair/market site?	5 or 6	Canterbury?	uncertain	cut ½d
Glamorgan, Mid	Ewenny	fair/market site?	6a-c	London	uncertain	cut ½d
Glamorgan, Mid	Ewenny	fair/market site?	7?	uncertain	uncertain	cut ½d
Glamorgan, Mid	Ewenny	fair/market site?	7?	uncertain	uncertain	penny
Glamorgan, Mid	Ewenny	fair/market site?	imitative			cut ½d
Glamorgan, Mid	Ewenny, Corn Town		4?	uncertain	Goldw[...]	cut ½d
Glamorgan, Mid	Merthyr Mawr		5b	London	Fulke	cut ½d
Glamorgan, South	Barry		5c	London	Walter	penny
Glamorgan, South	Cardiff	Castle	6b	Canterbury	Iohan	penny
Glamorgan, South	Five Mile Lane		4a	London	Ricard	penny

County	Place	Site type (where known)	Class	Mint	Moneyer	Denom.
Glamorgan, South	Llandow			Scotland	Hue, Walter	cut ½d
Glamorgan, South	Llantrithyd		6a	London	Ilger	penny
Glamorgan, South	Llantrithyd		7bB	Canterbury	Willem Ta	penny
Glamorgan, South	St Hilary		uncertain	uncertain	[...],ald	cut ½d
Glamorgan, South	Vale (Penllyn?)		1c	London	Raul	penny
Glamorgan, South	Welsh St Donats		1b	London	Raul	penny
Glamorgan, South	Welsh St Donats		7b	London	Ledulf	penny
Glamorgan, West	Loughor	Castle	5b	uncertain	Ricard	cut ½d
Gwent	Caerleon		4b	London	Ricard	cut ½d
Gwent	Caerleon		7a-c	Canterbury	Roger	penny
Gwent	Caerleon		7?	uncertain	uncertain	penny?
Gwent	Caerleon		iiic	Rhuddlan	Simond	cut ½d
Gwent	Chepstow	Castle gatehouse	1b	Norwich	Reinald	cut ½d
Gwent	Llanfair Discoed		7a-b	Canterbury	Henri	cut ½d
Gwent	Mathern		1b	London	Pieres M	penny
Gwent	Mathern		1c	Carlisle	Alain	penny
Gwent	Mathern		4a	Canterbury	Roberd	penny
Gwent	Mathern		7b	London	Raulf	penny
Gwent	Monmouth	town	4b	Cant./London	Goldwine	penny
Gwent	Monmouth	town	6-7?	uncertain	uncertain	cut ½d
Gwent	Monmouth	town	6a-c	London	Ilger?	cut ½d
Gwent	Rogiet		7b	Canterbury	Osmund	penny
Gwent	St Arvans		6cl	London	Abel	penny
Gwent	Usk		7a-c	London	Adam	cut ½d
Gwynedd	Caernarfon	(Segontium)	5b	Canterbury	Iohan	penny
Gwynedd	Degannwy	Castle	7b	Bury	Norman	penny
Gwynedd	Harlech	Castle	5bii	London	Ilger	penny
Gwynedd (Anglesey)	Castell Bryn Gwyn		7a-c	Canterbury	Iohan	penny
Powys	Montgomery	Castle	5a-c	Winchester	Ricard	penny
Powys	Montgomery	Castle	6a-c	uncertain	uncertain	penny
Powys	Montgomery	Castle	6b	Canterbury	Samuel	penny
Powys	Montgomery	Castle	6b	London	Walter	penny
Powys	Montgomery	Castle	7a-c	London	Terri	penny

APPENDIX 4: ANALYTICAL RESULTS

Ten of the Llanfaes coins were submitted to the Department of Materials, Oxford University, for analysis by electron microprobe. This was carried out by Dr J.P. Northover, with the following results.⁵⁴

No.	Type	Mint, moneyer	Fe	Co	Ni	Cu	Zn	As	Sb	Sn	Ag	Bi	Pb	Au	S
143	Short Cross, IVa	London, Stivene	0.01	0.00	0.02	4.45	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	94.28	0.11	1.00	0.08	0.02
170	Short Cross, Vc	London, Abel	0.00	0.04	0.01	3.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	94.39	0.09	1.42	0.12	0.00
304	Short Cross, iiic	Rhuddlan, Simond	0.04	0.03	0.00	4.25	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00	94.42	0.14	0.89	0.17	0.02
306	Short Cross, iv	Rhuddlan, 'Simod'	0.02	0.00	0.00	5.20	0.03	0.00	0.05	0.00	94.20	0.07	0.37	0.05	0.01
338	Short Cross	Counterfeit, 'Ali...'	0.77	0.02	0.02	4.00	0.05	0.10	0.02	0.00	94.14	0.07	0.62	0.17	0.01
339	Short Cross	C'feit, 'Canterbury'	0.03	0.00	0.00	4.30	0.04	0.11	0.00	0.00	94.20	0.15	0.90	0.23	0.04
340	Short Cross	C'feit, 'London, Iohan'	0.00	0.00	0.01	5.56	0.06	0.00	0.02	0.00	92.11	0.00	2.16	0.06	0.01
380	Long Cross, IIb	London, Nicole	0.00	0.00	0.01	4.74	0.07	0.00	0.04	0.00	93.91	0.05	0.92	0.25	0.01
474	Long Cross, 'III'	C'feit, Cuinre	0.02	0.01	0.01	4.30	0.01	0.76	0.03	0.00	93.52	0.09	1.10	0.12	0.02
475	Long Cross, 'VI'	C'feit, Cuinre	0.00	0.02	0.01	3.73	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.00	94.55	0.05	1.39	0.11	0.03

These figures appear to demonstrate that all of the coins, including Rhuddlan and unofficial copies, are of a fairly uniform and high silver fineness – all but one lie above sterling. Dr Northover, *in litt.* 4 January 1996, confirmed that all were of generally sound metal and that surface enrichment, whether during manufacture or as a result of

⁵⁴ Each result is the average of two measurements.

corrosion, is unlikely. One other Rhuddlan analysis has been published, also carried out by Dr Northover, class Brand iib, of Tomas, which gave a silver fineness of 92.71 per cent.⁵⁵ Nine analyses of Short Cross imitations from the Naxos hoard have been quoted by Lord Stewartby.⁵⁶ The coins range from 83.6 to 93.1 per cent silver. A tenth coin, with a 'trade' source, gave 80.7 per cent. None of these coins, however, is from the same group (RE) as the Llanfaes copies, which are early in the imitative series. If, as suggested above (p. 55), the Rhuddlan coins are also an imitative, Welsh, issue, it is interesting to note that they and the early Continental copies may have adhered fairly closely to the official English standard – the motives of their issuers, perhaps, to produce acceptable sterling without incurring English mint charges.⁵⁷

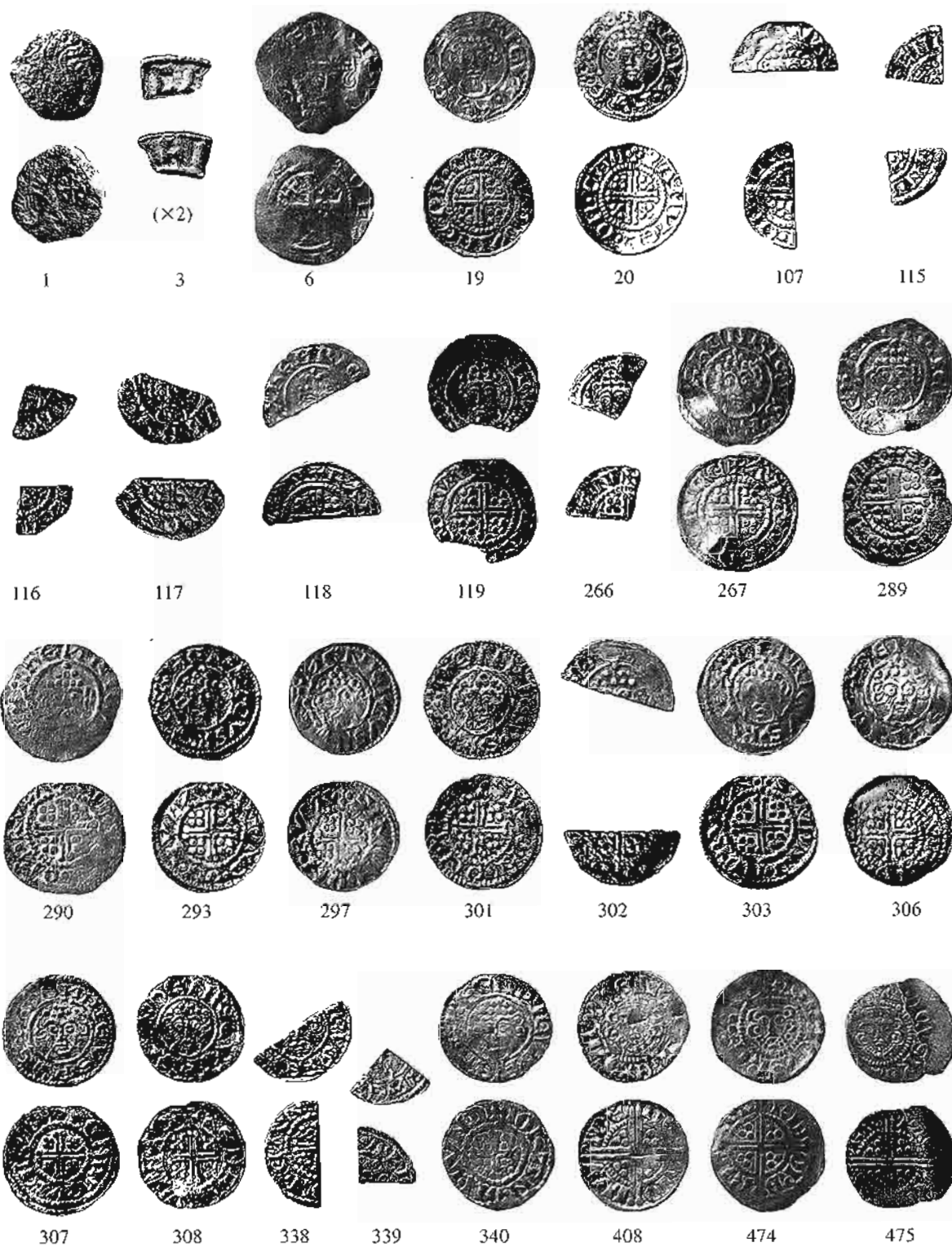
⁵⁵ G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, note 12, p. 63.

pp. 222–3 and 242ff.

⁵⁶ Lord Stewartby, 'German imitations . . .', note 17.

⁵⁷ I owe this suggestion to Nick Mayhew.

PLATE 4



BESLY: MEDIEVAL COINS FROM LLANFAES

SOME IMITATIONS AND FORGERIES OF THE ENGLISH AND IRISH LONG CROSS PENCE OF HENRY III

J.J. NORTH

APART from those continental sterlings inscribed with the name of the issuer and/or the mint, little has been written about the imitations of the Long Cross pence of Henry III, although a die-study of the Anglo-Irish irregular coins based upon those in the Brussels hoard was published some years ago.¹ The standard work for the 'named' imitations remains Chautard,² although a number of refinements, mainly scattered throughout German periodicals,³ have been made since its publication. A valuable source is the report of the Ribnitz hoard, where a considerable number (both named and anonymous) are described and some illustrated.⁴

The range of the anonymous imitations, with which this paper is mainly concerned, is extremely wide, varying from near-perfect copies of the prototypes, the unofficial status of which probably remains unrecognised in many collections,⁵ through those with irregular or blundered legends (usually on the reverse only)⁶ to the crudest, which are often probably local forgeries. The recognition of accurate copies as imitative presents considerable difficulties, although a few reveal their true colours by light weight or baser metal.⁷ Most are betrayed only by minor differences from the English originals. This is perhaps most noticeable in the crown, which on the imitations of class 5 seldom accurately copies that which would normally be found with the style of portrait on which it appears. Although the lettering, which is discussed below, is usually a fairly accurate copy of that on the prototype, there are often small variations especially in the letters S and X. The shape of the eye sometimes differs from that used on the English class being copied.

In dies made up with such simple punches as those used in this coinage, little reliance can be placed on style, either for distinguishing the irregular obverses or for associating the

¹ Michael Dolley and W.A. Seaby, 'The anomalous long-cross coins in the Anglo-Irish portion of the Brussels hoard', *Mints, Dies and Currency*, edited by R.A.G. Carson, London 1971, 291–317 (Dolley & Seaby).

² J. Chautard, *Imitations des Monnaies au Type Esterlin frappées en Europe pendant le XIII^e et le XIV^e siècle*, Nancy 1871 (Chautard).

³ The writer is indebted to Peter Woodhead for his advice on several points relating to the German coins of this period and for supplying many of the references to German sources quoted in this paper with translations of the relevant passages.

⁴ H. Dannenberg, 'Der Sterling-Fund von Ribnitz', *ZfN* 15 (1888), 302–24 (Ribnitz or Dannenberg). Dr. Mark Blackburn kindly drew my attention to this important hoard and provided a copy of the report.

⁵ An outstanding example of this is the 'class 3b' coin apparently of Newcastle, which deceived numismatists for many years despite an irregularity in the obverse legend (see 27 and n. 24). Even Lawrence was sometimes deceived and a number of imitations are included in his lists of legends in *BNJ* 10 (1913), 76, 79, 82 etc.

⁶ One of the puzzles of this series is the use of blundered reverse dies with deceptively accurate obverse ones. Dannenberg suggested that this indicated indigenous English forgeries, but in the light of the other evidence this seems very unlikely. Since the obverses prove that the die-makers were

quite capable of producing unimpeachable legends, the implication must be that the variations on the reverses were deliberate, perhaps to protect the English moneyers from accusations of forgery. There are a number of reverses which are exact copies of the prototype, but most range from those with one or two letters differing to an unintelligible jumble of letters. In some groups of related legends the variations suggest a deliberate pattern rather than random deterioration resulting from prolonged copying (cf. ARIC/WIG and BIR/HEN/TOL groups on pp. 99–100). One remarkable inscription reads AMOR(V or O)MN/IAVI/NCIT (Ribnitz 178 – confirmed by Haarlo 543) and, as Dannenberg remarks, *amor omnia vincit* sounds more like a troubadour than a moneyer!

⁷ Both of these criteria should be treated with considerable reservations. The weights of most imitations compare favourably with those of official coins (see below – p. 96), while the visual assessment of fineness is unsatisfactory, although the odd spot of verdigris may indicate some baseness. It is as well to bear in mind the observations of N.J. Mayhew and D.R. Walker in their paper 'Crockards and pollards: Imitation and the problem of fineness in a silver coinage', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs (1279–1344)*, edited by N.J. Mayhew, BAR 36 (Oxford 1971), 125–146 (at p. 144, n. 26) '... in practice, it is not possible to select coins of higher or lower silver content on sight; again and again, coins which looked poor turned out to be sterling fine; and vice versa'.

imitative dies into groups. This simplicity also makes it virtually impossible to distinguish any individual punches which would assist in such an association. However, some of the letters are sufficiently complex to be distinctive e.g. the X with each limb terminating in an arrow-head found on many 'class 3' obverses. Whether the sharing of such a characteristic is sufficient grounds for suggesting that the coins all emanated from the same mint is debatable, although it seems fairly certain that they came from dies made by the same workers.

Since the eventual association of anonymous imitations with their issuers depends mainly on the identification of die-links with coins bearing his name or that of the mint, over one hundred and thirty are described and illustrated in this paper,⁸ and some die-linked chains are identified. Coins with both 'English' and 'Irish' obverses and/or reverses are included since, judging from the inextricable intermingling of the dies, no distinction between them was made by the imitators.

References in the lists to other coins are confined to those illustrated elsewhere by photograph, since line drawings, however accurate, are useless for die identification, and many are positively misleading. Similarly, the interpretation of the reverse legend of many coins is open to dispute, especially in the selection of its commencement.⁹ On coins which closely resemble the prototype this is evident, and on others the word ON indicates the second or third quarter, but with legends which are complete gibberish it is purely conjectural. Thus I have preferred to treat with extreme caution the given reading of any coin not illustrated by photograph and, unfortunately, this must include Chautard, where some interpretations of the reverse inscriptions are questionable.

It was originally intended that this paper should be confined to Long Cross imitations with 'English', 'Irish' or blundered legends, leaving those with the issuer's or mint's name to the expertise of the continental numismatists in whose countries they were struck. However, the few rare die-links between named and anonymous coins, so important in the attribution of the latter, have led in some cases to investigations into the former with conclusions which are sometimes at variance with the generally accepted ones.

One of the principal difficulties in dealing with such a large and widespread coinage at this early stage of its attribution is the presentation of the material. The classification that I have adopted resembles that used by Dolley and Seaby for the Anglo-Irish imitations, being based mainly on that of the prototypes. This has the advantage of simplicity for anyone wishing to look up a coin, but usually has no regional or chronological significance, since chains of mules indicate that 'classes 3 and 5' and even 'Irish' obverses were used more or less concurrently. The patterns of related coins emerging from similar reverses and chains of die-links are discussed later in this paper.

A paper of this length can only furnish a preliminary examination of the Long Cross imitations, which are so numerous and varied as to require a book for their comprehensive study. This will be provided on the publication of the companion volume to Nick Mayhew's definitive work on the Edwardian imitations. In the meantime the 135 coins illustrated here should provide a reasonably representative selection to assist in the recognition of non-English Long Cross sterlings, but it must be borne in mind that there is considerable variation in style even among imitations struck by the same authority. As with all imitative series, a detailed knowledge of the prototype coins is invaluable for the identification of non-official issues. However, some of the latter are such accurate copies that even this knowledge does not impart infallibility. The original recipients of such imitations can have had little chance of distinguishing the true from the false except where the legend was blundered and they were literate.

⁸ Except where otherwise indicated, the coins listed are all in the writer's collection.

⁹ Dannenberg remarked upon this difficulty (p. 310), which

is even greater for students not having a considerable knowledge of the inscriptions found on official reverses.

The paper commences with a detailed catalogue of the coins under discussion, all of which are illustrated either in the plates or, very rarely, in the sources quoted. The arrangement roughly follows that of the English and Irish Long Cross coinages, as mentioned above. Details of the obverses are only given where these differ in some respect from the prototype, but all reverse legends are expressed in full. Obverse die-links have been grouped together and are joined by lines on the plates, but the reverse ones are combined with a diversity of obverses placing them far apart in the lists and often on different plates. However, a complete list of both obverse and reverse die-links is given on p. 97. The weight of each coin is given in grammes and grains, but no indication of the die-axis is shown as it is uncertain in a number of cases when the commencement of the reverse legend is equivocal.

The lettering and ligations are discussed, with illustration of the most distinctive forms of these. This is followed by a comparison of the weights of the imitations with those of the official English coins. A list of the moneyers whose names, often blundered, appear on imitations gives details of their dates and the classes of coins for which they are known.

After the lists of die-links, details are given of the chains of associated coins resulting from these, together with groups of coins which are connected by distinctive reverse legends.

The discussion on the attribution of the anonymous imitations has led to the examination in some depth of the Lippish Long Cross sterlings in the names of Bernhard, Hermann and Simon. Although only one sterling with an 'English' obverse has been firmly attributed to Lippe in this paper, it seems likely that others may come to light, and in view of this the Westphalian mints have also been discussed in a later section.

Details of a selection of important English and continental hoards containing Long Cross imitations have been included to illustrate the general make-up of many of these and the preponderance of such imitations in the latter.

A summary of suggested attributions and an index of the reverse legends listed conclude the paper.

CATALOGUE¹⁰

Without sceptre

Class 1a. Obv. Crescent and star of six points H NRI VS:R X rev. ANG/LI /T R/ I¹¹

1. Obverse similar to English prototype but star in i.m. has eight points. Cinquefoil of pellets before R X. Pellet on crossbar of (as on English coins of class 1).

Rev. BLO/M /NB /RG

1-19/18-4

Struck at the mint of Blomberg, this variety was attributed by Chautard to Bernhard III of Lippe (416 and pl. XXVII, 7). This mint signature also appears on some of the enigmatic Videkind Rex coins.¹² Others of that issue, without a mint name and possibly struck at Enger, have the cinquefoil (rosette) which was the badge of Lippe.¹³ It

¹⁰ As mentioned earlier, the following arrangement is based upon the classification of the English prototypes and has no regional or chronological significance for the imitations listed. The descriptions of each principal heading are those of the English classes, which have been dated as follows:

Class 1 – 1247–8

Class 2 – 1248

Class 3 – 1248–50

Class 4 – 1250–1

Class 5 – 1251–72

Full details of the classification appears in the following publications:

L.A. Lawrence, 'The Long-cross coinage of Henry III and Edward I', *BNJ* 9 (1912), 145–179; 10 (1913), 69–93; 11 (1914), 101–119.

J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, Vol. I (Third

edition), 1994, 225–8 (a summary of the Lawrence classification with subsequent refinements).

C.R. Wren, *The Voided Long-Cross Coinage, 1247–1279*, Plantagenet Books 1993 (a useful handbook on the series).

¹¹ A reverse reading ANG/LIE/TER/CIS copied from class 1a was used with obverse dies based on classes 3a and 5c (*BNJ* 47 (1977), 140–41). Another reverse copying class 1b reads LIE/TER/CI+/LON and is also combined with imitative obverse dies of classes '3 and 5' (see 40, 65 and 108).

¹² P. Berghaus, 'Beiträge zur Westfälischen Münzkunde', *HBzN* 14 (1960) at pp. 447–8. The attribution of these coins is discussed on pp. 114–5.

¹³ Chautard p. 261, n. 1. For coins with the name of Widekind (Rex) bearing this mark, see Berghaus (1960) nos. 9 and 10a.

may perhaps be deliberate that the number of points in the star on the above coin differs from that on the prototype. Berghaus remarks that a star was the armorial badge of Schwalenberg, but the coin to which he refers in this connection has one of only six points. However, an eight-pointed one appears on some Videkind Rex coins,¹⁴ as well as on 'Scottish' sterling struck by Count Widekind VII of Schwalenberg (pl. 8, A) and those of Count Henry of Sternberg. The latter, struck at Bosingfeld, have three such stars in the crown and one as the sceptre terminal (pl. 8, B). In the light of this the authority responsible for the above coin appears uncertain.

2. Rev. RON/ROL(D) L/VND + Double band to crown. Wedge/crescent tailed R.¹⁵ 1-12/17-3

Class 1b. Similar but obverse reads h NRI VS R X AG and reverse LI /T R/ I?/mint.

3. Rev. (LI) T / I / LVD 1-40/21-6

Class 2. Star of six points h NRI VS R X T R I. Rev. Moneyer and mint.

4. Portrait resembles that on 1. Letter X of wedges.
Rev. (reversed)IO/1H /OH /ANT (based on Nicole on Cant) 1-00/15-4
5. Same obverse die as 6
Rev. ION/OHL/IN /OLH¹⁶ 1-09/16-9
6. Same obverse die as 5
Rev. IV/ARN/ SB/ RG (P. Woodhead colln.)
The reverse of this coin die-links with a sterling whose obverse reads GOD FRIDVS o (pl. 8, C – P. Woodhead colln.) confirming the attribution of a cut halfpenny from the same dies to Gottfried III of Arnsberg.¹⁷ The star and crescent i.m. on the obverse suggests that this die was based upon class 1, and the minute extra pellets in the reverse quarters are also a feature of that class.
7. h NRI S R X I R I Small round face with neck. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Same die as 8 and 9.
Rev. h N/RIO/NI /ND (based on Henri on Lunde) 1-11/17-1
8. Same obverse die as 7 and 9
Rev. III /OL /ONL/VIID (based on Nicole on Lund) 1-29/19-9
9. Same die as 7 and 8.
Rev. WNL/L N/ONL/VND (based on Willem on Lund) 1-37/21-1
10. h NKICVS R NX · I 'Pommé' letter X.¹⁸
Rev. HI /OL /OIL/V(inverted)ID – retrograde and outwards (based on Nicole On Lund) 1-38/21-3

Class 3. Star of six points h NRI VS R X III. Rev. Moneyer and mint.

- (a) Narrow face based on English classes 3a and 3ab (see also 134).
11. Rev. DAV/ION/D V/ LI' (same die as 39 and 70) 1-42/21-9
12. with long spur and obverse R with wedge/crescent tail
Rev. IOH/ON/CAN/TCR. 1-47/22-7
13. Rev. WIL/L M/OIIL/VND (reversely barred N with pellet centre) 1-32/20-4
14. Four pellets around bust (as on English class 5). Letter h inverted; legend ends with inverted h (representing I'). 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. RD/AR/D/ONL/VMD (based on Ricard on Lund). Same die as 67. 1-29/19-9
15. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. h N/RIO/IILV (both inverted)/ND (same die as 57)¹⁹ 1-06/16-4
16. h NRI VS R X-IH'. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. HI /OL(inverted) /QND/AHT. 1-38/21-3
17. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. WIL/L N/LVN/DON. 1-32/20-3

¹⁴ Berghaus (1960) no. 10a, where the portrait closely resembles that on the 'English' obverse (see n. 96).

¹⁵ The similarity of the reverse legend to that on some coins of Bernhard of Lippe suggests a Lippish provenance for this coin (see n. 63). An early date is confirmed by a specimen in the Brussels hoard.

¹⁶ This coin was listed as an official English issue in H.R. Mossop, *Lincoln Mint (c. 890–1279)*, pl. XCVII. 27. The preceding coin on the same plate (no. 26) is also an imitation die-linked with reverses of 'London' and 'Canterbury'.

¹⁷ J.J. North, 'A parcel of Long Cross cut halfpence', *NCirc* 1976, 48–9.

¹⁸ The X pommé was frequently used on Germanic Short

Cross imitations and appears on a 'class 3' Long Cross obverse die of Boppard (see n. 27). This form of the letter also occurs on an 'English' obverse combined with a reverse reading HENRICVS COMES (FitzWilliam Museum – Grierson colln. MM 34), but the style of portrait and lettering differs from that of 10 which is perhaps Westphalian. The same letter also appears on 42, where it more closely resembles that on the Henricus Comes coin.

¹⁹ Although it is insufficient evidence for a firm association, it is noteworthy that the V of LVND is also inverted (becoming A) on some coins of Lippe reading LANh (Bernhard) or LANI (Simon).

18. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. NI /ION/NLV/ANT (combination of Nic(ole on C)ant and Ion or (Dav)i on Lu(nde) – apparently base metal). 0-85/13-2
19. 'Arrow-head' letter X (large). Reversed S.
Rev. RI /RIO/NIV/IN (combination of Ric(ard) and (Hen)ri on Lunde). 1-26/19-5
- 0.1. Letter X unclear – apparently pommé, but possibly worn 'arrow-head'.
Rev. ARI /Wh /-/²⁰ 1-18/18-3
- (b) Smaller face mainly based on English class 3b.
(i) Pointed chin.
20. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Neck indicated; four crescents around portrait (found on English class 5).
Rev. DHV/ION/IVN/D I (based on Davi on Lunden) 1-46/22-5
21. R 'X-III'. Solid oval eyes. Reversed N; crescent-tailed R.
Rev. IVI/NRV/LON/LON.²¹ 1-11/17-2
22. Rev. IVI/VIN/-/N (reversed Ns). 0-91/13-8
- (ii) Round chin with heavy beard deceptively copying English class 3b.
23. Rev. HI /OL /RNL/BOV. 1-33/20-6
24. Same obverse die as 25 and 0.2
Rev. WIL/L M/LVN/DON. 1-27/19-6
25. Same obverse die as 24 and 0.2.
Rev. WID/L M/ON /AIT. 1-33/20-5
- 0.2. Same obverse die as 24 and 25.
Rev. h N/RICV/S-CO/M S (attributed to Henry II or III, Lord of Kuinre).²² wnr.
26. I.m. Shield with two (possibly three) pellets.
Rev. RIO/RD/Oth/ R (based on Ricard on Here). Single pellet in angles. 1-03/15-9
This coin has been doubtfully attributed to Count Henry of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen striking at the mint of Vlotho (+ 1270).²³
27. h NRI V + R X-III²⁴
Rev. RI /ARD/OND/IV 1-26/19-5

²⁰ Jean Elsen, Joseph Ghyssens, Lars O. Lagerqvist and Nicholas Mayhew, 'The sterling hoard from Hemselynge, Abild Parish, Halland (Sweden)', *NC* 1983, 164–176 (at p. 176).

²¹ This coin has affinities with a SALVE REGINA MA sterling with a reverse reading CIVITAS (CASTOR (FitzWilliam Museum – Grierson Colln.). Both have distinctive almond-shaped eyes, although these appear to be from different punches, whilst the letters S and R could be from the same punches. The Ns are reversed (a feature of many Salve Regina coins). This together with the 'Civitas' legends suggests that they may have been struck at the same mint, possibly Kuinre (see also p. 101). It is probably coincidental that an unusual Edwardian sterling of Arnhem (Mayhew 179a), attributed to Renaud (1272–1326), has solid almond eyes and a crescent-tailed R. Such sterlings are early, possibly before c. 1290, and may be contemporaneous with some of the later Long Cross imitations.

²² Laurens Schulman sale 6 (15.4.91) lot 550 (illustrated on pl. XIII). HENRICVS COMES reverses are also used with obverses based upon class 5 (Chautard 476 and pl. XXXII. 2). There were a number of coins with this legend in the Ribnitz hoard and several are illustrated in the report (nos. 190, 192 and 194–6). Both varieties of obverse are illustrated in the Weweler sale catalogue (Auktion Leu 63 – lots 1099 and 1100). Attribution is discussed on p. 102.

²³ This coin has been attributed to the mint of Vlotho in the county of Ravensberg (P. Berghaus, *Münzgeschichte Herfords*, 12), where 'two-sided' sterlings (viz. non-bracteates) were struck by Count Otto II of Ravensberg and Count Henry of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen (+1270) according to Busso Peus,

Der Raum Westfalen II. I Das Münzwesen, Munster 1955, 360. This attribution was largely based upon a Short Cross sterling with a shield with 'three rings' on the obverse, which reads HENRICVS R and has a reverse legend VLOTOVE CIVIT, attributed to Count Henry (*HBzN* 1948, 38, no. 113), and it has been suggested that the arms may pertain to him. However, Jesse remarks that the small shield is not explained and cites a suggestion by E. Strange that it represents the arms of the barons of Spiegel. Although details of the tiny shield are unclear on many coins, a well-struck specimen confirms that there are two small pellets at the top. Below them is the larger top pearl of the crown's central cross, which presumably also represents a third pellet of the armorials. The obverse die of this coin was also combined with a reverse reading GILBERIONCAN (BM ex Slype hoard – *BNJ* 23 (1938–40), 275). The Brussels hoard contained eight examples of 'HEREF' and three of 'CAN', indicating a comparatively early date for the issue. It was associated in the hoard with a number of coins of Blomberg with a reverse also derived from GILBERT ON CAN, and in the light of this perhaps a Lippian connection should be considered. Allen in *BNJ* 23 remarked on a resemblance to some coins attributed to Lippe by Chautard, but such comparison is unsatisfactory and Dolley and Seaby disagreed (p. 316, no. 24).

²⁴ This obverse die was also used with a reverse reading ADA/MON/NEV/ECA and the example in the BM (ex Slype hoard) was long accepted as English despite the irregularity in the obverse legend and the existence of a mule between that reverse and an 'Irish' obverse die (125) – see Dolley and Seaby 294–5. The outstanding difference between the convincing obverse of this imitation and that of its English

28. R X-INI 'Arrow-head' letter X. Same die as 29–32.
Rev. BIR/TQNI h/ RNL(h and second R reversed) – same die as 94. 1-44/22-2
29. Same obverse die as 28 and 30–2.
Rev. DNI/ OL/ ON/LVN (first N pellet-barred – based on Nicole on Lun) 1-43/22-1
30. Same obverse die as 28–9 and 31–2.
Rev. IN /OL /ONL/VND (based on Nicole on Lund). 1-37/21-2
31. Same obverse die as 28–30 and 32.
Rev. INI/DOI/ (reversed) OI/LVN (same die as 95 and 105) 1-44/22-2
32. Same obverse die as 28–31.
Rev. WIL/L M/CN /ANT (first N pellet-barred) 1-45/22-4
33. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Neck indicated.
Rev. ARI /WIG/RI /TVO. 1-15/17-7
34. h RI VS R X-IN (reversed) -I 'Arrow-head' letter X. Four pellets around head. Same die as 35.
Rev. OL /III /OHL/VHL (based on Nicole on Lund) – same die as 101. 1-41/21-8
35. Same obverse die as 34.
Rev. h N/RIO/NLV/ND . 1-42/21-9
36. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Four pellets around head. Same die as 37.
Rev. h N/ND /RIO/NLV (First two quarters retrograde; last N reversed). Same die as 87. 1-48/22-9
37. Same obverse die as 36.
Rev. RI /R(reversed)AD/ONL/VND (retrograde and anticlockwise). 1-58/24-4
38. R X:NI' (Ns reversed). Irregular letter X (patté/pommé). Pellet between curls. Same die as 39–41 (D & S die 0.1).
Rev. B'R/H N/TOL/ RN (second R reversed). 1-48/22-9
39. Same obverse die as 38 and 40–1.
Rev. DAV/ION/D V/ LI' (same die as 11 and 70).²⁵ 1-36/21-0
40. Same obverse die as 38–9 and 41.
Rev. LI /T R/ I'+/LON (same die as 65 and 108). 1-25/19-3
41. Same obverse die as 38–40.
Rev. RID/ARM/CNL/VND (reversed N – based on Ricard on Lund).²⁶ 1-32/20-4
42. Letter X pommé – see n. 18.
Rev. III /OI /OIL/VID. 1-27/19-6
43. Saltire letter X. Colon after R X. Neck indicated. Four pellets in field.
Rev. WIL/L M/LON/DON. 1-03/15-9
- (iv). Loosely based on class 3.
44. Star of eight points. R X II reversed N and S. Neck indicated.
Rev. G.BO/(PAR)/D N/SIS.²⁷ 1-17/18-1
45. Ihl R(retrograde letters) VS R X III. Minute initial mark. Unusual letter R with crescent tail.
Rev. h I/RIO/N(reversed)LV/ND . 1-29/19-9
46. (reversed)II:I VS R X:HP
Rev. NID/OL /OIL/VND (second N reversed). 1-30/20-0

prototype is the insertion of a cross pattée in the legend in place of the letter S in HENRICVS. An obverse die of Bernhard of Lippe with a rosette in the crown has a cross of similar form in the legend, which reads B'NH + AHT/III. It is used with reverses of HENRI ON LVND with rosette centre and NICOLE ONE LVN with and without rosette (Ribnitz 220; W. lot 39). It is not listed by Ihl as an issue of Lemgo mint, although it resembles other coins in the series and his obverse die A1 has a cross pommé in the legend which reads BERNH (cross) AR III. (H. Ihl, *Die Münzprägung der Edelherrn zur Lippe – Münzstätte Lemgo*, Lemgo 1991, 32 and pl. 9, 1a–3b.) Although this single similarity does not provide sufficient evidence to justify any association of 27 with Bernhard, especially as his Long Cross coins all have a sceptred bust, it is worthy of note as it may well indicate a Westphalian origin.

²⁵ Same dies as Brussels hoard BH I (0.1, R.I).

²⁶ See 113 for a similar reverse legend from a different die.

²⁷ A coin in Lord Stewartby's collection (ex Brussels hoard) has the same reverse die combined with a different 'class 3'

obverse of better style. This completes the inscription to read G-BO/PAR/DEN/SIS which he attributes to Boppard, a small town on the Rhine just south of Coblenz, although this is beyond the normal range of Long Cross imitations in Germany. He also suggests as a possible candidate for the issuing authority William of Holland, who was elected German king, by leading ecclesiastical princes at the behest of the pope, as anti-king to Conrad IV. He was crowned at Aachen in 1248, but initially was only recognised in the lower Rhineland. He gained more general support on his marriage to Elizabeth of Brunswick in 1252, including the Rhenish League of Cities by 1254. He was killed in battle in 1256.

Subsequently Peter Woodhead advised me of a further example from the same reverse die (struck off flan in a similar manner) used with a 'class 5' obverse of good style. This coin is overstruck on what appears from fragments of the original legend still visible to be a Cologne denar. The overstriking of German coins with Short Cross types is discussed by Jan Stewart in *LACOM*, Münster 1981, 205–210 (at pp. 207–210).

47. hI R IIVS(reversed)II X:IID.
Rev. III /OI /OII /VV . 1-10/17-0
48. h IRI VS hX III'
Rev. Blundered legend consisting mainly of strokes. 0-88/13-6
- (v) Small module with blundered legends and crude portrait.
49. I I---VSDI XII. Letter X pommé
Rev. ---/N(reversed)O/DVL/IVO. 0-71/10-9
50. Very blundered obverse legend.
Rev. Cross in circle I' IIII/HI/VIIIO. 0-71/11-0
51. Strokes in place of obverse legend and jumbled letters on reverse. 0-87/13-9
52. Jumbled letters and symbols.
Rev. --/NO/ON/VD. 1-11/17-1
53. Grotesque portrait and jumbled legends. Very base metal. 0-78/12-0

With sceptre

Class 4. Star of eight points. h NRI VS R X:III'. Portrait similar to late class 3c, but holding sceptre which cuts legend between R X and :III.

54. Very blundered legend.²⁸
Rev. IOVI/MOI/IV /IOII. 1-23/19-9

Class 5. No. i.m. h NRICVS R X III' commencing immediately after sceptre. It is often impossible to suggest an association with a specific one of the eight sub-classes of this type, as many of the imitations display the criteria of more than one of these – some even appear on non-sceptre copies. Most appear to be based upon 5a–c, although a few have possibly taken 5g for their prototype. For convenience they are sub-divided in the following lists primarily by the marks in the field and secondarily by the basic shape of the eyes, but it will be appreciated that there is no chronological or other significance in this arrangement. On official coins, crescents in the field occur mainly in 5a–c and pellets in 5f–g, although a few earlier varieties and all 5d–f have a pellet between the curls. Most varieties have some coins without any marks, but the fringe of minute pellets below the jawline, and sometimes also around the neck ('necklace') is mainly confined to 5g. Annulet eyes were used in 5a, b and d, whilst oval ones occur in all other varieties of this class.

- (i) Four crescents in the field – between and below curls.
Annulet eyes.
55. Rev. RI /OAL/ARD/VND (N reversed; second A double-barred – a rare feature of some official English reverse dies of classes 5a–b). 1-36/21-0
This reverse die was also used with a Lippe obverse in the name of Bernhard.²⁹
56. Reversely barred N with pellet centre and reversed S on the obverse.
Rev. WIL/N h (upturned)/OIII/RID (combination of Wil(lem), Hen(ri) and Ric(ard)). 1-17/18-1
57. Reversed S on obverse (same die as 58?).
Rev. h N/RIO/IILV(both inverted)/ND (same die as 15). 1-34/20-7
58. Mis-struck. Reversed S on obverse. Only two crescents visible, but probably the same obverse die as 57.
Rev. RI /IRD/ON /LOV.³⁰ 1-53/23-6
59. Rev. HR /RID/ON /LOV.³¹ 1-34/20-7
60. Rev. ARI /WIG/RIO/TI . 1-11/17-2
61. Rev. ARI /WI /RVO/T O. 1-31/20-2
62. Rev. ARI /MI /GLV/-I . 1-10/17-0
63. Letter X patté.
Rev. h I/RIO/IILV/ID . 1-49/23-0
64. Rev. NI /ONL/ N/VI . 1-32/20-4
65. Reversed in H NRI VS (D & S die 0.3). Same die as 66–7.
Rev. LI /T R/ I'+/LON (same die as 40 and 108). 1-32/20-4
66. Same obverse die as 65 and 67.
Rev. NI /OL /ON /ANT. 1-42/21-9

²⁸ The association of this coin with the rare English class 4 is very tenuous, and the obverse may in fact be based upon class 3, with the apparent sceptre-head being a letter X pommé.

²⁹ Illustrated in *BNJ* 26 (1949–51), 54, pl. 1, 15. See W. Lot

41 for a similar reverse from a different die.

³⁰ Similar reverses are used with 'Irish' obverses (BH 57 and 58; reverse dies 16 and 17).

³¹ Die-linked with an 'Irish' obverse (BH 59).

67. Same die as 65–6.
Rev. RD/AR(-D)/ONL/VMD (same die as 14). 1-25/19-3
68. Same obverse die as 69–73.
Rev. ARW/I NR/CN /AN (pellet on crossbar of first and second N). 1-41/21-8
69. Same obverse die as 68 and 70–3.
Rev. BR'/h I/TQN/ AI (reversely barred N). 1-40/21-6
70. Same obverse die as 68–9 and 71–3.
Rev. DAV/ION/D V/ LI' (D & S die R.1 – same as 11 and 39).³² 1-39/21-5
71. Same obverse die as 68–70 and 72–3.
Rev. h I/RIO/ILV/ID . 1-36/21-0
72. Same obverse die as 68–71 and 73.
Rev. NI /OI /OIL/VID. 1-42/21-9
73. Same obverse die as 68–72.
Rev. WAL/T R/OI /AIT. 1-55/23-9
74. Reversed Ns on both sides.
Rev. RI /ORI/ VI/ NR. 1-31/20-2
75. Rev. ROB/ RT/ON(reversed) /ANT (retrograde). 1-30/20-1
76. Rev. h-G/ DO/WI /TOR. 1-15/17-8

Oval eyes.

77. h NR IVS
Rev. NI /OL /ONL/VID (retrograde) – same die as 99. 1-46/22-5
78. Rev. NI /IHD/ONL/VND. 1-40/21-6
79. Rev. NI /OHD/ONL /-CN. 1-21/18-7
80. Rev. NI /ONL /GI /- (pellet-barred Ns). 1-26/19-6
81. Rev. hI /Oh /II-I/VII (second reversed). 0-92/14-2
82. Rev. ARID/ARII/OIID/VIID (reversed s for Ds). 1-04/16-0
83. Rev. ARI /AR /CN /VND. 1-33/20-6
84. Rev. ARI /(h?) I/ARI /NLV. 1-04/16-0

(ii) Crescent beneath curls each side. Oval eyes.

- 0.3. Rev. ARI /h N/RIO/MLV (based on Ricard and Henri on Lund).³³ 1-36/21-0
85. Rev. ARI /WIG/ARV /TRO. 1-13/17-4
86. Rev. ARI /WI /TOR/--V. 1-04/16-1
- 0.4. Rev. I R/W -/SON/V T (based on Iervis on Ivel?).³⁴ 1-36/21-0

(iii) Pellet between curls.

Annulet eyes.

87. h NRCIVS. Crescent beneath curls.
Rev. h N/ND /RIO/NLV (first two quarters retrograde; last N reversed).
Same die as 36. 1-35/20-8
88. Obverse of similar style to 101.
Rev. III /OL / IL/ IV (based on Nicole on Lund). 1-50/23-2
89. Rev. BR'/h I/TOL/CINL. 1-28/19-7
90. Fringe of small pellets (same obverse as 91).
Rev. BIL/h I/TQN/ NR (hybrid legend possibly based on Gilbert on Can and Henri on Lund). 1-34/20-7
91. Same obverse die as 90
Rev. NI /OL /OIL/VHD (reversed for D). 1-25/19-3
92. Inverted h on obverse. Crescent-tailed R.
Rev. WIL/L M/ONL/VID (reversed for D) – same die as 107. 1-34/20-7
93. Fringe of small pellets.
Rev. RI /ARND/ NL/ONV (second N pellet-barred).³⁵ 1-42/21-9

³² Same dies as Brussels BH 21 (0.2, R.1).

³³ Hemselynge hoard (NC 1983, 164–176, at p. 176) no. 111. Transcribed as hEN/RIO/MLV/ARIC in the report, but amended here to conform with similar readings.

³⁴ Hemselynge hoard 115.

³⁵ Reverse die also used with an 'Irish' obverse (BH 49–50).

94. Fringe and necklace of small pellets. Same die as 95.
Rev. BIR/TON/I h/ ~~RL~~ (h and second R reversed) – same die as 28. 1-33/20-5
95. Same obverse die as 94.
Rev. INI/DOI/ (reversed)OI/LVN (same die as 31 and 105). 1-27/19-6
96. Fringe and necklace of small pellets.
Rev. DNI/ OL/ ON/LVN. 1-25/19-3
97. R /X divided by hand. Curule X.
Rev. WIL/L N/ ON/KAN (all Ns reversed) – based on a reverse of cl.5d.³⁶
 Silvered base metal. 1-32/20-4

Oval eyes

98. WIL/L M/CN /ANT (last N pellet-barred). 1-03/15-9

(iv) No marks in obverse field.

Annulet eyes; no neck.

99. Inverted h on obverse (same die as 100).
Rev. NI /OL /CNL/VID (retrograde) – same die as 77. 1-39/21-5
100. Same obverse die as 99.
Rev. NI /RI /CNL/BVD (retrograde). 1-33/20-5
101. Obverse of similar style to 88.
Rev. OL /III /OHL/VHL (same die as 34). 1-43/22-1
102. Distinctive portrait. Crescent-tailed R.
Rev. h N/RIO/NLV/ND (second N reversed). 1-42/21-9

Oval eyes

103. *Rev.* DNV/ICN/LVH/D I (based on Davi on Lunden). 1-32/20-4
104. *Rev.* N h/WA/O-R/OIN (Ns and R reversed; h inverted). 1-09/16-8
105. Same obverse die as 106-7.
Rev. INI/DOI/ (reversed)OI/LVN (same die as 31 and 95). 1-39/21-5
106. Same die as 105 and 107.
Rev. III /OL /OIL/VND. 1-38/21-3
107. Same die as 105-6.
Rev. WIL/L M/ONL/VID (reversed for D) – same die as 92. 1-40/21-6

(v) Four pellets in field.

Annulet eyes.

108. Same die as 109 (D & S die 0.4).³⁷
Rev. LI /T R/ T+/L.ON (same die as 40 and 65). 1-35/20-8
109. Same die as 108.
Rev. R N/ RO/N V/ RV (second N reversed). 1-45/22-4
- 0.5. *Rev.* ~~ARI~~ /WI /RI /TVO.³⁸ 1-24/19-1

Oval eyes

110. *Rev.* HI /OL (inverted) /DNK/AIT (based on Nicole on Kant – cl.5d) 1-40/21-6
111. *Rev.* h N/RIO/NIV/ND. 1-36/21-0
112. *Rev.* RID/ARD/OND/VHD (reversed for D) – based on Ricard on Lund. 1-22/18-9

³⁶ Ribnitz no. 167 transcribed as CON/RAI/WIL/LEM probably has a similar reverse legend and any association with Conrad, about which Dammberg expressed grave doubts, is illusory.

³⁷ This obverse die is also used with an 'Irish' reverse (D & S R.2 – BH 37).

³⁸ Hemselynge hoard 113 – transcribed in report as WIC/RIC/TVO/ARIC.

113.	Nothing between curls; minute pellet below. Rev. RI /ARND/ON/VI'D (reversed N). ³⁹	1-34/20-7
(vi)	Crude and blundered.	
114.	Crude portrait with sceptre to right. Reverse illegible.	1-21/18-7
115.	---I I VIL-- Rev. IVIL/ON(retrograde & inverted)/IBL/O (reversed)	0-99/15-3
116.	Crude face with pellet eyes. Rev. IV./ I (reversed)/IOI/DO. ⁴⁰	1-33/20-6
117.	Very crude portrait. Rev. R N/AD/OH/VH-. ⁴¹	1-26/19-5

Irish type obverses⁴²

h NRI/ VSR/ X (sceptre)III'. Crowned portrait holding sceptre in right hand; cinquefoil in field, all contained within a triangle dividing the legend.	
118. D & S die 0.6. Same die as 119-21. Rev. NI /OL /QN /ANT.	1-39/21-5
119. Same die as 118 and 120-1. Rev. DIN (reversely barred)/ OL/ ON/LVN.	1-43/22-1
120. Same die as 118-9 and 121. Rev. B R/h N/TQN/ AN (combination of (Gil)ber(t) and Hen(ri) on Can).	1-38/21-3
121. Same obverse die as 118-20. Rev. WIL/L M/QN /ANT (D & S die R.5 - BH 38)	1-32/20-4
122. D & S die 0.8. Same die as 123-4. Rev. (h N)/RIO/NLV/HD.	1-09/16-8
123. Same obverse die as 122 and 124. Rev. h N/RIO/NIV/ND .	1-31/20-2
124. Same obverse die as 122-3. Rev. h N/RI/-NO/NOL (many letters inverted or reversed).	1-00/15-4
125. D & S die 0.9. Rev. ADA/MOI/N V/ A. ⁴³	1-25/19-3

Crude varieties with blundered legends.

126.	Rev. PI /HD/OND/IV (based on Ricard on Dive)	1-36/21-0
127.	Rev. -V/OI (reversed)/--O/I V.	1-42/21-9
128.	Rev. VOD/SDN/VHN/ AI.	1-12/17-3
129.	D & S die 0.29. Sceptre omitted; trefoil to right and quatrefoil to left of bust. Jumbled letters and symbols in both legends.	1-05/16-2
130.	D & S die 0.36. Small face with beard of long strokes; triangle of pellets to right. Rev. h(inverted) -/OH /DVO/IVI (first and last reversed) - D & S die R.47.	0-95/14-7
131.	D & S die 0.38. hVGI/CINOVO/O. Small face without beard; triangle of pellets to right. Rev. H-G/VOII/ -/O (D & S die R.49)	1-40/21-6
132.	Portrait of similar style. Rev. DAV/IIN(reversed)/DVO/ L (retrograde - Davi on Divil)	1-03/15-9
133.	Portrait with large annulet eyes and beard of strokes resembling the so-called 'ape' face of OS 120. ⁴⁴ Blundered legends on both sides.	0-98/15-1

³⁹ This obverse die was also used with a reverse REN/ERO/NEI/BMV (comp. 109). See 41 for a similar reverse reading from a different die.

⁴⁰ Possibly copying a 'Salve Regina' reverse reading IVI/CVI/LON/DON (Chautard 486 and Ribnitz 208 - illustrated).

⁴¹ Possibly an official issue of class 5i, but more likely to be an imitation.

⁴² A die-study of 'Irish' imitations is published in Dolley and Seaby.

⁴³ This reverse is also used with an 'English' obverse (see 27 and n. 24). The combination is illustrated in Dolley and Seaby pl. XX, OSZ.

⁴⁴ See Dolley and Seaby, 293 and 300.

134. Similar to English class 3a but with beard of curved lines.⁴⁵
Rev. HIC/OL /OHL/VHD. 1-47/22-7
135. Obverse brockage.⁴⁶ Portrait resembling that on some coins of Lippe especially in the treatment of the beard (see p. 113). 1-22/18-9

Lettering

In general the lettering closely copies that on the prototypes, although some of the finer distinctions, a few of which provide the criteria for the classification of some English varieties, are not found on the imitations.

The variations are perhaps most noticeable on the obverses, which otherwise tend to be fairly accurate copies. The letters R, S and X are the most distinctive and the latter has several recognisable varieties. Basically there are two main forms – straight-sided limbs used with portraits based upon English classes 2 and 3, or one straight and two curved limbs found on coins with a sceptred portrait as on class 5. The most distinctive of the former is one which I have designated ‘arrow-head’ (fig. 1.1), which loosely copies the style used in classes 2b and 3, but has small barb-like projections at the end of each pointed limb. Although most punches of this variety are small and squat, there is some variation and a few coins have a larger and thinner version (7–9 and 18). Most other ‘class 3’ coins have a plain cross with pointed or rounded ends more like that on the prototypes, but rarely the arms terminate in blobs (23 and 38–41) or are distinctly pommé (10 and 42). A cross pattée is used on 4, 63 and possibly 12.

There is more variation in the letter X on imitations with a sceptred portrait. As one would expect, in all cases examined the letter appears to be based upon forms used on English class 5 pence. The most common is that illustrated in figure 1.2 of which there are several minor varieties. On a few coins the letter is inverted (103–4). Although in essence very similar to the former, that in figure 1.3 with crescents for the curved limbs copies the variety used on late class 5a and a few 5b pence (it is also found on the rare variety 3ab₂, but this is without

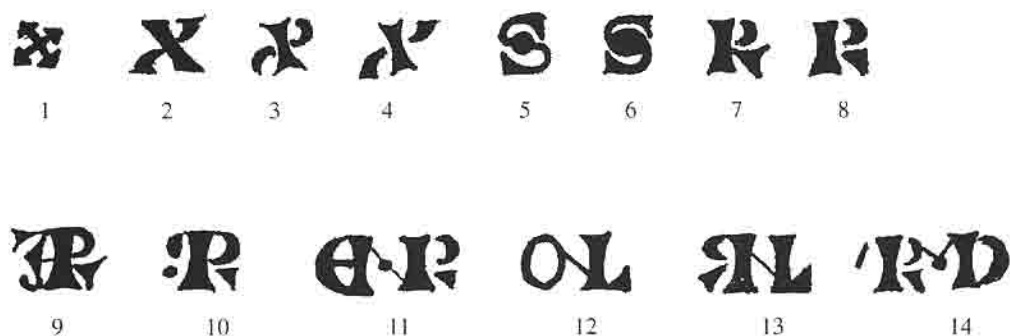


Fig. 1 Lettering and ligatures

⁴⁵ Except for the beard, composed of short curved strokes instead of a double line of pellets, this coin is indistinguishable from an official English one and illustrates the difficulty in recognising unequivocally some of the imitations. Its style and lettering are so similar that one cannot dismiss completely the possibility that it is an English variant. Peter Woodhead favours a continental origin, pointing out that the beard of strokes is found on some imitations. It is of

course possible that the dies for this coin were made by a worker who had produced some in England and was using the same punches, since some would appear to be very similar to those found on official coins.

⁴⁶ There was an obverse brockage of very similar style in the Colchester hoard. Such errors are of considerable rarity in medieval times and the occurrence of two, probably from the same mint, implies an unusual lack of quality control.

sceptre). This style has been noted on **56, 80, 82** and **85**. The variety in figure 1.4 is often used and appears to be a debased form of that in figure 1.2. The curule style of the letter, first used on English coins of class 5d, appears on **97**, the reverse of which is copied from a Canterbury coin of that class.

On most coins the letter S has a pellet centre (as in English class 3) – fig. 1.5, or a thick waist (as on many class 5) – fig. 1.6. Although it is not always easy to distinguish these, a distinctly pellet-centred S on a coin with a sceptred portrait is indicative of an imitation. On a few coins (**19, 56–8**) the pellet S is reversed.

The most common form of R on the English coins (used in classes 1–3c and 5b–c) has a wedge tail with some variation in shape and size and this is the form generally found on imitations. A wedge with incurved sides (fig. 1.7) appears on most English coins of class 5b–c, and this variety is used on imitations without sceptre (most) and with sceptre (many). Otherwise the tail consists of a straight-sided triangle (fig. 1.8), but the proportions and placing of this can vary. Rarely the tail takes the form of a crescent (**21, 45, 92** and **102**) or a cross between a wedge and a crescent (**1, 2, 4** and **12**) – the latter perhaps indicating Westphalian origin.

Whilst the lettering on the obverse generally conforms to that of the prototype (with the minor differences discussed above), a number of irregularities occur on the reverses. On a few the letters h (also found on some obverses – **92, 99** and **100**), L, V and R are inverted, and reversed letters are more common. E, h, N and R have been noted on the reverse, while C, E, N and S occur on the obverse. The reversed N also occurs on most reverses with the names of ‘Cunren’ and ‘Sullen’, mainly used with *Salve Regina* obverses. In many cases a reversed E takes the place of a D and should perhaps be more properly described as D with a crossbar. A few reverses and one obverse (**56**) have pellet-barred Ns which were probably intended to copy the letter with a small dash on the crossbar found on some English coins. A pellet-barred E occurs on English coins of class 1a and this is copied on the obverse of one coin (**1**) based on that variety. More unusual is the double-barred A on **55** – a very rare feature on English reverses of 5a–5c.

The omission of crossbars on some reverses produces apparently garbled legends such as IICOLCOILVID, which becomes a perfect rendering of the prototype when the relevant bars are inserted. On the reverses of some coins the crossbar of the N is horizontal (resembling a Roman H), a feature found on many English coins.

Occasionally the entire reverse legend is retrograde (**37, 77** and **99**), and on several coins this is confined to the quarter reading hEN (**28, 94** and **104**) or two quarters hEN/NDE (**36** and **87**). Such retrogression can be confusing if it is not recognised as such, e.g. on a coin where the second and third quarters are unclear, NIC/OLE/ONL/VND retrograde appears to read CIV/---/---/DIN and could well be taken for a legend commencing with CIV(ITAS).

Ligations⁴⁷

A feature of the English Long Cross coinage was the frequent ligation of pairs of letters such as NR, AN, AR, EN, ON, etc. The only obverse ligations found on classes 2 to 5 are NR, ER (in *TERCI*) and ENR (see below), and these are copied faithfully on most imitations with unblundered obverse legends. However, at times those on the reverse present curious and often unintelligible ligations when the prototype appears to have been misinterpreted. The commonest of such errors is the use of a ligated AR to represent the first letter R in reverse legends derived from *RICARD ON LVND* (**60–2**) where the letters AR in the second quarter

⁴⁷ The use of ligated letters on English Long Cross pence is discussed in *BNJ* 10 (1913), 73.

are ligated on the English coins. There is considerable variation in this ligation on the imitations, with most closely copying the English style (fig. 1.9) even down to the double-barred A on one die (55), although most omit the crossbar. On others the A degenerates into a crescent with a large pellet beneath (fig. 1.10) and finally a small line or wedge attached to the top of the R.⁴⁸ Even more remarkable is the introduction of multiple ligations incorporating three or even four letters, although the only one found on English coins is ENR on the obverses of most class 3bc (fig. 1.11 – this occurs on the reverse of 68). At times this produces combinations which are apparently meaningless. The commonest are created by the insertion of a transverse line between two letters to represent N (28, 64, 69 etc.) making ENL, ONL (fig. 1.12) or even R(reversed)NL (fig. 1.13). Whilst some of these make sense, it is difficult to attribute any logical explanation to the placing between two letters of a V with a large pellet at its vertex, producing a letter M. This is used to make a ligation of four letters ARMD (fig. 1.14) on two reverse dies with similar legends (41, 113), and its function appears to be purely ornamental, since the context indicates that ARD is intended.

Weights

The writer had the good fortune to be able to weigh 280 Long Cross imitations from an old collection, most of which appear to have come from a single hoard. Many looked uncirculated and there was little patination, so that their present weight probably does not differ significantly from that when they were struck. It is difficult to make a precise comparison of the weights of two groups of coins unless samples of each are available from the same hoard, and even this is not infallible since some have probably circulated before deposit. In an attempt to arrive at an acceptable weight range and average, 479 English coins from the Haarlo hoard were used, and as a check a further 282 from the writer's collection were assessed with fairly similar results. The latter are perhaps somewhat unsatisfactory, as most coins in collections will have been selected, but they have the advantage of having been weighed on the same scales as the imitations.

From the chart below it will be seen that the weights of the imitations compare very favourably with those of the English coins. Very blundered imitations of poor quality have been omitted, as most of these are probably forgeries. The fineness of the silver has not been tested, but the colour of the metal and the occasional spot of verdigris suggest that in many cases it is not up to the English standard (but see note 7). Although the coins have been divided into two groups (with and without sceptre), this appears to have no chronological significance in the case of most imitations.

Some Long Cross coins in the name of Bernhard of Lippe are on slightly smaller flans than his sterlings, and because of their weights (c. 0.50–0.60gms. and c. 0.25gms.) these are designated halblinge (halves) and vierlinge (quarters) respectively.⁴⁹ One quarter in the Weweler sale (lot 56) is on a much smaller flan (13mm.) and weighs 0.35gms. However, despite the smaller module of a few, none of the coins in the sample examined and weighed, or in the lists, can be regarded as a fraction. The lightest in the lists (49, 50 and 53) are all heavier than any half-sterling, and their crude style suggests that their lighter weight is due to the fact that they are probably forgeries.

⁴⁸ This is rendered AR in the lists even when the context indicates that R alone was intended.

⁴⁹ *Ihl* (as in n. 24), 33–4. I am grateful to Lord Stewardby for drawing my attention to this publication and lending me his copy.

PERCENTAGE OF COINS IN EACH WEIGHT BAND

Weight (gm)	No sceptre			Sceptre			Totals		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1.60	1	1	x	—	x	—	x	x	x
1.55	—	—	x	2	1	—	3	1	x
1.50	8	5	5	6	6	6	7	6	5
1.45	14	10	20	11	21	24	12	18	21
1.40	22	30	22	34	20	29	30	23	24
1.35	8	20	29	19	20	18	16	20	25
1.30	29	14	15	12	11	18	17	12	16
1.25	8	7	3	6	8	1	6	8	2
1.20	5	7	2	4	6	2	4	6	2
1.15	—	3	x	3	3	1	2	3	1
1.10	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	2	2
1.05	1	1	x	1	1	—	1	1	x
1.00	—	1	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
Average (gm)	1.35	1.34	1.38	1.37	1.36	1.37	1.36	1.35	1.37
(gr)	20.85	20.72	21.9	21.06	20.91	21.13	21.00	20.85	21.19

KEY TO CHART

Column 1. Imitations

Column 2. Official English coins – Haarlo hoard.

Column 3. Official English coins – Writer's collection.

All weights have been rounded up or down to the nearest 0.05 gm.

x in column = under 0.5%

Moneyers

Not unexpectedly in view of its output, the recognisable names on the Long Cross imitations are preponderantly those working at the London mint between classes 3 and 5, together with a few of Canterbury for the same period. There are also a number of coins with the Dublin mint signature, mainly with 'Irish' obverses, and the odd provincial mint such as Hereford (26), Lincoln (5) and Newcastle (125). One coin of 'York' (109) has a sceptred portrait, although that mint only struck in classes 2b–3c. Another sceptred coin (0.4) has a reverse apparently derived from one of Ilchester, which was working in class 3 only.

Details of the London and Canterbury moneyers whose names or derivatives therefrom have been noted are summarised below. The most commonly encountered is Nicole (mainly of London), which is hardly surprising in view of his considerable output. Another prolific London moneyer, Henri, was also extensively copied, and the first element of his name (often retrograde) appears on a number of reverses. Ricard and Davi, active London moneyers especially in class 5, are used with some frequency, but unless they are followed by an unequivocal London signature these names could have been copied from Dublin coins.

The sceptreless imitations with the name of Willem (London) are of particular interest in the light of his first English coins being of class 5c. This evidence that they were not contemporary with the earlier issues which they copied is not surprising in view of the number of reverse mules linking 'cl.3' obverses with those of 'cl.5'. However, some of the 'cl.3' coins have unusual reverse legends, WILLENLVNDON etc. (17 and 24) and these are discussed below.

Reverses recognisably derived from Canterbury coins are less common, the most prolific moneyer again being Nicole. Gilbert is included, although only elements of his name have been noted so far.

LONG CROSS MONEYERS OF LONDON AND CANTERBURY NAMED ON IMITATIONS

Moneyer	Dates	Types	IMITATIONS (OBVERSE TYPE)			
			TERCI	No sceptre	Sceptre	Irish
LONDON						
Nicole	died c. 1252	2-5c	x	x	x	x
Henri	took oath 1248	3a-5g	x	x	x	x
Davi	1250-60	3c-5g		x	x	x
Ricard	took oath 1250	3c-5g		x	x	x
Willem	took die c. 1255	5c-5g	x	x	x	x
Renaud	d.1278	5g-7			x	
CANTERBURY						
Nicole		2-5g	x	x	x	x
Gilbert	took oath 1248	2-5g		x	x	x
Willem*	took oath 1250	2-5g		x	x	x
Ion	took oath 1250	4-5g		x		x
Robert		5c-5h			x	x
Walter		5c-5h			x	

* It is uncertain how many moneyers named Willem worked at Canterbury mint during the Long Cross coinage. Records show that William Cockayne was sworn in 1250, but the name appears on coins struck before that date. Another William (of Gloucester), the king's goldsmith, received grants of dies in both London and Canterbury c. 1255 (*BNJ* 9 (1912), 159-161, 179).

Die-links

As remarked earlier, similarity of style is an unreliable link between Long Cross imitations, and the only indisputable one is the sharing of dies, a comparatively common occurrence as in most other imitative issues. The following die-links have been noted in the coins listed:

Obverse. 5-6, 7-9, 24-5, 28-32, 34-5, 36-7, 38-41, 57-8?, 65-7, 68-73, 90-1, 94-5, 99-100, 105-7, 108-9, 118-21, 122-4.

Reverse. 11/39/70, 14/67, 15/57, 28/94, 31/95/105, 34/101, 36/87, 40/65/108, 77/99, 92/107.

When these are combined, quite long chains can be compiled, as will be seen from the following, which can doubtless be extended even further as new links are discovered.

CHAIN I

Average weight 1.39gm. Range: 1.25-1.55gm.

Obverse without sceptre		Reverse	Obverse with sceptre
		ARWIENRONCAN	68
		BR'HEITONLCAI	69
		HCIRICHILVIDC	71
		NICOIEIOLVID	72
		WALTERONCAIT	73
11	39	DAVIONDEVELI	70
	38	B'RHENTOLERN	
	41	RIDARMDONLVRD	
		RENERONEVER	109
	40	LIETERCI+LON	108
		NICOLEONCANT	65
14		RDAR·DONLVMID	66
			67

CHAIN 2
Average weight 1.39gm. Range: 1.27–1.45gm.

Obverse without sceptre	Reverse	Obverse with sceptre	
29	DNICOLEONLVN		
30	INEOLCONLVND		
32	WILLEMONTANT		
28	BIRTONLIEHCRNL	94	
31	INIDOEILVN	95	105
	IIICOLCOILVND		106
	WILLEMONTVID	92	107

The die-study of ‘Irish’ imitations by Dolley and Seaby revealed that in their Class II (Irish type obverses with ‘English’ reverses) no more than three obverse dies are employed with no fewer than seventeen reverses (increased to twenty-two by specimens in this paper), but no reverse die occurs with more than one obverse.

D & S obverse die 6 (Average weight 1.35gm. Range: 1.05–1.61gm).

- R.4. NICOLEONTANT (OS 97) – see also **118**.
- R.5. WILLEMONTANT (BH 38) – see also **121**.
- R.6. ROBCRTONTANT (BH 39–40)
- R.7. IONBERTONTANT (BH 41–2)
- R.8. HCIRIOHLVND (BH 43)
- R.9. DAVNOILVHDEN (BH 44–8)
- R.10. RICRNOENLONV (BH 49–50) – see **93** for use with ‘English’ obverse.
- R.11. WILLEMONTLVND (OS 98)
- R.12. RIEORIEVIONNT (BH 51–3)
- R.13. BIR--I--LORL (BH 54)
- R.- BERHENTONTAN (**120**)
- R.- DINCOLEONLVN (**119**)

D & S obverse die 7 (Average weight 1.23gm. Range: 1.15–1.29gm)

- R.14. NICOLCONLVND (BH 55)
- R.15. HENRIONLVHDE (BH 56)
- R.16–7. RIEHRDONELOV (BH 57–8) – see **58** for similar reading, but apparently a different die used with ‘English’ obverse.
- R.18. HRERIDONELOV (BH 59) – see **59** for use with ‘English’ obverse.

D & S obverse die 8 (Average weight 1.20gm. Range: 1.00–1.38gm).

- R.19. HENRIONLVNDE ? (BH 60) – see also **123** (different die).
- R.20. HENRICIILVNDE (BH 61)
- R.21. DAVIONIVHDREI (BH 62–3 & OS 99)
- R.- HENRIONLVND (**122**)
- R.- HENRI-ONLON (retrograde in parts – **124**).

Associated reverses

In addition to the die-links, but less dependable, are groups of reverses with variations of distinctive legends bearing little resemblance to that on any prototype, although elements of the original can often be distinguished. The variation on many of these may well be deliberate, as often they do not have a recognisable pattern of deterioration such as one would expect to find on copies of copies and, as remarked earlier, the obverses usually transcribe without fault

the original English legend. The principal groups distinguished by the writer are listed below, and doubtless several more variations can be added to these. With the garbled inscriptions the selection of the commencement is somewhat arbitrary.

ARIC/WIG group (Average weight 1.20gm. Range: 1.04–1.43gm).

The first 'group' of letters, transcribed as ARIC, starts with copies of varying accuracy of the ligated AR found on many English coins, although quite inappropriate if, as seems likely, this part of the inscription was inspired by RIC(ARD). All coins except the first have a sceptre.

ARIC/WIG/RIE/TVO (33)

ARIC/WIG/RIO/TIE (60)

ARIC/WIC/RVO/TEO (61)

ARIE/WIG/ARVC/TRO (85)

ARIE/WIC/TOR/--V (86)

ARIC/WIC/RIC/TVO (0.5 – Hemselyne hoard no. 113)

ARIC/TEO/RVE/WIC (Haarlo hoard no. 546 – lot 526).

None of the above coins has been connected to either of the chains nor have any die-links been noted. This and their absence from the Brussels hoard and from the group of 280 imitations mentioned later suggest that they may have been struck at a different mint from the bulk of the coins listed or possibly at a later date.⁵⁰ However, the obverse of 33 closely resembles that shared by 28–32, including the 'arrow-head' letter X, but this may be coincidental since both dies are deceptive copies of their 3b prototype. The other obverses show some variation in style, that of 60 being somewhat crude with badly formed lettering – possibly a copy of an imitation of this group.

A number of reverses, some more closely resembling the English ones reading RIC/ARD/ONL/VND, could possibly be associated with the above, as most have the distinctive diagonal to the letter R, but the style of portrait suggests otherwise. Amongst these are two small groups, each tenuously connected by the style of their obverses. The obverse lettering, especially X, is very similar in both groups.

1. Round face with oval eyes having prominent pupils.

ARIC/ARC/ONC/VND (83)

ARIE/(H?)EI/ARIE/NLV (84) – see 0.3 for a variety legend.

RIC/ARNO/ENL/ONV (93)

2. Small spade-shaped face with well-marked beard.

ARIC/MIE/GLV/-IC (62)

ARID/ARII/OHD/VHD (82)

RID/ARD/OND/VHD (112)

The treatment of the face of 62 is somewhat similar to that of a Lippe coin in the name of Bernhard with a reverse based on Ricard on Lund (see 55 and n. 29).

BIR/HEN/TOL group (Average weight: 1.38gm. Range: 1.18–1.50 – based on 31 coins).

The original inscriptions upon which this group of reverses is based are uncertain, but they appear to have elements of HEN(RI), ONL(VND), CAN and perhaps (GIL)BER/T. The first two dies are used with sceptreless obverses, although the first is also found combined with a

⁵⁰ There were several examples, all with sceptred bust, in Ribnitz as follows:

138. ARB/CNC/ARL/VNO	1 example
139. ARIE/WIG/ARIO/TIE	2 examples

140. ARIE/WIG/ARC/TNO	1 example
-----------------------	-----------

141. ARB/ENO/RIL/VNO	1 example
----------------------	-----------

Varieties also occurred in the Steppingly, Abilds and Kirial hoards, but none appears to be recorded in Brussels.

sceptred one. Two others are used with both 'English' and 'Irish' obverse dies. The following are the main variations, but other very similar readings exist.

BIR/TONL/IEH/CRNL (**28** and **94**)

B'R/HEN/TOL/ERN (**38**)

BR'/HEI/TOL/CINL (**89**)

BR'/HEI/TONL/CAI (**69**)

BIL/HEI/TONL/CNR (**90**) – die-linked with NIC/OLC/OIL/VHD (**91**)

BER/HEN/TON/CAN (**120**) – Irish obverse 6.

The unusual ONL ligation used on **28**, **69**, **90** and **94** also appears on **79** and **80**, both loosely based on NICOLE ON LVND, suggesting an association with this group. The reverse inscription of **91**, which is die-linked with **90**, provides additional evidence for this supposition.

The group is connected to Chain 1 by **38** and **69**; and to Chain 2 by **28** and **94**. The 'Irish' obverse 6 is also used with BH 54 (transcribed as BIR/--I/--L/ORL), which belongs in this group and appears to have the same legend as **28** and **94** and may be from the same die (the illustration of this reverse on plate XX of Dolley and Seaby is inverted).

A coin of the group in Chautard (no. 478; pl. XXXII, 4) has the reverse legend transcribed as HIR/HEI/TOL/CR(reversed)L. It was attributed to Kuinre on the grounds of the similarity of its obverse to one used with a reverse reading HEN/RICV/S-CO/MES (Ch. 476; pl. XXXII, 2) and, although without a definite die-link this association is speculative, coins with variations of this reverse may well have been struck there (see p. 102 and no. 60).

WILLEN LVNDON group.

This unusual rendering of the reverse legend, together with slight variations all deriving from Willem on Lund, is found combined with obverses both with and without the sceptre, although Willem only appears on official London coins of class 5c and later. The omission of ON and the rendering of the mint name in full are features of most reverses of this group of imitations. The combination of a reverse similar to **24** with an obverse reading HENRICVS COMES⁵¹ and the die-linking of **24** and **25** with **0.2** enable us to attribute this group to the mint of Count Henry – whose identity is disputed but is now generally accepted as a Lord of Kuinre – and to associate with it the reverse die reading WID/LEM/ONE/AIT. A coin (**9**) with the reverse legend WIL/LEN/ONL/VND combined with a 'class 2 (TERCI)' obverse probably also appertains to this group,⁵² and this is die-linked with reverses reading HEN/RIO/NIE/NDE (**7**) and IIC/OLE/ONL/VIID (**8**).

WIL/LEN/LVN/DON (**17**)

WIL/LEM/LVN/DON (**24**)

WID/LEM/ONE/AIT (**25**)

WIL/LEM/LON/DON (**43**)

The last has a portrait of unusual style which resembles that on some of the SALVE REGINA MA sterling. Support for this association comes from two Ribnitz coins (no. 209) where a SALVE REGINA MA obverse without sceptre is combined with a reverse transcribed as WIL/LEM/IVN/DOI (the third quarter appears to read SV.).

⁵¹ Ribnitz no. 196. The attribution of these coins is discussed on p. 102.

⁵² Coins in the Ribnitz hoard – no. 85 (this follows no. 94 and should be 95) – combine a WILLEM LVNDON reverse with a 'class 2 (TERCI)' obverse – cf. **9**.

CIVITAS LONDON group.

Although there are no specimens of this group in the lists of this paper, it was well represented in the Ribnitz hoard where the coins were listed, albeit with reservations, in the English section.⁵³ Detailed descriptions in the hoard report were as follows:

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 53. No sceptre. CIVI TAS LVN DON (or DON) | 14 examples. |
| 54. No sceptre. CIVI ATS LON DON. | 1 example. |
| 55. With sceptre. CIVI TAS LVN DON. | 3 examples. |
| 56. With sceptre. CIVI ATS LON DON. | 1 example. |

Attribution of these coins to Kuire is suggested by coins with SALVE REGINA MA obverses combined with reverses reading CIVITAS CASTOR (Ribnitz 202) and IVI CVI LON LON (Ribnitz 208 and Ch. 486). Such an association was favoured by Dannenberg, who cites the 'London' coins twice in the pages devoted to the coins of Kuire. The use of CIVITAS followed by the mint name is common in this area at the time, with CIVITAS CVNREN or CIVI CVNRENCIS on coins with HENRICVS REX obverses,⁵⁴ and the former on Salve Regina coins (Ribnitz 197–8 and Ch. 483). The reading CIVITAS SVLLEN also appears on Salve Regina coins (Ribnitz 206 and Ch. 485) as well as those in the name of John of Nassau, Bishop elect of Utrecht (Ribnitz 210). The London and Castor readings were probably based upon these, although they could have been copied from the coins of Edward I's coinage with which they are probably contemporary.

Two coins in the lists reading CIVI/NRV/LON/LON (21) and CIVI/VIN/---/---N (22) probably appertain to this group, and the affinities of the former with a Salve Regina coin is discussed in n. 21. The lettering and eyes of 21 also resemble those on an 'English' obverse combined with a CIVI/TAS/LON/DON reverse. The usual rendering of the mint name as LVNDON ties these coins in with the previous (WILLEN LVNDON) group.

Obviously, in a preliminary study such as this, the chains, die-links and lists of associated reverses are far from complete, but even at this stage they suggest that the bulk of the imitations with convincing 'English' obverses of good style combined with reverses that are apparently blundered emanated from the same area.

The most noticeable variations in style occur in the imitations with blundered obverse legends (46–54, 114–7 and 126–33). Many of these are of light weight or small module and a few are of silvered copper or base metal. The worst are doubtless forgeries of unknown (possibly English or Irish) origin, but a few may even be continental copies of imitations.⁵⁵

Attributions

One of the few coins with accurate copies of English dies on both obverse and reverse which can be attributed incontrovertibly to the issuer is the 'class 2' sterling of 'Lincoln' (5). Here a mini-chain links this coin to one with a reverse reading CIV ARNESBERG (6), which is also used in combination with an obverse with the legend GODEFRIDVS CO (pl. 8, C), confirming that all three coins were struck for Gottfried III, Lord of Arnsberg (1235–87).⁵⁶ Other 'English' sterlings which may have been struck in the Westphalian region are 2 (see n. 15 and

⁵³ Dannenberg remarks that Hawkins ignored these coins, whilst Ruding acknowledged such coins with a Short Cross on p. 188, no. 15 of the first supplementary table (these also are now recognised as imitations). D. considered that the Ribnitz coins were forgeries, being light and small, and he remarked on a certain resemblance to the coins of Kuire.

⁵⁴ Ribnitz nos. 186–8 and Chataud no. 475 (pl. XXXII, 1). See also Plaagendrup hoard plate no. 6 in NC 1850.

⁵⁵ 115–6 may have been copied from 'Salve Regina' coins

of Kuire (Ch. 486) – see n. 40. However the very jumbled obverse legends bear no resemblance to these, and the few visible letters on 116 appear to be loosely based on an English coin.

⁵⁶ Berghaus was apparently unaware of any Long Cross sterlings struck at Arnsberg when he wrote 'Arnsberger Münzgeschichte' in *Münzen, Wappen, Siegel der Städte Arnsberg* (1971), 3–17.

63), **4**, where the portrait is very similar to that on a Blomberg coin (**1**), and perhaps **26**, for which a Westphalian mint has been suggested as a possibility (see n. 23). The letter E with a long spur on **12** resembles the distinctive letter on many German Short Cross imitations.⁵⁷ This coin also has an unusual wedge/crescent tail to the letter R similar to that on **1**, **2** and **4**. The attribution of **55** to Lippe through a reverse die-link is discussed later and a number of more tentative attributions are listed in the summary on pp. 117–8.

The completion of the fragmentary legend on the reverse of **44** to read G.BOPARDENSIS (see n. 27) permitted its attribution with some certainty to Boppard in the lower Rhine region, despite this town being outside the main areas of Long Cross imitation. The obverse die on this is of unusual, rather crude, style, but the two other dies used with the same reverse are of finer work and resemble the English prototypes more closely.

One die-link suggests that many sterlings with obverses which are deceptive copies of English class 3b were probably struck at Kuinre. Such an obverse die used with reverses having an 'English' legend (**24–5**) is also known combined with a reverse reading HENRICVS-COMES (**0.2**), generally attributed to Kuinre. There is some confusion about which Henry was responsible for these coins, as the dates of the Lords of Kuinre are nebulous. A Henry II does appear between 1263 and 1265 – Dannenberg gives his dates as 1263–94 (p. 313) – and there are references to a Henry III (d.s.p. Aug. 1318) between 1294 and 1297 and perhaps again in 1304.⁵⁸ While nineteenth-century numismatists favoured Henry II, some modern continental students attribute these coins to Henry III. It has even been suggested that they may have been struck by Heinrich I of Sternberg (1249–82),⁵⁹ who minted Long Cross sterlings of Scottish design at Bosingfeld. The proposed attribution to a Count of Waldeck named Heinrich (1249–82) was rightly dismissed by Dannenberg (p. 314).

It seems likely that many, perhaps most, of the '3b' imitations were struck at the same mint, and some are connected by the distinctive 'arrow-head' letter X. Although this form does not appear on **24–5**, it is used on **17**, the unusual reverse inscription of which – WIL/LEN/LVN/DON – resembles that on **24** too closely to be coincidental – see also **43**. The letter is also used on the obverse die shared by **7–9**, which has a slightly blundered 'class 2' legend with a portrait resembling that of '3bc' or even '5' without the sceptre.

The above examples are exceptional, and normally the certain attribution of anonymous copies presents considerable difficulties and some of the accepted ones are open to question. Chautard associated a number of such coins with Kuinre, basing this on the similarity of their obverses.⁶⁰ However, despite the fact that several reverses are shown on the relative plate connected to one obverse, it seems unlikely that they all share the same obverse die, although it is impossible to confirm or negate this from the engraved illustrations. His nos. 481 (LA/CMR/RIL/VND) and 482 (SET/NVI/LVN/DON)⁶¹ are also included under the coins of Kuinre because the portraits are the 'same type' as no. 480, transcribed as HENRICVS COM:S on the obverse and DAV/IO(R)(reversed)/LVN/DEN on the reverse, and 475, with an 'English' obverse

⁵⁷ I. Stewart, 'Some German coins overstruck with sterling types', *LAGOM, Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 60. Geburtstag am 20 November 1979*, Münster 1981, 205–10 (at p. 208, figs. 4–8) and Lord Stewartby, 'German imitations of English Short-Cross sterlings', *NC* 1995, 221.

⁵⁸ Dolley and Seaby 298, citing A.N. de Vos van Steenwijk in *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* LXXXIV (1967), 259–310.

⁵⁹ Schulman Catalogue 276 (22.2.83), 25 – note to lot 597. This attribution to Sternberg was favoured by Weweler and appears in his sale catalogue (lots 1099 and 1100), where his dates are shown as 1243–79.

⁶⁰ Chautard's 478 (HIR//HEI/TOL/CRL) and 479 (WAL/TER/ONC/WAL) are linked by him with 476–7, which read HEN/RICV/S-CO/MES, and they are all illustrated on his

plate XXXII, 2–5 as sharing an 'English' obverse die. The first thirteen coins on this plate are derived from the Plaagendrup hoard plate, where several reverses share one obverse on three occasions, but this appears to be done to illustrate the basic type rather than imply that they are die-linked. Chautard probably had the same intention, since his text for 476–9 only states 'même face' and the link between the coins seems very tenuous. Indeed 479 may well be an official English coin with a blundered version of WAL/TER/ONC/ANT.

⁶¹ The attribution to Kuinre of this and similar readings appears still to be accepted in the Netherlands, where two coins in the Haarlo hoard (511 and 544) were classified thus.

and a reverse reading CIVI/CVN/REN/CIS, respectively. This is not to say that the association of these coins is definitely incorrect – in fact the mint name LVNDON of 482 suggests a connection with the WILLEN LVNDON coins mentioned above – but it should perhaps be regarded with more circumspection than the text would imply.

In the case of Lippe, all of the Long Cross coins listed by Chautard bear the name of Bernhard, or rarely Simon, with two exceptions which have 'HENRICVS' obverses combined with a reverse inscribed with the name of the mint – BLO/ME/NBE/RIC.⁶² Apart from a few very rare 'Irish' obverses having the portrait contained within a triangle, the bulk of the Long Cross coins in the name of Bernhard have 'English' obverses and are used with reverses based upon English ones. The principal varieties are listed below, as it is amongst these that any die-links with 'HENRICVS' obverses will be found. The coins marked with an asterisk were represented in the Brussels hoard.

*'Irish' obverses*⁶³

HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE⁶⁴ (Ribnitz 230; W.lots 33–4)⁶⁵

NIC/OLE/ONL/VND (Weweler 36)

..A/ORE/NLV/... (Weweler 37)

'English' obverses

1. Rosette of pellets in crown and centre of reverse.

*HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE (Ribnitz 217–8; W.lots 35–6)

*NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN

2. Transitional ? – Rosette on obverse only.

*NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN (Ribnitz 220; W.lot 39)

3. No rosette on either side.

*HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE (Ribnitz 213; W.lot 38)

*NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN (Ribnitz 221; W.lot 40)

REN/AVD/ONL/VND⁶⁶ (Ribnitz 222–4; W.lots 43–5; var. 46–7, 52)

REN/RIO/NLV/NDE (Ribnitz 219; W.lots 49–51; 53–5)

*RIC/OAL/ARD/VND (Ribnitz 227; *BNJ* 26 (1949–51), 54 and pl. 1, 15; W.lot 41)

RID/ARD/ONI/VND (Ribnitz 226; W.lot 48)

⁶² His 416 and 417 (pl. XXVII, 7 and 8), but these may not have been issued by Bernhard – see 1 in lists.

⁶³ W.lot 62 reading .../RON/DEI/... was catalogued as having a reverse copied from an Irish coin, presumably on the assumption that Dei represented the mint signature and was copied from DIVEI (Dublin). This coin is Ribnitz 216, and Dannenberg transcribed the first letter of DEI as a reversed E, but the apparent crossbar may be a flaw. Although it is possible that an Irish reverse could have provided the prototype for a die of Bernhard in the light of his 'Irish' obverses, this attribution is highly speculative especially in view of the incomplete legend. Furthermore neither of the names of the two Dublin Long Cross moneyers (Davi and Ricard) terminates in the letter R. It seems that this is probably another blundered legend such as RON/DON/NLV/OIC listed later with the reverses of Bernhard. It also has close affinities with that of 2 reading RON/ROI/DEL/VND, which in the light of this may probably be attributed to Lippe.

⁶⁴ An 'English' reverse (HEN/R)IO/NLV/NDE is combined with a 'Scottish' obverse inscribed WIDEKIN/DVSREX ex Coventry hoard (*HBzN* 14 (1960), 476 no. 7).

⁶⁵ After the completion of this paper, the important Weweler collection was offered for sale ('Lippia in Nummis, Sammlung Paul Weweler', Auktion Leu 63, 23/24 October 1995, Zurich). This contained thirty Long Cross sterling in the name of Bernhard, representing most of the known varieties. They are all illustrated in the catalogue, which provides a convenient source of reference, and the lot numbers have been inserted in my text thus 'W.lot 00'. Where the reference is given as 'Weweler 00' it refers to the numbers in his work 'Lippische Sterling' (n. 71).

⁶⁶ The moneyer's name on one coin in Ribnitz (no. 224) is transcribed as REIEVD (confirmed by W.lot 46) and on one in Plaagendrup as REIR(reversed)VD. However, the latter may in fact be correctly rendered, as the letter A in Renaud on many English coins bears some resemblance to E or a reversed R, which could be exaggerated in copying. Dolley suggested that the Plaagendrup sterling was a Frisian imitation, but does not state his reasons for this assumption, which appears to be based upon the fact that all other attributable Long Cross sterling in the hoard are associated with Frisian mints (Dolley and Seaby, 298).

RIO/REN/NLV/NDE (Ribnitz 228; W.lot 57)

RON/DON/NLV/OIC (Køb ex N.Omme)

WAL/TEM/ONL/VND (Ribnitz 229; W.lots 58–60)

*WIL/LEM/ONC/AIT (Brussels hoard)

WIL/LEN/ONL/ANH (Haarlo 527; W.lot 61 – Ribnitz 229a, misread as L..D).

Details of the reverse legends of the very rare Long Cross sterlings attributed to Hermann III and Simon I are given below on p. 113.

The coins with a rosette of pellets on both sides are possibly the earliest Lippish ones of Long Cross type with 'English' reverses,⁶⁷ since this mark appears in the crown on some of the Short Cross imitations both in Bernhard's name and with an 'English' obverse legend.⁶⁸ In confirmation of this suggestion is the Lippish content of the Brussels hoard, where approximately 60 per cent of the Long Cross coins in the name of Bernhard have the mark on one or both sides. The attribution of all of the imitations inscribed BERNHARD to the third ruler of that name is open to question. It appears that it was primarily based upon the fact that some obverse legends end in III, but this was probably a device to make the terminal letters more closely resemble those on the prototype. Such ruses were frequently employed slightly later on some imitations of Edwardian sterlings. It seems likely that some, possibly most, of the BERNHARD Long Cross coins were struck by Bernhard IV (1265–75),⁶⁹ who ruled in Lippe jointly with Hermann III (1265–74)⁷⁰ and solely after the latter's death. Weweler considered the Blomberg sterlings with the Lippish shield as reverse type to be 'the last type of Bernhard III; possibly they were struck by his son Bernhard IV'.⁷¹ Berghaus lists Hermann III and Bernhard IV together, but ascribes to them only German types, viz. Head in triangle obverses with reverses having a building with three towers.⁷² However, elsewhere he says 'in Lippe the striking of sterlings continued until after 1344', but he is probably referring here to the 'Head in triangle' coins of Simon.⁷³ Whilst the Long Cross sterlings marked with a rosette can be attributed with some confidence to Bernhard III, those without the mark present some difficulties. Those with such reverses which correctly copy the legends of the London moneyers Henri, Nicole and Renaud are perhaps best described as Bernhard III or IV,⁷⁴ as is the transposed legend of RIC/OAL/ARD/VND.

NICOLE. Coins with reverses bearing this moneyer's name possibly bridge the gap between the two Bernhards and fall into the three categories listed above, all of which were represented in the Brussels hoard. The portrait on some of the non-rosette obverses resembles that on 55 (discussed below), having the same distinctive treatment of the beard. Reverses with this name are die-linked to reverses of 'Henri', 'Ric/ard' and 'Willem on Cant'. In addition to the Brussels coins, there was an example in

⁶⁷ There is a die study of the coins with this mark on both sides and a reverse of HENRI ON LVNDE in Ihl's book on the Lemgo mint, although he does not include the obverse die with a cross pattée in the legend which is also used with reverses of Nicole one Lun (W.lot 39). A complete die-study of the coins of Bernhard would be invaluable, as there appears to be considerable linking between 'moneyers' (see summary of continental Long Cross content of Brussels hoard – pp. 110–1).

⁶⁸ cf. J.J. North, 'Londe Civits'. *NCirc* 1970, 267.

⁶⁹ The attribution of some of these Long Cross coins to Bernhard IV was also favoured by Dannenberg (317 and 319). In the Weweler catalogue lots 33–42 are attributed to Bernhard III and the remainder to Bernhard III or IV.

⁷⁰ Bernhard III designated his elder son to be his successor, but after a dispute over this, part of the county was given to

Hermann, his younger son. Following this Bernhard (IV) possessed the lands east of the Teutoburg Forest together with the town of Rheda, but the latter was subsequently ceded to Hermann.

⁷¹ P. Weweler, 'Lippische Sterlinge', *Festschrift zur Feier des 25 jährigen Bestehens des Vereins der Münzforscher und Münzfreunde für Westfalen und Nachbargebiete* (Münster 1938), 41–53, at p. 48.

⁷² P. Berghaus, 'Lippstädter Geld im Wandel der Jahrhunderte', *Stadt Lippe-Lippstadt: Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen der Volksbank Lippstadt* (1964), 361–385.

⁷³ P. Berghaus, *Westfälische Münzgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Münster) 1974.

⁷⁴ In the Weweler catalogue coins with reverses of 'Henri, Nicole, Ric/ard and HEN/HIVI' are attributed to Bernhard III while all others are listed under Bernhard III or IV.

the Winchester find (dated *c.* 1265 $\pm$ 1),⁷⁵ and the presence of these coins in both hoards favours an attribution of most of them to Bernhard III.

RENAUD. This moneyer commenced striking late in class 5g, and although we have no documentary evidence of the date upon which he took up this appointment, Dolley considered that 'class 5 pennies of the London moneyer Renaud cannot well have arrived in Germany to serve as models before 1261 at the very earliest'.⁷⁶ Although this leaves sufficient time for them to have been copied before the death of Bernhard III in 1265, the absence of any Renaud imitations in the Brussels hoard confirms that they were probably struck after that date. The use of a Renaud reverse by Herman III also suggests an association of this with Bernhard IV.

The remaining coins, none of which are represented in the Brussels hoard, have reverse legends which are not exact copies of their English prototypes and may probably all be attributed to Bernhard IV.

RICARD. The attribution of the transposed legend is discussed below. Another reverse based upon a coin of this moneyer has a reversed C in Ricard and I for L in LVND.

WALTER. Coins of Bernhard (no. 229) and of Simon (no. 232) in the Ribnitz hoard have reverses reading WALTEM ON LVND. Both are illustrated and appear to be from the same reverse die (see also W.lots 60 and 69).

WILLEM. Although a coin in Brussels reading WILLEM ON CAIT is early and may belong to Bernhard III, most coins with this moneyer's name have the mint blundered. Those of Bernhard with LANh were probably struck late in the reign of Bernhard IV, as it appears as LANI on a coin of his successor, Simon I. A coin in Ribnitz (no. 229a), transcribed as WIL/LEM/ONL/...D, reads LANh (see W.lot 61).

HYBRIDS. The reading RIO/REN/NLV/NDE may be a combination of (Hen)RIO and REN(aud), as suggested by Dannenberg in the Ribnitz report. However, it seems more likely that it was based upon the reverses reading REN/RIO/NLV/NDE. It is difficult to decide whether the latter is a hybrid or merely an erroneous copying of the first letter. Although many coins have an impeccable letter R in REN (W.lots 49–51, 54–5 etc.), on a few there is an h with a large loop which resembles a gothic N,⁷⁷ like the letter on some English class 5 coins, suggesting that the R was perhaps derived from this in error.

The question of whether the Lords of Lippe were honest imitators of the Long Cross coinage or also indulged in outright forgery has been the subject of some conjecture. The Anglo-Irish imitations examined by Dolley and Seaby threw up no coins that could be die-linked into the distinctive issues of Lippe, despite the fact that the Brussels hoard contained coins in the names of Bernhard and of Widekind and that the former also struck some imitations based upon Irish Long Cross obverses. However, published in this paper is a coin with a Henricvs obverse combined with a reverse reading RIC/OAL/ARD/VND (55), which die-links with coins having a Bernhard obverse. The interpretation of the significance and status of these coins presented some difficulties initially. It was a possibility that both varieties were imitations, but this would have cast doubts on other coins of Bernhard with blundered reverse legends, some of which are also found upon coins of Simon. Conclusive proof that they are an official issue was furnished by the Brussels hoard, which contained coins where the Bernhard obverse die is also combined with reverses reading HENRI ON LVND and NICOLE ONE LVN.⁷⁸

The possibility that the coin with the 'English' obverse was struck for Hermann III and its counterpart for Bernhard IV during their joint rule also requires consideration. In the absence

⁷⁵ R.H.M. Dolley, 'A recent find of Long Cross pennies of Henry III from Winchester', *NC* 1961, 185–9.

⁷⁶ As in n. 75, p. 189.

⁷⁷ On a coin in the FitzWilliam Museum (Grierson colln.) the first letter is of this style. A hällblinge with a rosette in the centre of the reverse has the legend transcribed as

RCN/RIO/.../NDC in Ihl (34, Emission 9). The form of the first letter differs from that of the true R in RIO and again is probably a blundered h.

⁷⁸ The RICARD and HENRI coins are illustrated in the Weweler catalogue (lots 41 and 38).

of very substantial reasons, I am reluctant to attribute any Long Cross imitations reading HENRICVS REX III to a local ruler named Hermann or Heinrich, as most (possibly all) obverse dies with this legend were simply copying the prototype and it was a fortuitous coincidence if this resembled the name of the issuer. In addition to this, the obverses of other coins attributed to Hermann III read HERMANNVS REX (Haarlo 56) or HERMANN...III (Ribnitz 231; W.lot 63).

All things considered, the most convincing explanation of this anonymous sterling is that it was struck by Bernhard III or IV and that here we have the long-sought proof that the lords of Lippe also indulged in forgery. Perhaps the transposition of the reverse legend was regarded as sufficient warning of the non-English origin of the coins, although such blunders are not unknown on official dies.

There is some variation in the style of the portraiture on the Lippe sterlings, and many are dissimilar to any of the anonymous imitations examined by the writer. However, a few have a small spade-shaped face (cf. W.lots 38 and 41), which bears some resemblance to that on a small group of coins with reverses derived from RICARD ON LVND (62, 82 and 112), but any association at this stage would be highly speculative. A somewhat similar face occurs on 61 and 135, and these have the unusual treatment of the beard which may be peculiar to Lippe (see, p. 113).

Dating and attribution

Rigold also placed Bernhard amongst the 'honest' imitators, together with Count Widekind of Schwalenberg and the child Simon, whose coins he considered to be revivals rather than survivals.⁷⁹ He regarded the earliest forgeries as Westphalian, but pointed out that 'the commonest and most notorious are those of the Lords of Cunre, a lost castle in Overijssel (i.e. West Friesland) and on the Zuyder Zee (whose shape was not that of today). Besides these some come from Zwolle under episcopal licence. Their general association seems to be late and includes some of the later efforts of Lippe.' On the evidence of the finds he concluded that their orbit was the Frisian-Baltic passage and their date probably nearer 1280 than 1270.

Dolley and Seaby postulated that 'English and Irish coins were being imitated contemporaneously and at a common centre, the date indicated being one necessarily later than 1251, but not later than 1267'. The earlier date was based upon the fact that the Dublin mint did not open until autumn of that year. However, this would not preclude a slightly earlier date for a few of the imitations of English classes 1-3, which are not die-linked to 'Irish' obverses or used with 'Irish' reverses, but this is unlikely to be more than a few Westphalian copies of classes 1 or 2 in view of the short period between the commencements of the English and the Irish Long Cross coinages. Their later date was based upon the dating by Belgian scholars of the Brussels hoard to c. 1267 and can only apply loosely to the type of imitation contained in that hoard. A later date was attributed to coins associated by their legends CVNRENCIS (Ch. 475, 483-4) and SVLLEN (Ch. 485) with the Frisian mints of Kuire and Zwolle (?) respectively, as they were not represented in the hoard. In the light of the Plaagendrup hoard, they dated these not too late in the 1270s and suggested for the 'Irish' and associated 'English' imitations a date in the early or middle 1260s.

They discussed the possible location of the mints striking the most convincing imitations, covered by their classes I-III A, which comprise the following:

⁷⁹ S.E. Rigold, 'The trail of the Easterlings', *BNJ* 26 (1949-51), 31-55, at pp. 43-4. Since this paper was published it has been recognised that a number of Short Cross coins with 'English' legends on both sides (albeit often with minor blunders) were struck in Lippe, probably before those with the name of Bernhard. Although the

presence of a discreet rosette in the crown of some of the 'English' obverses gives a veneer of honesty by indicating the non-English source to those who scrutinised the coin carefully, others have no such mark (see Lord Stewardby, 'German imitations of English Short-Cross Sterlings', *NC* 1995, 231-4 - Group CF nos 64-74).

I. English type obverses of classes 3 and 5/'Irish' reverses

II. Irish type obverses/'English' reverses.

IIIA. Irish type obverses/'Irish' reverses of RICARD.

Having remarked on the very high degree of internal die-linking, and estimating that they must have been struck in their tens of thousands, the authors considered that they were struck somewhere within the area of modern Belgium. As to the responsible authority, one cannot improve on their suggestion that 'they represent the output of a minting establishment, something more than merely connived at by one or other of the seigneurs, counts or princelings whose jurisdiction in these parts was scarcely less than sovereign.

Their classes IIIB and IV contained very varied coins of poorer execution and blundered ones. These were considered to be more in the nature of forgeries, and many were probably struck in England or Ireland, others perhaps at various points in North-West Europe.

Hoard

Unlike the continental imitations of Edwardian pence, which occur in varying and sometimes considerable quantities in most late 13th- to mid 14th-century hoards found in the British Isles, Long Cross imitations are relatively scarce in British finds. Only the two mentioned below from those listed by Thompson contain such imitations,⁸⁰ although there may well have been some unrecognised in these and other hoards. This absence is perhaps partly due to the lack of any large hoards deposited in the 1270s – Colchester II appears to have been assembled in two stages – and to the demonetization of the type in 1279. The influx of such imitations from the continent must also have been restricted by the Anglo-Flemish trade embargo of the early 1270s and the lack of trade with other areas producing them.

The unofficial Long Cross coins in the two hoards in the Inventory were as follows:

Hornchurch, Essex (deposited in or after 1265*)

England, 412; Ireland, 10; Scotland, 21.

1 imitation reading IIIEOLEOHIVHE.

1 similar to 26 in this paper reading RICARD ON HERE.

1 similar to 1 in this paper but reading BLOMENBERGEN.

*The absence of coins of Renaud (London) may indicate a slightly earlier date.

Steppingley, Beds. (deposited c. 1268)

England 487; Ireland, 13; Scotland, 16.

12 with blundered reverses: '3a' – 1, '5c' – 8, '5g' – 3.

1 'contemporary forgery' – DNICOLEONLVN (cf. 29 and 96).

1 'contemporary forgery' of Dublin penny (blundered).

2 Lippe – Bernhard (Ch. 420–1; pl. xxvii, 10–11). 'London' – Henri, Ricard (probably Renaud as Ch. 421).

The large Colchester hoard of 1969 has not yet been published in detail, but a preliminary listing was issued when the balance was sold. If one ignores the parcel of 1916 class 6 coins from the same dies as a later addition, the bulk of the hoard appears to have been assembled between c. 1252 (it contains coins of Randulf of Bury appointed 1251 and Ricard of London appointed 1250) and c. 1258 (no coins of Renaud of Bury appointed 1258 or Tomas of London appointed 1260). The hoard consisted of 13252 English, 24 uncertain, 491 Scottish, 292 Irish, but only 32 continental and contemporary imitations together with about 20 laminated forgeries. Details of the continental portion are as follows:⁸¹

⁸⁰ J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600–1500*. RNS Special Publications No. 1 (1956). Hoards 193 and 342.

⁸¹ Details kindly supplied by Marion Archibald in anticipation of the forthcoming publication of the hoard report. See also n. 96.

'English' obverse and reverse	22
'Widekind Rex'	4
Blomberg (similar to 1)	1

It is in the continental hoards that the Long Cross imitations and derivatives are found in any numbers, usually associated with official English coins of the same type. Typical of these is that found at Ribnitz (Mecklenburg) in 1887 and recorded in detail by H. Dannenberg (n. 4). This excellent report has been referred to frequently above and may be summarized as follows:

England. Long Cross: cl. 1, 4; cl. 2, 7; cl. 3, 355; cl. 4-5, 792; cl. 7, 4.		1162
Irregular (mostly imitations)*	No sceptre	43
	Sceptre	80
Imitations (blundered reverses)	No sceptre	61
	Sceptre	39
	Unclear	30
Ireland. Long Cross.		5
Imitation with 'English' reverse		1
Scotland. Alexander III. Long Cross		7
Continental - Long Cross sterlings		
Kuinre - CIVI(TAS) CVNREN(CIS)	4	
HENRICVS COMES etc.	148	
SALVE REGINA	24	176
Utrecht. Bishop John. CIVITAS SVLLE		1
Gelderland. Reinold I? Arnhem (Ch. 461)		2
Lippe. Bernhard III or IV	63	
Hermann III	1	
Simon I	2	66
Pfennigs		
Munster. Bishop Eberhard v. Diest		33
Recklinghausen. Bishop Siegfried		4

* These were included with the regular English issues (some with reservations), but their irregular legends reveal their unofficial status in most cases.

A find at Haagendrup c. 1849 was published erroneously as having been found at Plaagendrup,⁸² and has been referred to under that name in subsequent publications. To avoid confusion this practice has been continued in this paper. Although the English publication of the find concentrates on the imitations, sufficient detail is given to compile the following summary of its content:

England. Long Cross.		90
Imitations (blundered reverses)*		5
Scotland. Alexander III. Long Cross.		1
Continental - Long Cross sterlings.		
Gelderland. Arnhem (Ch. 461)		1
Kuinre. HENRICVNINEN.	1	
HENRICVSCOMES.	2	
CIVITASCVNRENSIS.	1	
SALVE REGINA	5	9
(CIVITASSVLLEN. 1; Blundered Rev. 2)		
Lippe. Bernhard.		1
Non-sterlings.		
Denmark. Debased issues.		448
		<u>555</u>

*One coin reading WAL/TER/ONC/WAL may be an English penny of Canterbury.

⁸² C.J. Thomsen, 'Foreign sterlings of the type of the pennies of Henry III', *NC* 1850, 67-9 and plate opposite 67.

The Hemselynge hoard, mentioned several times in the catalogue, contained a mixture of Long Cross and Edwardian type pence and sterlings deposited in the late 1290s. The find originally consisted of some 210 coins, and 120 of these were recently traced and listed in detail as follows:

England. Long Cross.	22
Edward I.	3
Long Cross imitations (blundered reverses)	7
Scotland. Alexander III. Second coinage	2
Continental – Crockards, pollards etc.	86
	<u>120</u>

A hoard of debased Danish coins from the same locality dates from the late 1320s, and its relationship to the earlier sterling hoard is uncertain. The report's writers considered that one may represent the coins used for domestic payments and the other may be for imported merchandise. Alternatively, the good coins like sterling could have been hoarded as bullion.

A hoard found at Haarlo a few years ago contained 619 sterlings, 20 gros and 494 pfennigs. About 70 of the coins were retained by a local museum or were damaged, but the balance of 1039 coins was sold by Jacques Schulman (Catalogue 276) in February 1983. Full details of each coin in the sale were given, from which it is possible to make the following summary.

England. Short Cross. cl. 7 ? , 1.	
Long Cross. cl. 1. 2; cl. 2. 11; cl. 3. 134; cl. 4. 2; cl. 5. 334.	
(includes 4 imitations)	
Edward I. New coinage, cl. 3g, 1.	485
Long Cross imitations (blundered reverses).	32
Ireland. Long Cross. 11	
Blundered. 1	12
Scotland. Alexander III. Long cross.	12
Continental – Long Cross sterlings.	
Gelderland. Arnhem. Otto II ? (Ch. 461).	2
Kuinre. HENRICVNINEN	2
HENRICVSCO	1
SALVE REGINA VE	2
Brabant. John I (Shield obverse)	5
Lippe. Bernhard III or IV.	6
Hermann III	2
'Widekindus Rex'.	1
Pfennigs:	
Utrecht. Bishop Hendrik van Vianden.	51
Munster. Bishop Eberhard von Diest.	243
Recklinghausen. Bishop Siegfried.	165
Herford. Bishop Siegfried von Westerbürg.	2
Paderborn. Bishop Otto Graf von Ritberg.	3
Gros:	
France. Louis IX. 6; Philip III and IV. 10.	16
Brabant. John II.	1
	<u>1039</u>
Total	

The English report on the Long Cross coins found at Slype is unsatisfactory, as only 1350+ were available to Dr Brooke from a total of about 2000.⁸³ The following is a summary of his listing.

⁸³ G.C. Brooke, 'A find of Long Cross pennies at Slype (West Flanders)'. *NC* 1914, 256–9.

England. Long Cross. cl. 1, 7; cl. 2, 30; cl. 3, 490; cl. 4, 3; cl. 5, 780.	1310
Uncertain mints and moneyers	21
Contemporary forgeries	3
Blundered	2
Ireland. Long Cross. 10.	
Imitation with 'English' reverse. 1.	11
Scotland. Alexander III. Long Cross.	15
Total	<u>1362</u>

Brooke placed the date of deposit about 1260 and remarked on the absence of the 'usual accompaniment of Continental sterling'. However, if the hoard contained any, most may well have been removed before he examined the find, since around 30 per cent of the total was missing. Rigold suggested that the hoard might be connected with the German expeditions of Richard of Cornwall.⁸⁴ He spoke of it as purely English, but Dolley and Seaby cited the 26 uncertain or blundered coins 'which must surely have included a proportion of Continental pieces'.⁸⁵ Two imitations listed among the regular coins had the same reverse die – ADAM ON NEVECA – used with an 'English' and an 'Irish' obverse respectively.

Unfortunately details of the English and Continental Long Cross coins in the vast Brussels hoard await publication. The Scottish content was the subject of a paper in this Journal some years ago,⁸⁶ and the anomalous Irish coins were studied by Dolley and Seaby. They suggested that, if the ratio of imitations to official in the English coins approached that which they postulated for the Irish ones, the hoard could contain as many as 4000 sterling from dies of unofficial work. A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd have kindly made the named continental imitations available, while details of the varieties of anonymous ones have been listed by Nick Mayhew, who has permitted me to summarise these. From these two sources it has been possible to collate details of the imitations and derivatives in the hoard. Although this listing may not include every continental Long Cross coin in it, as it is still being examined, it contains the bulk of these and it is unlikely that new coins of any significance will emerge in this section. The number shown in the anonymous section represents those examined rather than the total. Full details of the coins of Lippe are given, in view of the importance of this hoard in dating those of Bernhard. The generally accepted date is c. 1264 (certainly not later than 1268) providing an important *terminus ante quem* for the imitations therein.

Long Cross imitations with 'English' legends (reverse often blundered) 163.
(These include coins with similar distinctive reverse legends to the following in the lists which may be from the same dies – 2, 4, 8, 9, 14, 20, 26, 29, 31, 67, 74, 78, 96. There were also a number with the 'arrow-head' letter X and 9 of the BIR/HEN/TOL group. 26 is represented by eight examples, and a further three coins have a similar obverse with reverses reading GIL/BER/ION/CAN.)

Attributable 'English' Long Cross imitations

LIPPE – Bernhard III and IV. – Portrait with sceptre

Rosette in crown and centre of reverse

BERNA/RD/V	Rev. CIV/LE/ME/GO	1
1hl obv. die A1	Rev. HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE	16
A2	Similar	6
A3	Similar	1
1hl obv. die –	Similar	5
Same die	Rev. NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN	3
Same die		
(Wlot 39)	Rev. NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN (no rosette in centre)	13
<i>No rosette either side</i>		
BERHARDV III	Rev. HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE	4

⁸⁴ Rigold, as in n. 79, p. 44.

⁸⁵ Dolley and Seaby, 317, n. 43.

⁸⁶ B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The Brussels hoard: Mr. Baldwin's arrangement of the Scottish coins', *BNJ* 29 (1958–9), 90–7.

Same die	Rev. NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN (1 reads NIC/OLE/ONI/VND)	5
Same die (W.lot 41)	Rev. RIC/OAL/ARD/VND	4
BERNHARD III (W.lot 40)	Rev. NIC/OLE/ONE/LVN	16
Same die	Rev. WI(L)/LEM/OIC/AIT	1
BLOMBERG (No sceptre by bust)		
Bernhard III. English style obv. Towered bridge rev. (W.lot 32)		1
	Shield obv. Long Cross rev. BER/NhA/RDV/SIN (Ch. 418 pl. XXVII, 9)	1
HENRICVS (rose) REX.	Rev. BLO/MEN/BER/GCI	3
	Rev. BLO/ME/NBE/RIC (Ch. 416; pl. XXVII, 7)	4
HENRICVS RER TERI	Rev. CI(rose)/BER/TOI/CAN	1
VIDEKINDVS R	Similar	2
VIDECINDVS RE	Similar	2
BOPPARD – Similar to 44 (different obverse die)		1
MARK ? – Otto (same dies as pl. 8, D)		1
Scottish types		
SWALENBERG		
WIDEKINDVS C	Rev. SVA/LEN/BRC/HCI (Ch. 405; pl. XXVI, 8)	16
SVALENBRCHCI	Similar	4
STERNBERG		
Count Henry (Ch. 406; pl. XXVI, 9)		6

Conclusions

On the introduction of the English Long Cross coinage in 1248, the imitation of sterlings was already well established on the continent, especially in Germany. Such imitations of the Short Cross type are quite scarce, and the anonymous ones copying the English obverse legend are the subject of a definitive study by Lord Stewartby to appear shortly in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. The largest group of these is often distinguished by a cinquefoil of pellets (rose), which was the heraldic device of Lippe, whilst other coins of Short Cross design struck there bear the name of Bernhard and/or a local mint.

In view of this, it is not surprising that the earliest copies of Long Cross pence appear to have been struck in Westphalia, probably shortly after 1250 when English prototypes seem first to have reached Germany. The following authorities in that area struck sterlings copying or based upon these.

LIPPE: This appears to have been the most prolific Westphalian issuer of Long Cross coins, although perhaps not the first in the area, as the only coins of this type in the name of Bernhard have portraits with a sceptre, introduced on the English pence in 1250.⁸⁷ As mentioned above, Short Cross sterlings exist, and these probably continued to be struck for a while before the change to the new Long Cross variety. A coin with a HENRICVS obverse copying English class 1a⁸⁸ and a reverse of Blomberg was attributed by

⁸⁷ This is confirmed by the continental sterlings in the Colchester hoard, which consist of coins with obverses bearing 'English' legends or variations of VIDEKINDVS REX, but none with the name of Bernhard.

⁸⁸ A coin in the Ribnitz hoard (64a) listed with the regular

English pence has a 'class 1a' obverse combined with a reverse reading HBN/RIO/NLV/IDE. Commenting on the star and crescent initial mark, Dannenberg notes 'the same can be found on the Lipprian sterling (Munzstud. V, Table II, 14) which has the same fine lettering as the one in question'.



Fig. 2 Known and possible mints of Long Cross type coins in the Westphalian area

Chautard to Bernhard, but this is not certain (see p. 85). However, it is possible that some of the issues of that mint not bearing his name were struck on his behalf.

The following summary of the known Long Cross sterlings of the Lords of Lippe recapitulates the tentative attributions discussed in detail earlier.

Bernhard III (1229–65)

Reverse reading BERNHARDSIN (Ch. 420; pl. XXVII, 10; W.lot 37).

Coins with a rosette in centre of crown and reverse:⁸⁹ HENRI ON LVNDE and NICOLE ONE LVN

Rosette on reverse only: NICOLE ONE LVN.

⁸⁹ Two half-sterlings bear the mint name of Lemgo (Ihl. 34), the second possibly having been struck by Bernhard IV. Most

sterlings of Bernhard with a rosette in the centre of the reverse are now attributed to that mint.

Bernhard III or IV.

No mark either side; reverses with accurate legends based upon London coins of Henri, Nicole, Renaud and Ric/ard (transposed) and upon Willem on Cant.

Bernhard IV (1265–75)

Reverses with inaccurate legends based upon London coins of Henri, Renaud?, Ricard, Walter and Willem – probably Canterbury (full details on p. 104).

Hermann III (in Lippstadt – 1265–74)

HCIVID ON LVN (Ribnitz 231; W.lot 63)

RENAVD ON LVND (Haarlo 56)

RIC OAL ARD VND (obverse reads HENRICVS REX III – attribution uncertain, probably Bernhard III or IV – see p. 105).

Simon I (1275–1344)

HENRI ON LVNDE (Berlin 203)

WALTEM ON LVND (Ribnitz 232; W.lot 69)

WILEM ON LVND (Berlin 206)

WIL(EM ON) LANI (JJN – pl. 8, D)

Although a number of the coins in the lists with ‘English’ obverse legends have portraits resembling those on some coins in Bernhard’s name, none is sufficiently close to venture a firm association.⁹⁰ A feature on some coins, which may assist in the eventual identification and attribution to Lippe of anonymous sterlings, is the treatment of the beard, which on most imitations consists of two lines of small pellets with a larger one in the centre breaking the lower or both lines.⁹¹ On many obverses (cf. W.lots 38, 41 and 45), including all that are attributed to Lemgo mint by Ihl, the lower line is unbroken (see 55).

As extremely few of the Long Cross sterlings of Bernhard III (with this type on both sides) or his successors is inscribed with the name of the mint at which it was struck, these remain uncertain – but see Ihl for those attributed to Lemgo. Other types of Bernhard III bear the names of Blomberg, Lemgo and Lippstadt⁹² – the former on a sterling with a shield as obverse type and a Long Cross reverse (Ch. 418; pl. XXVII, 9). Doubtless one or more of these mints continued to strike the Lippian Long Cross sterlings bearing the names of the Lords.⁹³ The existence of very rare coins

⁹⁰ Dannenberg posited that ‘Lippian coins can be distinguished from the Dutch ones through their size and also by virtue of their more attractive lettering’ (p. 310). Although this may be applicable in some cases, especially in the non-sceptre coins, it is too sweeping to apply to the entire series.

⁹¹ The beard on most English Long Cross coins is denoted in this fashion until the end of class 5a. After this the central pellet is less pronounced and slightly smaller, even appearing to be omitted on a few coins.

⁹² Ihl considered that no Long Cross sterlings were struck at Lippstadt, which, in his opinion, concentrated on the production of pfennigs of the Westphalian type.

⁹³ Berghaus suggested that Blomberg or even Horn might be mints of Bernhard III for Long Cross sterlings, but the latter was not accepted by Ihl. However, Weweler considered that the coins of Hermann III were struck either at Lippstadt or Horn (see W.lot 63).

of Bernhard with the portrait contained in a triangle as on the Irish Long Cross pence suggests that some of the imitations with 'Henricus' Irish type obverses may have been struck in Lippe. One candidate is 125, which belongs to a small die-linked group containing 27, for which a possible connection with Lemgo mint has been suggested (n. 24). The obverse of 125 has the beard rendered in the manner described above, but this is of little significance in the copy of an Irish die, as many of the official coins have a similar arrangement of the pellets. Although it is not clear on the coins illustrated (122–4), D & S obverse die 8 has a similar beard. The reverses of the three coins in the lists are all based upon HENRI ON LVND, as are most of those used with Bernhard's 'Irish' obverses, but no die-links between the two series have been noted and the very blundered, partly retrograde, version on 124 makes a Lippish origin very unlikely. Additional evidence that the coins were probably struck elsewhere is the combination of this obverse with a reverse DAVI ON IVHDRE (BH 62–3), a reading which does not resemble any used at Lippe, but is very similar to that on 20 which was probably minted at Kuinre. The slightly smaller flans of the coins also point to that area as a possible source.

ARNSBERG: Sterlings with a reverse copying the Short Cross pence were struck in this county (Ch. 402; pl. XXV, 10)

The obverse of the Long Cross sterling in the name of Gottfried (pl. 8, C) appears to have been based upon a class 1b penny and is used with a reverse bearing the name of Arnsberg. This reverse is shared with an 'English' obverse die in the name of Henry (6), copying a class 2 coin, which in turn is used with a 'Lincoln' reverse (5). The latter is such an accurate copy that it was accepted as official for many years despite its light weight.

BOSINGFELD: Count Henry of Sternberg struck sterlings based upon the Scottish Long Cross issues of Alexander III, with a profile portrait and a star in each angle of the reverse cross (pl. 8, B), having the name of Bosingfeld on the reverse. He is a possible, but unlikely, candidate for the 'Henricus' coin of Blomberg (1). His name has also been suggested for the HENRICVS COMES imitations, and this is still accepted by some German numismatists (see W. lots 1099 and 1100). However, their attribution to Kuinre seems more plausible in the light of the linked and associated coins (see p. 102).

SCHWALENBERG: The earliest imitations of this barony were copied from the Short Cross pence and bear the name of Volkwin (Ch. 404; pl. XXVI, 7). The sterlings of his successor, Widekind VII (1246/50–65), copied the Scottish Long Cross sterlings (pl. 8, A). Most bear his name with the title C(omes) on the obverse and the legend SVALENBRENCI on the reverse, but a few have this inscription on both sides. The possibility that 1 may have been struck on his behalf is discussed on pp. 85–6.

ENIGMATIC – WIDEKINDVS REX: A series of coins of English Long Cross type with the name of Widekind variously rendered and followed by the title R(EX) was struck at Blomberg mint,⁹⁴ the name of which appears on the reverse of one (Berghaus (1960) no. 8) and possibly elsewhere. Many have reverse legends based upon GILBERT ON CAN, often with a rose of pellets in lieu of the third letter (Berghaus no. 10a) – also used with HENRICVS obverses – and one

⁹⁴ Berghaus suggests that some of the Blomberg 'Widekind' types may have been struck jointly by Lippe and Schwalenberg.

very blundered reverse may be derived from Blomberg (Berghaus no. 9). One coin has an obverse of Scottish style with the portrait to right (it is left on the Swalenberg and Sternberg coins) combined with an 'English' reverse reading (HENR)I ON LVNDC (Berghaus no. 7). The English obverses have a sceptreless portrait with a long face, copying that on a class 2 or 3a English penny. It is unlikely that any of these coins with the royal title pertain to Count Widekind and Berghaus suggested that they refer to the legendary Saxon hero of that name and that those with 'English' and blundered reverses were perhaps struck in the Lippian town of Enger, which had associations with him.⁹⁵ However, the portrait of these closely resembles that on a number of HENRICVS obverses which are combined with Blomberg or 'English' reverses and were associated with 'Widekind' (Rex) coins in the Brussels and Colchester hoards.⁹⁶ Their presence in these hoards indicates an early date for them, possibly contemporaneous with the Schwalenberg coins.

UNCERTAIN: The following Germanic Long Cross coin (pl. 8, E) appears to be unpublished and is included for that reason, although it is outside the main theme of this paper.

Obv. OTTO COMES LON. Facing head of flamboyant style.

Rev. NIC/OLC/VHD/DH + Normal Long Cross type.

Its attribution appears uncertain, as there are several possible candidates in the sterling area during the mid to late 13th century whose claims may be considered.

Gelderland: Otto II (1249–62). This ruler has been suggested as being responsible for Long Cross coins with the reverse reading WILLEM ARNEMI (Ch. 461; pl. XXXI, 2) – see Schulman catalogue 276, lots 540–41.

Mark: Otto I (1249–62).⁹⁷ There is no record of sterlings for this ruler, but coins based upon the Short Cross pence were struck by his predecessor, Adolphe I (Ch. 453–7; pl. XXX, 6–10). Otto's pfennigs of Germanic design attributed to the mint of Iserlohn are variously inscribed LON CIVITAS CO, LON CIV(ITA' COM)IS or (MONE)TA IN LON.

Waldeck: Otto I (1270–1305). Short Cross sterlings based upon those of the German emperors were struck by his predecessor, Adolphe I (Ch. 407; pl. XXVI, 10). However a specimen of the coin under review in the Brussels hoard indicates a date before 1270, excluding this ruler as the issuer.

Ravensberg: Otto III (1249–1306). On the death of Hermann III, his lands were divided between his two sons, Otto (II) and Louis. The former obtained Vloto and Vechta, both of which were mints for Short Cross coins. Those of Vloto

⁹⁵ *HBzN* 14 (1960), at pp. 472–9.

⁹⁶ A number of sterlings in the Colchester hoard in the name of 'Widekind' or 'Henricus' have a distinctive portrait with a long face, apparently based upon that of English class 2 or 3a coins, and no sceptre. In view of this similarity and their association in a hoard containing few continental imitations, they probably all emanate from the mint of Blomberg, the name of which appears on one and is possibly blundered on another.

Details of the coins are as follows:

1. VEDEKINDVS R or VIDEKINDVS RE	CI(rose)/BER/TON/CAN
2. VIDEKINDVS REX	CI(rose)/REG/GER/NEI
3. HENRICVS (rose) REX	BLO/ME/NBE/RIC
4. Similar	HEN/RIO/NLV/NDE
5. H.....REB TER	.../DVV/EOH/NOR

6. HENRICVS REX TERC

NIC/OLE/ONI/VND
(retrograde)

One coin as follows has a similar face with a sceptre.

7. HENRICVS REX III

NIC/OLE/ONI/VND

⁹⁷ There appears to be some uncertainty as to the precise status of Otto. Early writers include him in lists of the Lords of Mark together with Englebert I (1249–77). However some more recent listings omit all mention of Otto and his title 'Lon Civitas Comes' suggests that the lands of Adolphe may have been divided on his death. Possibly Otto was given control of Iserlohn, just as Hermann III of Lippe was granted Lippstadt on the death of his father. If such a division took place in Mark, it was an amicable arrangement as Englebert appears to have used the mint at Iserlohn during Otto's lifetime.

have the obverse inscription HENRICVS R (cf. n. 23), while the Vechta coins are in the name of Otto (Ch. 450; pl. XXX, 2).

The unusual style of portrait is unlike any found upon Westphalian or Frisian imitations and offers no assistance with the identification of the issuer of this coin. However, the strongest claim would appear to be that of Otto of Mark on the evidence of his other coins. The sterlings closely copying English class 3b pence except for the small shield as obverse initial mark (26) have tentatively been attributed to Count Henry of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen at Vlotho in the county of Ravensberg, but this is discussed in n. 23 where the possibility of a Lippish connection is suggested.

The possibility that a few Long Cross imitations were struck in the lower Rhine region is indicated by the attribution of 44 to Boppard (see n. 27), although this area was not one previously associated with the production of sterling types in the mid to late 13th century.

At present most of the anonymous imitations must remain unattributed, but there is no reason to disagree with the conclusions of earlier writers that the bulk of these was probably struck in West Friesland. I have already discussed the close association of large numbers of these coins through die-links and chains, together with the more tenuous connection through similar reverse legends. Hopefully these groups will be enlarged as further die-links are recognised. The groupings can be extended even more when distinctive lettering is taken into account, although, as remarked previously, this must be treated with caution as it may only indicate a common maker of the related dies. Most noticeable of the unusual letters is the arrow-head X used on many coins with the sceptreless portrait, and this ties into the BIR/hEN/TOL and ARIC/WIG groups. All of these associated coins add up to a mass which is probably the output of a single or small local group of mints, the most likely candidates being Kuinre, to which many are linked by the HENRICVS COMES and SALVE REGINA issues, and to a lesser degree Zwolle.

Apart from obvious forgeries, small groups differing in style from the majority can be distinguished (cf. 2-4, 10, 43-5, 79, 88, 97, 102 and 113). Some may be the products of less prolific mints such as Arnhem, the name of which appears on a few imitations, although one can not be certain at this stage that their unusual style is not merely indicative of different die-makers. The close resemblance of some coins to the English prototypes is possibly due to the manufacture of their dies by itinerant workers previously employed in England and perhaps using the same punches.⁹⁸

Coin finds and documentary evidence indicate the considerable north-eastern range of sterlings during the thirteenth century. Hatz remarks that sterling established itself very quickly as a major currency in early Hanseatic trade in the North sea and in the Baltic, where its use extended east beyond Mecklenburg.⁹⁹ From the second half of that century, charters in Schleswig give the values of land sales, revenues etc. in sterling, but in Holstein this was limited to Hamburg and Lubeck. Customs rolls of 1262 stated that merchants from Brandenburg exported English pence from Hamburg to buy cloth in Flanders.

Dannenberg did not consider that the contents of the Ribnitz hoard were destined for circulation in Mecklenburg, as it contained no local coins, and he was unaware of any other finds of English money in that region. He suggested that the find was the treasure of some foreign merchant. However, he remarked on the fact that Mecklenburg accounts were often in sterling and gave examples of this from Rostock and Wismar dating from 1262 onwards.

⁹⁸ N.J. Mayhew, 'Imitative sterlings in the Aberdeen and Montraive hoards', *NC* 1976, 85-97, at pp. 87-8.

⁹⁹ G. Hatz, 'Finds of English medieval coins in Schleswig-

Holstein', *Studies in Numismatic Method*, edited by C.N.L. Brooke, B.H.I.H. Stewart, J.G. Pollard and T.R. Volk, 203-224 (at pp. 211-3).

The authors of the Hemselynge hoard report observed that the Haagendrup (Plaagendrup) find confirms the notion that the poor quality of the domestic Danish currency made even debased imitation sterlings welcome in Scandinavia when they might have been excluded elsewhere. However, foreign coins circulated mainly in Denmark, as their use in Sweden, whose currency maintained its value until mid 14th century, was apparently confined to the south-west region.

Although there is little doubt that the locations of the main imitators of Long Cross sterlings are in Westphalia and Frisia, we cannot in the light of this demand dismiss the possibility that a few of those of unusual style may have been struck in the Baltic area.¹⁰⁰ Evidence of how far from their normal area of production Short Cross imitations were made is provided by the Ostrovo (Croatia) hoard, which contained a tightly linked group of distinctive style, probably struck locally.¹⁰¹ However, unless a hoard with similarly linked Long Cross imitations comes to light, attribution to mints beyond those suggested is purely conjectural.

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Summary of suggested attributions

WESTPHALIA

1 (Blomberg, p. 5)

5, 6 (Arnsberg)

55 (Lippe, n. 29)

Tentative attributions

2 (Lippe? n. 15 & 63) 4 (p. 102), 10 (n. 18), 12 (p. 102), 26 (n. 23), 27 (Lippe? n. 24), 61? (see ARIC group below), 62, 82, 112 (all Lippe? p. 106), 125 (Lippe? n. 24), 135 (p. 106).

LOWER RHINELAND

44 (Boppard, n. 27)

FRISIA (mainly Kuinre)

Kuinre

24–5 (linked to coin of Henricus Comes – 0.2).

Tentative attributions

7–9 (all linked, p. 102), 17, 43 (both WILLEMLVNDON – probably struck by Count Henry – p. 102), 21–2 (p. 101 & n. 21)

The following coins are all connected by die-links

Chain 1 (p. 97) – 11, 14, 38–41, 65–73, 108–9.

Chain 2 (p. 98) – 28–32, 92, 94–5, 105–7.

BIR/HEN/TOL group (p. 99) – 89–91, 120 (28, 38, 69 and 94 included in above chains).

Irish obverse die 6 (p. 98) – 118–121 and linked coin with 'English' obverse 93.

The similarity of the reverse of 113 to 41 justifies its inclusion. More tenuous is the association of 83–4 with 93 (p. 99). The unusual ligation of ONL may tie 79 and 80 into this group, although the style of portrait on the former differs from any other.

'Arrow-head' X. Some coins with 'class 3' obverses in the above group have this form of letter, which is also found on 7–9 and 17 tentatively attributed to Count Henry. The following coins which have the same letter (marked with an asterisk) or are die-linked to obverses with it can probably be associated with them, but see p. 84. ARIC/WIG group. (p. 99). 33*, 60–1, 85–6 (but see p. 106 for tenuous link of 61 with Lippe).

Others. 15*, 57, 58 and perhaps 59, 16*, 18–19*, 34–5*, 36–7*, 87, 88?, 101.

¹⁰⁰ Nick Mayhew considers that the total output was probably spread over the whole of Northern Europe and lasted about 100 years (c. 1250–c. 1350).

¹⁰¹ N.J. Mayhew and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The sterling element in the Ostrovo hoard of 1898', *NC* 1984, 173–9.

UNCERTAIN

Any attributions of the remaining coins, for which no die-links or other associations have been noted, must be highly speculative, although most of these (apart from the obvious forgeries) were probably struck in and around Kuinre. A few call for further comment.

13 and 23 have stylistic affinities with 18 and with 17 and 24 respectively and may both possibly be attributed to Kuinre.

20 has a reverse very similar to R.21 (see p. 98) which die-links to 122-4.

42 – the reverse legend resembles that of 106, which forms part of chain 2.

56 and 104 have hEN retrograde in one quarter and may perhaps be associated with 36 and 87 which share a die with this feature (as do 28 and 94) and are attributed to Kuinre (see 'arrow-head' X above).

96 may perhaps be associated with 29 (chain 2) by the similarity of their reverses. There are a few coins where the style differs considerably from the bulk of the imitations examined in this paper. Although this may merely indicate different die-makers in some cases, such coins may be the products of small unidentified mints mainly in Frisia, although a few may come from further afield. Amongst these are the following:

3. Crude lettering. Possibly a forgery. The early prototype favours Westphalia.

63 & 102. Possibly forgeries, but the good weight suggests that they may be imitations from a small unknown mint.

99 & 100 connected by an obverse die-link: both have retrograde reverse legends that of 99 being die-linked to 77. The same retrograde reverse legend as the last two – NICOLEONLVND – appears on 10 from a different die, but this is probably coincidental.

It is tempting to associate 78 with 77 in view of the portraits of similar style, and the reverse legend of the former, although not retrograde, probably derives from the same (albeit common) prototype.

134. If this coin is unofficial, it is probably of German origin.

Most of the coins of very crude style, usually with blundered obverse and reverse legends, are probably forgeries, some of which may have been fabricated in England or Ireland. They consist of 45-54, 114-7, 126-133 and probably 97, which appears to be of plated base metal.

INDEX OF REVERSE LEGENDS

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ARIC/WIC/RIC/TVO 0.5.

ARIC/WIC/RVO/TEO 61.

ARIC/WIC/RIE/TVO 33.

ARIC/WIG/RIO/TIE 60.

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ARIE(h?)EI/ARIE/NLV 84.

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hEN/RIO/NLV/NDE 35.

hEN/RIO/NLV/NDE 102.

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HIC/OLE/OHL/VHD 134.

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 (first letters illegible)
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 --/NO/ON/VND 52.

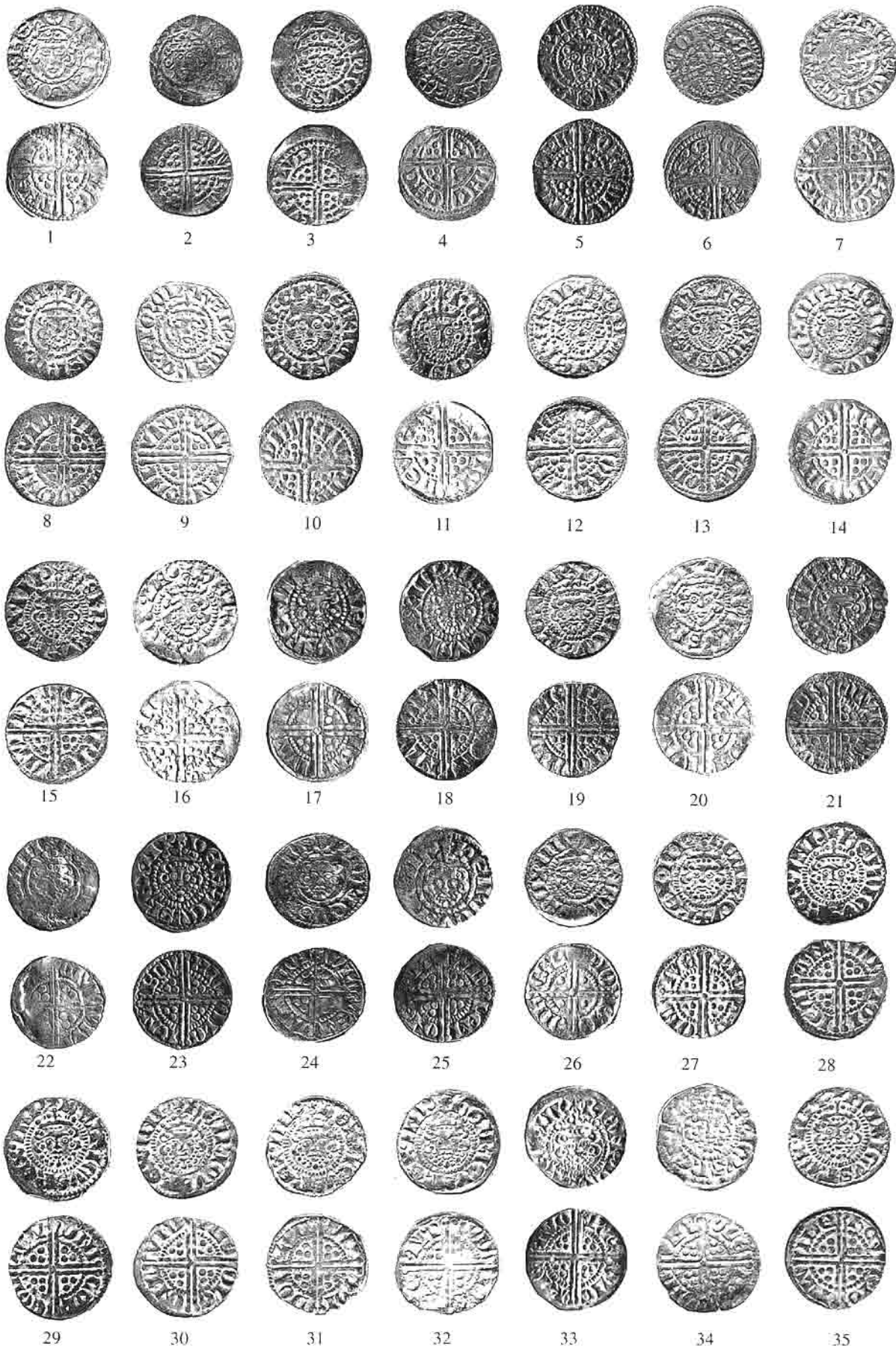
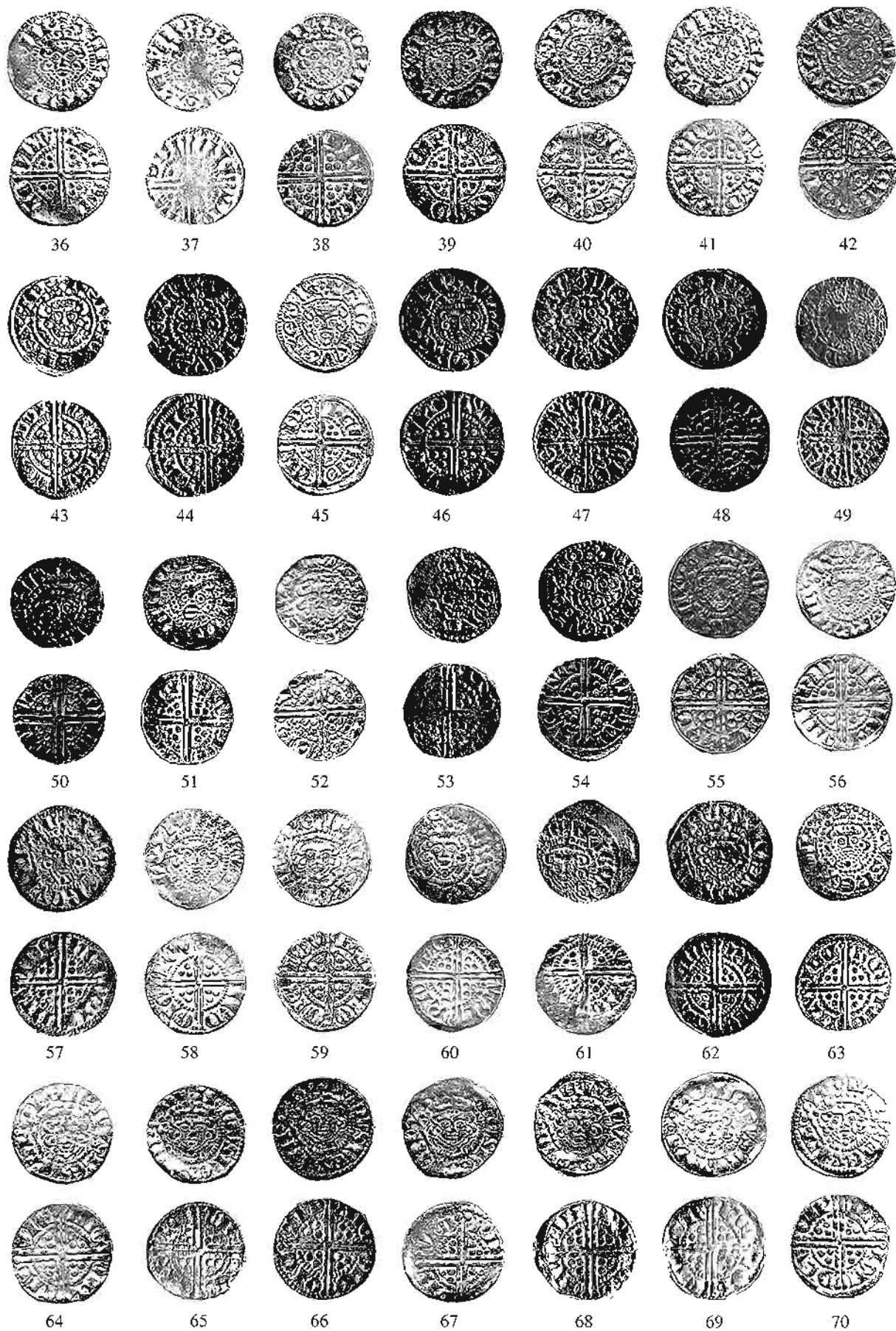


PLATE 6





71



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PLATE 8



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135



A



B



C



D



E

NORTH: LONG CROSS IMITATIONS (4)

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE HENRY VI ANNULET COINAGE OF YORK

MARTIN ALLEN

Introduction

IN volume 63 of this Journal Marvin Lessen published an invaluable corpus and die-study of the *Annulet* issue silver coinage produced in York.¹ Lessen's discussion of documentary evidence for this coinage, and his necessarily tentative estimates of the output of each denomination, were not intended to be definitive. Some relatively neglected documentary evidence can greatly assist the investigation begun by Lessen.

Preparations for minting and exchanging in York

An indenture of 1 July 1422 appointed William Waryn as warden and exchanger of the king's exchanges in London and York. Waryn agreed to deliver the bullion exchanged in York to the master of the king's mint in that city, in the presence of the assayer and comptroller of the mint or the comptroller of the exchange.² The indenture of 2 March 1422 of Waryn's predecessor, John Paddesley, did not mention York,³ and it is possible that exchanging and minting in York was first proposed when the terms of Waryn's indenture were negotiated. The inclusion of York in Waryn's indenture was abortive: the particulars of account for his brief tenure of the exchanges, from 31 August to 11 September 1422, reported that there had been no exchanging of gold or silver in York during that period.⁴ Letters patent of 1 October 1422, which appointed Bartholomew Goldbeter as master and worker of the king's money in London and Calais, did not refer to York.⁵

Henry VI's first parliament, which met on 9 November 1422 and was dissolved on 18 December,⁶ gave the king's council legal authority to establish exchanges and mints in York and Bristol, and in other places if necessary.⁷ Consequently, Bartholomew Goldbeter's indenture of 16 February 1423 allowed him to act as master and worker of the king's moneys of gold and silver in York, Bristol, London and Calais.⁸

A writ of 8 April 1423 ordered Sir William Haryngton (sheriff of Yorkshire from 22 April 1422 to 13 November 1423)⁹ to pay for the reconstruction of the king's mint in York Castle. Goldbeter had reported that the mint buildings were ruinous and unserviceable.¹⁰ The writ, Haryngton's preliminary particulars of account for the reconstruction (published by Robert Davies in 1855),¹¹ and his account¹² are translated in Appendix 1 (pp. 126–7). A total of £68

¹ M. Lessen, 'York Annulet silver coins of Henry VI', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 59–64; 'York Annulet silver coins of Henry VI: a postscript', Appendix 2 of this article, p. 134.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls 1419–1422*, pp. 263–4.

³ As in n. 2, pp. 234–5.

⁴ Public Record Office [hereafter PRO] E 101/302/1.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1422–1429*, p. 1.

⁶ *Handbook of British Chronology*, edited by E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (3rd edn., London, 1986), pp. 568–571 lists Henry VI's parliaments.

⁷ J. Cay, *The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta to the Thirtieth Year of King George the Second, Inclusive* (6 vols., London, 1758), I, 521; R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of*

Great Britain . . . (3rd edn., 3 vols., London, 1840), I, 269.

⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls 1422–1429*, pp. 59–62. Thomas Haxey's account (see n. 20 and the appendix, pp. 131–3) cites clauses of the indenture, stipulating the weights and fineness, values, and coinage charges of the coins to be produced.

⁹ T.P. Cooper, *The History of the Castle of York* (London, 1911), p. 349.

¹⁰ PRO E 101/598/31.

¹¹ R. Davies, 'Notices of the York mints and coinages', *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (1847–54), 191–269, at pp. 262–6; PRO E 101/598/31.

¹² PRO E 101/598/32.

8s. 5d. was spent on buildings for the use of Goldbeter and his men. The royal mint had been disused since 1355,¹³ and extensive rebuilding was evidently required. Land was cleared, foundations and floors were laid, walls were built and plastered, doors and windows were made, and roofs were tiled.¹⁴ The buildings, which included a melting-house having a tiled floor (probably to avoid the fire risk of the wooden floors used elsewhere), and a treasury with a 'great door', were within fenced enclosures.¹⁵

Goldbeter's York exchanges for gold and silver were established by an indenture of 15 July 1423, which stipulated the terms under which he was to be warden and exchanger. Appendix 1 provides a translation of this indenture (pp. 127–8), based upon a collation of five predominantly French texts.¹⁶ The indenture does not substantially differ from Goldbeter's indenture of 20 January 1423 for the London exchange,¹⁷ stipulating exchanging in public, paying fully lawful coins at fixed rates. Goldbeter is to send the bullion exchanged to London for minting, implying that the rebuilding of the royal mint in York had not been completed when the indenture was written.

On 20 July 1423 Thomas Haxey was appointed warden and keeper of the dies in York, and Thomas Roderham was made comptroller, exchanger and assayer.¹⁸ A strongly worded writ of 23 July 1423, translated in Appendix 1 (p. 129), instructed the mayor and sheriffs of York to proclaim publicly the contents of Goldbeter's York indenture, sent with the writ, in the most suitable places in the city and its suburbs.¹⁹ This would have fulfilled a stipulation of the indenture, requiring a proclamation forbidding unauthorized exchanging, and it may also have been intended that the establishment of exchanges in the city would be advertised to potential customers.

The periods of minting and exchanging in 1423 and 1424

The account of Thomas Haxey, incorporating his particulars of account (collated and translated in Appendix 1, pp. 131–3), records the weight of gold minted between 12 August 1423 and 14 August 1424, and the silver minted between 30 September 1423 and 7 August 1424.²⁰ Thomas Roderham's roll of weights of bullion received, which is translated in an abridged form in Appendix 1 (pp. 129–31), has the same terminal dates.²¹ However, the patent roll record of the pyx trial of Goldbeter's York coinage states that the silver coins tried had been made between 16 October 1423 and 7 August 1424.²² It is conceivable that silver received from 30 September 1423 was first minted on 16 October.

Roderham and Haxey recorded the bullion receipts and coinage of two periods, the first of which extended from 12 August to 21 October 1423, inclusive. The indenture of 15 July 1423,

¹³ L.A. Lawrence, 'The two mints at York', *NC* 5th ser. 5 (1925), 366–79, at pp. 370–2 assumed that there was no royal mint in York between May 1355 and the production of the *Annulet* issue. There is no reason to doubt this assumption.

¹⁴ The building materials, trades, and methods of payment in Haryngton's particulars of account and account are generally consistent with the survey of building trades in York, from c. 1300 to 1534, provided by H. Swanson, *Building Craftsmen in Late Medieval York* (Borthwick Papers 63; York, 1983). The use of staves from empty woad casks to make palings may seem to be unusual, but Davies, 'Notices', p. 266, n. 4 cited a similar use of cask-staves at Rhuddlan Castle, and the 'considerable traffic' in woad at York.

¹⁵ Haryngton's particulars of account refer to the construction of buildings *pro habitacione factoris monete et famulorum suorum*; Davies, 'Notices', p. 266 interpreted this as a reference to 'a dwelling-house for the moneyer and his

servants', but *habitacione* may denote occupation for business rather than for domestic purposes.

¹⁶ *York Memorandum Book Part II (1388–1493) Lettered A–Y in the Guildhall Muniment Room*, edited by M. Sellers (Surtees Society Vol. 125, Durham, 1915), pp. 104–6; PRO E 101/301/21; PRO E 101/306/2 nos. 3–4; PRO C 54/274 m. 8d.

¹⁷ *Calendar of Close Rolls 1422–1429*, pp. 57–8.

¹⁸ Ruding, *Annals*, II, pp. 232–3; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1422–1429*, p. 131. *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, edited by J. Raine (Surtees Society Vol. 35, Durham, 1859), pp. 203–6 describes Haxey's ecclesiastical career: he was treasurer of York Minster from 1418 to his death in 1425.

¹⁹ *York Memorandum Book Part II*, p. 106.

²⁰ PRO E 101/302/2; PRO E 101/302/3; PRO E 364/58 rot. 3d.; Lessen, 'York Annulet silver coins of Henry VI', p. 60.

²¹ PRO E 101/302/4.

²² PRO C 66/419 m. 18r.; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1422–1429*, pp. 338–9; Ruding, *Annals*, II, pp. 451–2

and the London exchange indenture of 20 January 1423, authorized Goldbeter's exchanging operations only until the next meeting of parliament, which eventually began on 20 October 1423. Ruding provides a full account of the petition presented by the commons of the northern counties in this parliament, which successfully requested the reopening of the York mint, claiming that its master had left York before all of the unlawfully light gold coins circulating locally had been recoined.²³ This petition was probably presented and granted before the prorogation of parliament on 17 December 1423, as Goldbeter was appointed master and worker of the 'mistry' of the king's mint in York Castle on 16 January 1424, the day before parliament reassembled.²⁴ Parliament was dissolved on 28 February 1424, and Goldbeter's York indenture was renewed on the same day: this renewal retrospectively authorized his continued tenure of the York exchanges from 21 October 1423, when the first period of exchanging and minting had ended.²⁵

Soon after the dissolution of parliament the chancellor, Thomas Langley, left the capital to travel to his bishopric of Durham. He arrived in York on 12 March 1424,²⁶ and it is possible that he expedited the resumption of exchanging and minting before he continued his journey. On 18 March Langley issued a revised version of the writ of 23 July 1423, in Durham.²⁷ This amended writ (translated in Appendix 1, p. 129) ordered the proclamation of the 'tenor' of Goldbeter's indenture, which was almost certainly the text of 28 February 1424, or a paraphrase of it, in Langley's bishopric. The proclamation of the tenor would have publicized the revival of Goldbeter's operations in York, to supporters of the parliamentary petition or to customers of Goldbeter.

The second period of the records of Roderham and Haxey began on 20 March 1424, and ended on 14 August 1424. Haxey's account unequivocally states that there was no minting or exchanging after 14 August (*coignagium cessavit et nullum cambium . . . usitatum fuit*).²⁸ In October 1424 final payments to Haxey and Roderham were authorized. Haxey's account and particulars of account cite a privy seal writ of 20 October allowing the payment of his wages (£26 13s. 4d.) and expenses (£3 3s. 10d.), and another writ of 24 October for his payment of Roderham's fee of £10 for one year.

Bullion exchanged and minted

Roderham's roll records bullion ostensibly received from Goldbeter, and it does not mention individual customers of the exchanges. Goldbeter's consignments probably usually contained bullion from more than one customer, as the greatest number of consignments of a metal in one day was only three (on the second day of exchanging gold in 1423), and only ten days had more than one consignment of a metal. On some days there was no consignment of gold, particularly towards the end of exchanging in 1424, and the receipt of silver was much more intermittent. Exchanging was probably suspended on some of the days without consignments (such as on Sundays, the only day of the week on which consignments were never received). However, bullion may have been accumulated in the treasury of the mint during many of the breaks in Roderham's records, until a consignment was enrolled, sent to the melting-house's

²³ Ruding, *Annals*, I, pp. 269–70; *Rotuli parliamentorum; ut et petitiones et placita in parlamento*, edited by J. Strachey and others (6 vols. London, 1767–77), IV, p. 200.

²⁴ PRO C 66/412 m. 6r.; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1422–1429*, p. 169.

²⁵ PRO E 101/306/2 no. 4 (summarized by Ruding, *Annals*, II, p. 143); PRO C 54/274 m. 8d.; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1422–1429*, pp. 141–2.

²⁶ R.L. Storey, *Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham 1406–1437* (London, 1961), pp. 45–6, 155 and 237.

²⁷ PRO DURH 3/38 m. 10r.. The amended writ was ostensibly witnessed at Durham by King Henry VI, who was only two years old. B. Wolfe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), p. 361, notes that the dating clauses of documents issued under the great seal normally reveal the whereabouts of the chancellor, not the king.

²⁸ The petition of the northern counties (see n. 23) asked that it should be enacted that all of the light gold to be recoined should be taken to York Castle before Michaelmas (29 September) 1424.

furnaces, and minted. The bullion recorded by Roderham on the last days of minting in 1423 and 1424 must have been minted on the day of enrolment, but it cannot be assumed that bullion was always enrolled and minted on the same day. It has already been suggested (on p. 121) that the minting of silver, received from 30 September 1423, may have begun on 16 October. The weekly aggregates of Roderham's receipts in Table 1 can provide evidence of trends in the amounts of gold exchanged and minted, but they do not necessarily indicate the weight exchanged or minted in a particular week.

TABLE 1 Weekly receipts of gold (from Monday to Saturday)

<i>Monday (in 1423)</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>dwt.</i>	<i>Monday (in 1424)</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>dwt.</i>
9 August	84	11	18½	20 March	72	1	3½
(receipts began on Thursday, 12 August)				27 March	104	6	1½
16 August	188	2	3½	3 April	86	9	0
23 August	139	4	12½	10 April	93	7	2½
30 August	200	10	5	17 April	48	9	17½
6 September	153	2	16½	24 April	20	6	8½
13 September	146	11	17½	1 May	51	3	1½
20 September	123	11	13½	8 May	79	8	16½
27 September	127	10	2½	15 May	22	0	7½
4 October	141	7	15	22 May	84	7	17½
11 October	115	11	15	29 May	34	4	5
18 October	76	1	12½	5 June	56	1	3½
(receipts ended on Thursday, 21 October)				12 June	9	2	15
1423 total	1499	2	12½	19 June	30	9	5
				26 June	49	6	2½
				3 July	28	6	10
				10 July	17	3	10
				17 July	66	7	0
				24 July	0	0	0
				31 July	50	2	7½
				7 August	14	7	0
				14 August	18	3	0
				(receipts ended on Monday, 14 August)			
				1424 total	1039	4	15
				1423-4 total	2538	7	7½

The weekly mean weight of gold received in Roderham's nine full weeks in 1423 (148.68 lb.) is approximately three times the mean of the twenty-one full weeks in 1424 (48.63 lb.). Furthermore, all of the receipts for full weeks in 1423 exceed the greatest receipt for a week in 1424 (104 lb. 6 oz. 1½ dwt. in the week of 27 March). However, the claim of the parliamentary petition that Goldbeter had left York before all of the light gold coins had been reminted may not have been entirely unjustified, as 40.94 per cent of Roderham's gold was received in 1424. In both of the years of Goldbeter's operations there was a decline in receipts, as demand for the exchanging of gold was satisfied. If the nine full weeks of 1423 are divided into three periods of three weeks each, the weekly means are 176.14 lb. for the first period, 141.40 lb. for the second, and 128.66 lb. for the final period. The weekly means for three periods of seven full weeks each in 1424 are 68.22 lb., 45.27 lb., and 32.39 lb.

The relatively small number of enrolments of silver (only eleven, in seven different weeks) would not provide good material for weekly statistics, but trends can be discerned in other statistics. The daily mean of Roderham's silver receipts fell from 5.80 lb. in 1423 to 1.37 lb. in 1424, indicating a sharp decline in the relatively low demand for the exchanging of silver. However, 61.34 per cent of Roderham's silver was received in 1424, significantly exceeding the percentage of the gold received in that year (40.94 per cent).

After a small consignment of only 4 lb. 8 oz. of silver on 30 September 1423, there were four consignments of nearly 22 lb. each between 15 October and 18 October. The abnormally

large silver consignment of the last day of enrolment (116 lb. 3 oz. on 7 August 1424) may have been caused by the processing of accumulated bullion on the last day of minting silver, and the mean weight of the other ten silver consignments of 1423 and 1424 is 21.41 lb. The mean weight of the 121 gold consignments is 20.98 lb., although individual consignments varied between 6 lb. 4 oz. 10 dwt. and 66 lb. 7 oz., and sixty-six of them were less than 15 lb. or more than 25 lb. Consignments of gold and silver were not consistently standardized, but a weight of about 20 lb. may have been convenient for melting.²⁹

Haxey recorded the weights of gold and silver minted, almost exactly corresponding to the total weights of bullion enrolled by Roderham,³⁰ the gross profits from the coinage charges, and Goldbeter's mintage charges. The minting of silver contributed only £16 10s. 4½d. to the gross profits of £651 3s. 6¾d., and £12 7s. 9d. of this was payable to Goldbeter as his share of the charges for silver.

Denominations minted

In the indenture of 16 February 1423, Goldbeter agreed to produce four ounces of groats, two ounces of halfgroats, three ounces of pennies, two ounces of halfpennies, and one ounce of farthings from each pound weight (twelve Tower ounces) of silver. Lessen's attempt to estimate the relative output of each denomination, from the evidence of hoards and his die-study, would be unnecessary if it could be demonstrated that Goldbeter observed the terms of his indenture. A petition presented in the parliament of 1423–4 alleged that Goldbeter had produced nobles and groats in his mints, with very few smaller coins, contrary to his indenture.³¹ It is not certain that Goldbeter obeyed the resulting order to produce denominations in the stipulated proportions.

The enrolment of the pyx trial of Goldbeter's York coinage might provide evidence of the relative output of the denominations. During the trial, held at Westminster on 14 October 1424, the pyx was found to contain two bags of silver coins: the first with 4s. 7d. struck in 1423, and the second with 6s. 3¼d. from 1424. The sum of the stated amounts of each denomination, from the groat to the halfpenny, is 13¼d. less than the sum of the two bag totals (10s. 10¼d.), and it may be concluded that this 13¼d. was almost certainly composed of farthings. Thirty-four bags of gold coins, not individually recorded, contained a total of 116 nobles, 182 half nobles, and 246 quarter nobles.³²

Goldbeter's indenture of 16 February 1423 required the trial of the gold denominations 'equally included in proportion', and his superseded indenture of 13 February 1422 also specified the trial of silver 'in proportion'.³³ The numbers of silver coins in the indenture of 1423 and the trial are approximately proportional. However, the numbers of gold coins are inversely proportional, with the 4:3:2 ratio of the indenture reversed in the trial. It is evident that two different procedures were applied to the pyx sampling of the two metals, but it is not clear whether either of these procedures produced a sample directly related to the relative output of the denominations.

²⁹ C.E. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester, 1978), p. 11 n. 32 has noted that gold was commonly melted in consignments of 10–20 lb. at the Tower mint in the late 1560s and early 1580s, although silver consignments could weigh as much as 600 lb.

³⁰ The total of Roderham's receipts (2358 lb. 7 oz. 7½ dwt.) is 4½ dwt. less than the total reported by Haxey.

³¹ Ruding, *Annals*, I, pp. 271–2; *Rotuli parliamentorum*, IV, p. 256.

³² The enrolment of the trial (see n. 22) stated that the two bags of silver contained coins taken from 127 lb. 8 oz. 10 dwt. and 202 lb. 8 oz. of minted silver; these weights exactly equal Roderham's total receipts in 1423 and 1424, respectively. The first bag was stated to have been

'delivered' (into the pyx, presumably) on 16 October 1423, the day from which silver coins were said to have been made, but this was probably in error for 21 October, the last day of exchanging and minting in 1423. The gold coins tried were reported to have been taken from 2538 lb. 6 oz. of gold, which is 1 oz. 7½ dwt. less than the total of Roderham's receipts, and 1 oz. 12½ dwt. less than Haxey's total. The gold was found to be of due alloy and of slightly more than proper weight; the silver was of proper weight and 1 dwt. better than the Tower standard of fineness (11 oz. 2 dwt.). Goldbeter received acquittance for the trial on 12 December 1425.

³³ *Calendar of Close Rolls 1419–1422*, p. 232; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1422–1429*, p. 60.

TABLE 2 Indenture and pyx trial denominations

Denomination	Indenture		Pyx trial	
	No. of coins per pound	% of gold or silver total	No. of coins	% of gold or silver total
<i>Gold</i>				
Nobles	33.33	44.44	116	21.32
Half nobles	25	33.33	182	33.46
Quarter nobles	16.67	22.22	246	45.22
<i>Silver</i>				
Groats	30	7.69	10	6.80
Halfgroats	30	7.69	14	9.52
Pennies	90	23.08	28	19.05
Halfpennies	120	30.77	42	28.57
Farthings	120	30.77	[53]	[36.05]

In the reign of Henry VI the archiepiscopal mint of York produced only pennies. The *Annulet* issue pennies of York recorded by Lessen do not have the quatrefoil mark of the archiepiscopal mint on the reverse, but some apparently archiepiscopal *Pinecone-Mascle* pennies also lack the quatrefoil.³⁴ *Annulet* pennies could have been issued by the archiepiscopal mint, either for Archbishop Henry Bowet, or in the *sede vacante* period between Bowet's death on 20 October 1423 and the restitution of the temporalities to Archbishop John Kemp on 22 April 1426.³⁵ A writ of 6 November 1423 informed the mayor of York, as the city's escheator, that nine keepers of the late archbishop's temporalities should receive custody of the temporalities in the city. One of the keepers, Robert Rolleston, appointed John Esyngwald to strike pennies (*ad cunandum denarios singulos*) in the archbishop's mint during the vacancy, according to the terms of an indenture agreed between Rolleston and Esyngwald.³⁶ However, the uniformity of the dies for pennies and the other denominations studied by Lessen supports his assumption that they were all supplied together, for use in the royal mint.³⁷

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³⁴ L.A. Lawrence, 'The two mints at York', pp. 372–3; G.C. Brooke, 'The mints of Canterbury and York in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII', *BNJ* 21 (1931–3), 73–87, at p. 74.

³⁵ J. le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541: VI Northern Province (York, Carlisle and Durham)*, compiled by

B. Jones (London, 1963), p. 4.

³⁶ *York Memorandum Book Part I (1376–1419) Lettered A–Y in the Guildhall Muniment Room*, edited by M. Sellers (Surtees Society Vol. 120, Durham, 1911), p. 214.

³⁷ Lessen, 'York Annulet silver coins of Henry VI', p. 64.

APPENDIX 1: TRANSLATIONS

Writ of 8 April 1423; particulars of account, and account, of Sir William Haryngton

[Translated from a collation of three Latin texts:

A: PRO E 101/598/31 (writ, attached to the particulars of account)

B: PRO E 101/598/31 (particulars of account)

C: PRO E 101/598/32 (account)].

[B:] Particulars of account of Sir William Haryngton.

[C:] York. Account of William Haryngton.

[B, C:] former sheriff of Yorkshire, of his costs and expenses as regards the repair and improvement of various buildings for the making of the king's money within his castle of York, by the advice of the king's council; ordered by the king's writ of his great seal.

[B:] dated the eighth day of April in his first year [8 April 1423], directed to the aforesaid former sheriff, and remaining with these particulars; and also by another king's writ of his great seal.

[B, C:] dated the twelfth day of June in the second year [12 June 1424], directed to the treasurer and barons of his exchequer, and enrolled in the memoranda [rolls] among the writs, directed to the same treasurer and barons, of Trinity term in the same [second] year, in the eighth roll.

[A:] Henry, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to the sheriff of Yorkshire, greeting. Whereas we lately,

[C:] In which [writ of 12 June 1424], among other [things], is contained that whereas the king,

[A, C:] by the advice of our [C: of the king's] council, have [C: had] appointed Bartholomew Goldbeter master of our [C: of the king's] money within our [C: the king's] Tower of London and our [C: the king's] city of York, to oversee and arrange houses and buildings necessary for the making of our [C: of the king's] money within [C: within his] York Castle, and the same Bartholomew has informed us [C: informed the king] that the aforesaid houses are [C: were] so ruinous and are [C: were] so much in need of repair that they are [C: were] not adequate for making our [C: the king's] money within the aforesaid houses; we, wishing [C: and the king wishing] the aforesaid houses, for the aforesaid reason, to be sufficiently repaired and improved, and [A: and more houses] to be newly built if it shall have been needful; we command you [C: by his writ he commanded the sheriff of the aforesaid county] that the aforesaid houses be caused to be sufficiently improved and repaired, and newly built if it shall have been needful, according to the ordinance and direction of the same Bartholomew, for the making of our [C: of the king's] money in the same place, at our costs [C: at the king's costs], from the issues and profits resulting from the aforesaid county and all money able to be levied in your bailiwick [C: in the bailiwick of the former sheriff himself] for our use [C: for the king's use]; and we shall cause you [C: and the king promised the same former sheriff] to have allowance of debt in respect thereof in your [C: in his] account at our [C: at the king's] exchequer.

[A:] I myself being witness at Brierley, the eighth day of April, in the first year of our reign [8 April 1423].

[C:] By which writ [of 12 June 1424] the king commanded the same treasurer and barons that all money or sums of cash which, by the oath of the former sheriff himself to the same treasurer and barons, are established to have been reasonably paid by the former sheriff himself with regard to the improvement and repair of the aforesaid houses [and buildings] or building anew for the aforesaid reason, should be allowed to the same former sheriff in his account at the exchequer.

[B, C:] that is, as regards these costs and expenses, as below.

[B:] Expenses.

First, on timber bought for the new construction of buildings within York Castle, that is, for 300 pieces both large and small for the habitation of the master-worker (*factoris monete*) and his men

£12 6s. 8d.

Also, paid for the sawing of 30 rods of timber for the said buildings;

3s. 4d. per rod

£5 0s. 0d.

Also, on 120 planks [for floor-boards?] bought for the same buildings; price 4d. each

£2 0s. 0d.

Also, on 80 oak boards for doors, floors, window-shutters, other necessities of the said buildings to be repaired, and stakes to be made from the boards; price of each board, 5d.

£1 13s. 4d.

Also, paid for the sawing of 92 lengths of the same boards; ½d. for each length

5s. 9d.

Also, paid for the carriage of 56 cartloads of the aforesaid timber, carried from the church of St. James [on the Mowt without Micklegate Bar] to the garden of the said castle; for each cartload, 4d.

18s. 8d.

Also, on 10,400 roof-tiles bought for the roofing of the said buildings; price of a thousand tiles with carriage, 10s. 10d.

£5 13s. 8d.

Also, on 90 ridge-tiles bought for work of this kind.

Also, on 13,000 wall-tiles [bricks] bought for the same buildings; price of a thousand, 6s. 8d.

£4 7s. 8d.

Also, on 3,100 . . . ere called *naulat* [nails?]; price of 100, 1s.

£1 11s. 0d.

Also, on 2,400 nails (*doubylspykyng*) bought for the same buildings; price of 100, 4½ d.

8s 7½d.

Also, on 1,460 nails (*myddylspyughyng*) bought for the aforesaid purpose; price of 100, 2½d.

7s. 11d.

Also, on 6,760 brads (*stanbrod*) bought for the same work; price of 100, 1½d.

9s. 10d.

Also, on 2,200 nails (<i>scotseme</i>) bought; price of 100, 1½d.	3s. 2½d.
Also, on 100 nails (<i>dyshe nayll</i> ?) bought for the same	2s. 0d.
Also, on 30½ mets [<i>61 bushels</i>] of lime bought for this work; price of a met, 16d. with [carriage]	£2 0s. 8d.
Also, on 99 horse-loads of sand bought for work of this kind.	6s. 4d.
Also, on 21 casks of plaster bought for work of this kind; price of a cask with carriage, 3s. 4d.	£3 10s. 0d.
Also, on 700 thraves [<i>of straw?</i>] bought for the burning of the same [plaster]; price of 100, 8d.	4s. 8d.
Also, in money paid to John Bolron, carpenter, and his fellows, for making the carpentry of all of the aforesaid buildings, according to a fixed agreement made with him; inclusively	10s. 10d.
Also, in money paid to John Carter for clearing land of soil where the said buildings were built, [taking soil] out of the aforesaid castle, and for cleansing the same ground and making it level, according to a similar agreement	£1 12s. 0d.
Also, in money paid to a certain tiler for the tiling of all of the aforesaid buildings, according to a similar agreement	£1 10s. 0d.
Also, in money paid to two plasterers for the plastering of all of the walls of the said buildings, according to a similar agreement	£7 0s. 0d.
Also, on 130 horse-loads of <i>luti</i> [<i>fire-clay?</i>] bought, for the foundations of the buildings there, for furnaces for the master-worker, and for <i>caminis</i> [<i>fireplaces or chimneys?</i>] to be made from it; price of each horse-load, 1d.	10s. 10d.
Also, 6 spring-locks with 12 keys bought for the same . . . of the doors of the aforesaid buildings	7s. 6d.
Also, on 2 double spring-locks with staples bought for the same [buildings], with 10 keys bought for the same	3s. 4d.
Also, on 5 stock-locks bought for the same [buildings]	2s. 6d.
Also, on 8 iron rings with bosses [<i>door-handles</i>] bought for the doors of the aforesaid buildings	1s. 4d.
Also, on 3 bolts and 4 iron staples bought for the door of the treasury	1s. 0d.
Also, on tiles called <i>queresurs</i> [<i>square floor-tiles</i>] bought for the pavement to be made in a building called <i>le meltynghouse</i> , and to one man for his labour	18s. 0d.
Also, on 15 bolts and iron staples bought for the doors and window-shutters there [in the melting-house]	2s. 6d.
Also, on 32 stones and 4 pounds of lead bought from Thomas Plumer, for 2 <i>gurgit</i> [<i>spouts or drains?</i>] made therefrom	£1 1s. 0d.
Also, on 13 <i>fyrsparrs</i> [lengths of deal?] for <i>caminis</i> [<i>chimney-corners?</i>] and closets in the same [buildings]	4s. 4d.
Also, on 1 pair of great bands of iron with iron crooks [<i>for door-hinges</i>], bought for the great door of the treasury	4s. 0d.
Also, on a great lock with keys bought, with iron staples, for the same door	3s. 0d.
Also, to one mason making holes in stonework, for fixing the said iron crooks there, for one day	4d.
Also, on 7 pairs of iron bands bought for the doors of the above-mentioned buildings; for each pair, 7d.	4s. 1d.
Also, for 11 pairs of iron bars bought for the windows; price of each pair, 4d.	3s. 8d.
Also, on staves of empty casks called <i>wadtonn</i> [<i>wood-casks</i>], bought for [palings of] enclosures to be made there	£1 6s. 0d.
Total	£68. 8s. 5d.

[C:] Expenses.

The same [William] accounts for timber, planks, oak boards, *fyrsparrs*, cask-staves, tiles of various kinds, laths, nails of various kinds, lime, sand, plaster, turves, fire-clay [?], locks of various kinds, iron rings with bosses for doors, iron bolts, staples, lead, iron bands and hinges: bought by the former sheriff himself for the repair and improvement of the aforesaid houses, and expended on the same; and also for wages of carpenters, masons, tilers, plasterers and other workers and labourers working upon the repair and improvement of the same houses, both for piece-work and for journey-work at various times; together with carriage of the aforesaid materials from various places, where they were bought and purveyed, to the aforesaid houses; £68 8s. 5d., by the aforesaid writ [of 12 June 1424] noted in the heading of this account, thus contained in a certain schedule of particulars in respect thereof, delivered here into the treasury.

Total of the aforesaid costs and expenses £68 8s. 5d.

Indenture of Bartholomew Goldbeter for the York exchanges

[Translated from a collation of five French, or French and Latin, texts:

A: PRO E 101/301/21 (undated; draft of a text sealed by Goldbeter)

B: PRO E 101/306/2 no. 3 (dated 15 July 1423; draft of a text sealed on behalf of the king)

C: *York Memorandum Book Part II*, pp. 104–6 (same dating clause as B)

D: PRO E 101/306/2 no. 4 (dated 28 February 1424; sealed by Goldbeter)

E: PRO C 54/274 m. 8d. (enrolment of D).]

[E, Latin:] Concerning an enrolled indenture.

[A-E:] This indenture made between our sovereign lord the king of the one part, and Bartholomew Seman otherwise called Goldebeter, master and worker of the king's moneys within the Tower of London, of the other part, witnesses that our said sovereign lord has ordained and constituted the said Bartholomew warden and changer of his exchanges of gold and silver in the city of York, to hold in open places and high streets by himself and his sufficient deputies, for which he will answer

[A-C:] from the feast of Saint John the Baptist [C omits John the] last past [24 June 1423] until the next ensuing parliament, and thenceforward

[D, E:] from the twenty-first day of October last past [21 October 1423]

[A-E:] as long as it shall please our said sovereign lord the king. And the said Bartholomew shall be bound to receive all manner of gold and silver brought to the said exchanges, paying to those who bring it according to the reasonable value of that gold or silver brought, taking rebate according to the proportion of five shillings for the seignorage and coinage and fifteen pence for the exchange per pound of gold of the weight of the Tower of London, and not more, the which five shillings and fifteen pence are appraised at the rate of a penny and a halfpenny to [A: from] the noble of the weight of the same Tower. The which fifteen pence per pound of gold our said sovereign lord, by the advice of his council, for certain causes wills and grants that the said Bartholomew may have and hold to himself and his own use without any account to be rendered thereof, the said Bartholomew bearing all the charges, costs and expenses belonging to and incumbent upon the said exchanges for that time. And the said Bartholomew shall be bound to pay to the people what should belong to them for such exchange [in] good and lawful money of England, and of such weight and fineness as shall and should rightfully be made in the Tower of London, by weight or by number at the choice of him who receives it [A omits it], from time to time without [any] delay or difficulty whatsoever. And if perchance, which God forbid, any notable fault is found as to weight or fineness in the money so paid at the aforesaid exchanges, it shall be properly lawful for each person who finds such fault before he leaves the place of the said exchange to refuse that which is defective and refusable, and upon this the said exchanger shall be bound to pay and deliver sufficient money therefor without obstruction or delay. And the said exchanger shall be bound and obliged to carry or cause to be carried all the gold and silver which he receives in the said exchanges, or purchases by virtue of his office therein, to the said Tower of London, to be there melted and made into money by view and witness of the assayer and comptroller of our said sovereign lord there for the time being, in augmentation and increase of money for the profit of the realm, and for the convenience of the people, without being sold, alienated, or put to any other use, on penalty of paying [C omits of paying] to the king of our said lord of double that which he receives in the said exchanges or purchases by virtue of his said office and has not sent to the aforesaid Tower. And the said exchanger has promised and is bound to have and to place in the said exchanges notable and suitable sums of gold and silver for the employment and deliverance of the people repairing to said exchanges, so that they shall not be hindered or delayed there for lack of money. And the said Bartholomew has promised and binds himself to our sovereign lord the king that not for [any] profit or singular advantage that he could take because of the said exchanges in the said city, nor for any other intentional cause, will he hinder any man from carrying gold or silver to the said Tower of London to be coined there, nor will he constrain or coerce any person by any manner of excuse to desist from having his gold or silver coined in [A: gold or silver [carried] to] the said Tower of London, so that they go to the said exchanges, but will deliver the same [gold or silver] immediately and readily to the said Tower, as he is bound by force of the indentures [of 16 February 1423] made to this [matter] between our said sovereign lord the king and the said Bartholomew as master and worker of the [B: of his] said moneys, on pain of paying to the party double that [amount] in which the same party is wronged in this case. And our said lord the king shall cause to be proclaimed and forbidden to all his lieges and others that no manner of person shall hold any common exchange in private or openly in the said city, nor take anything as profit of such exchange, other than the exchangers [A: his exchangers] of our said lord the king, subject to the penalty and forfeiture contained in the statute thereof made in the twenty-fifth year of King Edward the third etc. Of which forfeiture the king, by the advice of his council, wills that the said Bartholomew shall have twelve pence in the pound when such a case occurs, and this shall be proved and legally adjudged at the suit of the said Bartholomew.

[A:] In witness whereof the aforesaid Bartholomew has set his seal to the part of this indenture remaining with our sovereign lord the king. Given at Westminster, the [space for the date] day of [space for the month], in the first year of the reign of the king our said sovereign lord.

[B, C:] In witness whereof our said sovereign lord the king has caused his great seal to be set to the part of this indenture remaining with the said Bartholomew. Given at Westminster, the fifteenth day of July, in the first year of the reign of the king our said sovereign lord [15 July 1423].

[D, E:] In witness whereof the said Bartholomew has set his seal to the one part of this indenture remaining with the said our sovereign lord the king. Given at Westminster, the twenty-eighth day of February, in the second year of the reign of our sovereign lord the king [28 February 1424].

[D, E: Latin:] By a writ of the privy seal.

[E, Latin:] And be it remembered that the aforesaid Bartholomew came into the king's chancery at Westminster on the first day of March in the present year [1 March 1424], and acknowledged the aforesaid indenture and all [things] contained in the same, in the aforesaid terms.

Writ of 23 July 1423

[Translated from the Latin text: *York Memorandum Book Part II*, p. 106.]

Henry, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to the mayor and sheriffs of the city of York, greeting. We command you, firmly enjoining [you] that, [having] seen one half of certain indentures made between us and Bartholomew Seman, alias Bartholomew Goldbeter, master and worker of our moneys within the Tower of London and warden and exchanger of our exchanges of gold and silver in our aforesaid city [of York] to be held [by him], concerning the aforesaid operations and exchanges, duly to be operated, [you should] proclaim publicly on our behalf that part [of the indentures] in every single place in the aforesaid city where you see that it is most expeditious; and cause all of the articles contained in the same [part of the indentures], in as much as it concerns you, in the aforesaid city and the suburbs of the same [city], to be firmly and inviolably observed according to the meaning, form, and effect of the aforesaid indenture. And by no means neglect this. I myself being witness at Westminster, the twenty-third day of July, in the first year of our reign.

Writ of 18 March 1424

[Translated from the Latin text: PRO DURH 3/38 m. 10r.]

Henry, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to the venerable father in Christ Thomas, by the same grace bishop of Durham, or his chancellor in the bishopric of Durham, greeting. We send you, enclosed [with] the present writ, the tenor of a certain indenture between us and Bartholomew Seman, alias Bartholomew Goldbeter, master and worker of our moneys within our Tower of London and warden and exchanger of our exchanges of gold and silver in the city of York to be held [by him], concerning the aforesaid operations; commanding that you should cause the aforesaid tenor to be proclaimed publicly in every single place within your aforesaid bishopric where you see that it is most expeditious. I myself being witness at Durham, the eighteenth day of March, in the second year of our reign.

Roll of Thomas Roderham

[Abridged translation of the Latin text: PRO E 101/302/4]

York. T[homas] Roderham, exchanger and assayer.

York. Roll of Thomas Roderham, exchanger, assayer, and comptroller of the king's money of gold and silver within the king's city of York, that is, both from the twelfth day of August in the first year of King Henry the sixth [12 August 1423] until the twenty-first day of October next following [21 October 1423], during seventy-one days, and from the twentieth day of March in the second year [20 March 1424] until the fourteenth day of August next following [14 August 1424], during 148 days, both days counted, that is during 219 days in all; in the time of Thomas Haxey, clerk, warden of the king's exchange in the same place, and of Bartholomew Goldebeter, master of the king's mint in the same place during the same time.

[Receipts] of gold weighed.

From Bartholomew Goldbeter [*sic*], master of the king's mint within York Castle, on the twelfth day of August in the first year of King Henry the sixth: of gold weighing 13 lb. 7 oz. 6 dwt.

[Form of the remaining entries, tabulated below:] From the same [Bartholomew] on [date and weight].

[Date (in 1423)]	lb.	oz.	dwt.	Date (in 1424)	lb.	oz.	dwt.
12 August	13	7	6	20 March	20	1	10
13 August	20	2	2½	21 March	9	6	1½
	14	1½	2½		14	0	0
	19	6½	0	22 March	10	3	10
14 August	17	6	7½	23 March	18	2	2½
17 August	30	3	15	27 March	15	6	0
18 August	27	1	6½	28 March	21	3	17½
	18	2	10	29 March	23	5	15
19 August	22	2	10	30 March	14	9	12½
20 August	17	11	6½	31 March	16	7	11½
	29	11	12½	1 April	12	9	5
21 August	22	0	12½	4 April	24	0	0
	20	4	11½	5 April	16	7	10
23 August	29	1	5	6 April	15	4	5
25 August	17	4	15	7 April	15	1	0

<i>Date (in 1423)</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>dwt.</i>	<i>Date (in 1424)</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>dwt.</i>
26 August	26	6	10	8 April	15	8	5
27 August	32	4	10	10 April	19	10	15
28 August	33	11	12½	11 April	14	2	0
30 August	44	2	7½	12 April	15	3	11½
1 September	65	11	0	13 April	13	5	1¼
3 September	37	5	12½	14 April	18	7	13¼
	30	2	10	15 April	12	2	1½
4 September	23	0	15	20 April	17	5	13¼
7 September	52	11	0	21 April	20	4	16¼
9 September	22	8	6¼	22 April	10	11	7½
10 September	55	11	0	28 April	14	1	18¼
11 September	21	8	10	29 April	6	4	10
13 September	21	5	5	2 May	9	0	18¼
15 September	26	5	10	4 May	14	3	0
17 September	51	6	12½	5 May	14	7	7½
18 September	47	6	10	6 May	13	3	15
20 September	18	2	5	9 May	20	0	0
22 September	24	1	0		7	0	2½
23 September	25	11	6¼	11 May	17	3	16¼
24 September	23	9	8¼	12 May	18	8	10
25 September	31	11	13¼	13 May	16	8	7½
28 September	34	0	0	16 May	15	0	2½
30 September	21	7	6¼	17 May	7	0	5
	17	3	6¼	22 May	13	10	6¼
1 October	30	1	12½	23 May	17	3	15
2 October	24	9	17½	25 May	17	3	10
4 October	35	10	8¼	26 May	20	3	10
5 October	28	1	12½	27 May	15	10	16¼
6 October	19	5	16¼	29 May	14	4	0
7 October	29	1	2½	30 May	8	11	5
9 October	29	0	15	2 June	11	1	0
11 October	17	0	1¼	6 June	12	4	0
14 October	19	7	16¼	7 June	8	6	17½
15 October	26	10	0	9 June	21	10	5
	23	10	10	10 June	13	4	1¼
16 October	28	7	7½	16 June	9	2	15
19 October	19	9	12½	19 June	11	2	0
20 October	11	8	12½	20 June	12	5	10
21 October	42	7	7½	23 June	7	1	15
				26 June	9	5	12½
				27 June	17	2	10
				30 June	10	11	0
					11	11	0
				4 July	28	6	10
				12 July	17	3	10
				20 July	66	7	0
				31 July	12	6	5
				2 August	17	9	12½
				5 August	19	10	10
				8 August	7	8	5
				12 August	6	10	15
				14 August	18	3	0½

Let it [Thomas Roderham's roll] be examined with the roll of Thomas Haxey, warden and receiver of the king's coinage within York Castle.

[*dorse*] [Receipts] of silver weighed.

From Bartholomew Goldbetar, master of the king's mint within York Castle, on the thirtieth day of September in the second year of King Henry the sixth; of silver weighing 4 lb. 8 oz.

[The remaining entries as tabulated below.]

[Date (in 1423)]	lb.	oz.	dwt.	[Date (in 1424)]	lb.	oz.	dwt.
30 September	4	8	0	20 April	26	6	10
15 October	22	2	10	5 June	17	8	10
	21	11	10	7 June	21	4	0
16 October	22	2	0	12 July	20	10	0
18 October	22	3	0	7 August	116	3	0
21 October	34	5	10]				

Let it [the roll] be examined with the roll, written [about] overleaf, of the warden and receiver of the king's coinage.

Particulars of account, and account, of Thomas Haxey

[Translated from a collation of three Latin texts:

A: PRO E 101/302/2 (particulars of account)

B: PRO E 101/302/3 (account, damaged and pieces missing)

C: PRO E 364/58 rot. 3d. (enrolled account).]

[A-C:] York.

Account [A: Particulars of account] of Thomas Haxey, clerk, former warden and receiver of all profits of the king's moneys newly made within the king's castle of York, and keeper of the king's dies there, for the aforesaid moneys, appointed by letters patent of King Henry the sixth, dated the twentieth day of July in the first year of his reign [20 July 1423].

[A:] in respect of these particulars sent back,

[B, C:] [and] returned on [making] this account. In which writ, indeed, is contained that the king, fully confident of the faithfulness and discretion of the aforesaid Thomas, with the advice and assent of his council, appointed [Thomas] himself warden and receiver of all profits which should happen to come for the king's use from the moneys which the king ordained to be newly made in his aforesaid castle of York, and keeper of the king's aforesaid dies for the arranging of the aforesaid moneys of the king there; so that he should render a faithful account of those issues to the king and answer to the king in respect thereof, by the oversight and counter-enrolment of the exchanger and assayer of the aforesaid king's money appointed in the aforesaid town; [Thomas] receiving in those offices the wages and fees accustomed.

[A-C:] and according to the terms of a certain indenture between the king on the one part and Bartholomew Goldebeter citizen of London on the other part, made on the sixteenth day of February in the first year of the said present king [A: in the aforesaid first year; 16 February 1423], as is contained in the originalia [roll] of the same year, the twenty-second roll [A omits the twenty-second roll], where the tenor of the aforesaid indenture is fully noted.

[B, C:] In which indenture, indeed, among other things, is contained that the king appointed, made, and established the aforesaid Bartholomew master and worker of his money of gold and silver within the aforesaid city of York; which Bartholomew, indeed, undertook before the king's council to make the aforesaid moneys under the penalties and terms following; namely, to make three kinds of gold moneys: one piece current for 6s. 8d. sterling, which shall be called the gold noble, and there shall be fifty such pieces in a pound of Tower weight and good alloy, and another gold coin weighing half of the aforesaid coin, [each] piece current for 40d. sterling, and there shall be one hundred such pieces in a pound of the weight of the aforesaid Tower and the same alloy, and another gold coin weighing a quarter of the first aforesaid coin, [each] piece current for 20d. sterling, and there shall be two hundred such pieces in a pound of the weight of the same Tower and of the same alloy. And the said gold coins shall be of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains of pure gold, and each pound [weight] of the said gold money shall be worth £16 13s. 4d. sterling. And the said king shall have 3s. 6d. by tale from each pound weight of the aforesaid money thus made; and the master shall have 18d. by tale from the bullion of each pound weight of the aforesaid money, for his work, waste of gold, loss of weight, for his expenses and all other costs saving the wages of the said warden and other ministers of the king, and [the 18d.] shall be paid to him by the warden's hands. And thus there shall remain to the merchant from each pound weight of gold, conforming to the standard of the noble, which he deposits in the aforesaid Tower, £16 8s. 4d. by tale. And also the said master undertook to make five kinds of silver moneys: namely, a piece current for 4d. which shall be called the groat, and there shall be ninety such pieces in a pound of the weight of the aforesaid Tower and of good alloy; and another coin, [each] piece current for 2d., which shall be called the halfgroat, and there shall be 180 such pieces in a pound of the weight of the aforesaid Tower and of the same alloy; and a third coin, [each] piece current for 1d., which shall be called the sterling, of the old sterling coinage, and there shall be 360 such pieces in a pound of the weight of the same Tower and of the same alloy; and a fourth coin which shall be called the halfpenny, which shall be worth half of a sterling and there shall be 720 such pieces in a pound of the weight of the aforesaid Tower and of the same alloy; and a fifth coin which shall be

called the farthing, which shall be worth half of one [B: half of the] aforesaid halfpenny, and there shall be 1440 such pieces in a pound of the weight of the aforesaid Tower and of the same alloy. And all of the said silver coins thus made shall be of the alloy of the standard of old sterling, namely that each pound weight of silver of this money shall contain eleven ounces and two pennyweights of pure silver and eighteen pennyweights of alloy; each pennyweight containing twenty four grains. And the king's warden of the same moneys shall take possession of eight pennyweights, which make 12d. by tale, from each pound weight of silver thus struck, whereof he should pay 9d. by tale to the said master from each pound weight to be struck, for his work, wastages, loss of weight and all other costs beyond the wages aforesaid, and he shall keep the residue in his custody for the king's use; and thus there shall remain in the possession of the merchant from each pound weight of silver, conforming to the standard, which he deposits in the aforesaid Tower, 29s. by tale.

[A-C:] [Thomas accounts for the profits.] namely, for the issues and profits resulting from the king's moneys made within the aforesaid castle, both from the twelfth day of August in the said first year [12 August 1423] to the twenty-first day of October next following [21 October 1423], during seventy-one days, both dates counted, and from the twentieth day of March in the second year of the same king [20 March 1424] to the fourteenth day of August next following [14 August 1424], during 148 days, both dates, likewise [A omits likewise], counted; that is, during 219 days in all, by the view and testimony of Thomas Roderham, comptroller, exchanger, and assayer [A: exchanger, assayer, and comptroller] of the king's aforesaid moneys there for the same time, in the time of the aforesaid [A omits aforesaid] Bartholomew Goldebeter master of the king's [A: of the same] moneys there for the same time;

[B, C:] from which fourteenth day of August in the second year, indeed, the said coinage ceased and no exchange was customary there from the same day and thenceforward,

[A-C:] as below.

[A-C:] Receipts of gold.

[A-C:] The same [Thomas] renders account of £634 13s. 2½d. sterling by tale from the profit of 2,538 pounds 7 ounces 12¼ pennyweights of pure gold minted in the aforesaid mint within the aforesaid castle of York, between the aforesaid twelfth day of August in the first year [12 August 1423] and the aforesaid fourteenth day of August in the second year [14 August 1424]; that is, 5s. by tale from each pound weight, mintage thereon included, whereof the king shall have for his share and for the wages and fees of the aforesaid warden of the mint, comptroller, engraver of dies, and clerk of the king's dies, from each pound [weight], that is, 3s. 6d., and the aforesaid master of the mint shall take 18d. by tale from each pound weight of the aforesaid money, for his work, coinage, his expenses and all manner of costs and expenses, by the aforesaid writ of the king noted above in the heading of this account, and according to the terms of the aforesaid indenture noted above, namely in the same heading, as is contained both in a certain roll of the warden of the king's mint himself and in a certain other roll of the aforesaid comptroller for particulars of weight and [C omits and] seignorage, delivered into the treasury here in the time of the above-mentioned Bartholomew Goldebeter master of the aforesaid mint,

[B, C:] and also [contained] in a certain other roll of the aforesaid warden of the same mint, of particulars of the account thereof, delivered into the treasury here.

[A-C:] Sum of the receipt of gold

£634 13s. 2½d.

[A, C:] Receipts of silver.

[A-C:] The same [Thomas] renders account of £16 10s. 4½d. by tale of silver resulting from the issues of the mint and foundry within the aforesaid castle, from the minting of 330 pounds 4 ounces 10 pennyweights of silver in the same mint, mintage thereon included, between the thirtieth day of September in the said second year [30 September 1423] and the seventh day of August next following [7 August 1424], namely 12d. by tale from each pound [weight], whereof for the king, 3d., and 9d. by tale for the said master for work, coinage, wastages and other costs, beyond the wages of the warden, engraver of dies and the other aforesaid ministers, by the aforesaid writ and according to the terms of the aforesaid indenture noted in the above-mentioned heading as is mentioned before, [and] as is contained both in the said roll of the aforesaid warden and in the said roll of the aforesaid comptroller for particulars of weight and seignorage delivered into the treasury here in the time of the aforesaid Bartholomew Goldebeter master of the same mint,

[B, C:] and also [contained] in the said other roll of particulars.

[A-C:] Sum of the receipt of silver

£16 10s. 4½d.

Joint sum of receipts

£651 3s. 6½d.

Of which

[A, C:] Expenses.

[A-C:] The same [Thomas] reckons in mintage of the aforesaid 2,538 pounds 7 ounces 12¼ pennyweights of pure gold, minted in the said king's mint within the aforesaid castle during the aforesaid time of this account, £190 7s. 10½d., namely 18d. by tale from each pound [weight], according to the terms of the aforesaid indenture.

[B, C:] thus contained in the said roll of particulars.

[A-C:] And in mintage of the aforesaid 330 pounds 4 ounces 10 pennyweights of silver minted in the same mint during the same time, £12 7s. 9d. by tale, namely 9d. by tale from each pound [weight] according to the terms of the aforesaid indenture

[B, C:] as is contained in the same place.

[A:] By a writ to the barons [of the exchequer].

And in wages and fees of the warden himself, granted to him by the king and his council in respect of reward.

[B, C:] And in reward of the warden himself, granted to him by the present king and his council.

[A, C:] in full payment of his wages and fees for the occupation of the above-mentioned offices during the above-mentioned time, £26 13s. 4d. by tale, by the king's writ of his privy seal dated the twentieth day of October in the third year [20 October 1424], directed to the treasurer and barons of his exchequer and enrolled in the memoranda [rolls] among writs directed to the barons in the Michaelmas term of the same year, in the fourth roll of the king's remembrancer.

[B, C:] In which writ, indeed, among other things, is contained that since the king on the above-mentioned twentieth day of July in the first year [20 July 1423], by his above-mentioned letters patent, with the advice and assent of his said council, appointed the aforesaid Thomas Haxey warden and receiver of all profits of newly making the king's aforesaid [B: above-mentioned] moneys within the aforesaid castle, as mentioned before, in the above-mentioned terms noted in the heading of this account, the king with the advice and assent of his said council wills and to his aforesaid treasurer and barons commands that in the account which the said Thomas has rendered before them or is about to render for his aforesaid offices for the year last past, they should cause to be allowed to the same [Thomas] the said £26 13s. 4d. to be had of the king's gift in respect of reward in full payment of his wages and fees for the occupation of the aforesaid offices, and £3 3s. 10d. for the expenses and costs both of servants riding for the trade of the aforesaid offices from York to London and from there to elsewhere, and of other necessary things pertaining to the same offices as is contained there [in the account].

[A:] By the aforesaid writ [to the barons of the exchequer].

[A-C:] And on diverse costs and expenses, both of servants of the aforesaid warden riding from York to London and from there to elsewhere, and of other necessary things pertaining, as is mentioned before [A omits as is mentioned before], to the same offices, within the aforesaid time of this account, £3 3s. 10d. by tale by the aforesaid writ noted in the immediately preceding details,

[B, C:] as is contained there.

[A:] By writ.

[A-C:] And in money paid by the warden himself to the above-mentioned Thomas Roderham comptroller, exchanger, and assayer of the king's aforesaid moneys for and in respect of his wages, labours, and expenses for his above-mentioned office during the above-mentioned time, £10 by tale, by the king's writ of his privy seal dated the twenty-fourth day of October in the aforesaid third year [24 October 1424], directed to the aforesaid warden and

[A:] in respect of these particulars sent back.

[B, C:] returned upon this account. In which writ, indeed, among other things, is contained that the aforesaid Thomas Roderham showed to the king's council in what manner he was lately appointed comptroller, exchanger and assayer of the king's moneys within the said castle of York, by the king's letters patent dated the twentieth day of July in the said first year [20 July 1423], with the advice and assent of the said king's council, for as long as it pleased the king, receiving [payment] in the said offices as can be agreed between the treasurer of the king of England and the said Thomas, as can more fully appear in the said letters [patent]. And because the said treasurer of England has agreed with the aforesaid Thomas that he himself [Thomas] should receive from the king as and in respect of his wages, labours, and expenses, for one whole year £10, as the said treasurer has reported to the king's council aforesaid, the king, with the advice and assent of his council, wills and to the aforesaid warden commands that he should cause to be paid to the same Thomas £10, to be had in full payment of all that which is in arrears to the same [Thomas] for wages and reward for his above-mentioned office. And the king wills that his aforementioned letters should be warrant to the same warden in respect thereof, and that by means of the same [letters] the same warden should have due allowance thereupon in his account, as is contained there.

[A-C:] Total sum of expenses £242 12s. 9½d.

And he owes £408 10s. 9½d.

[B, C:] And he answers in the first [pipe] roll of King Henry the sixth [B omits of King Henry the sixth], in the section 'York continued'.

APPENDIX 2: YORK ANNULET SILVER COINS OF HENRY VI: A POSTSCRIPT

MARVIN LESSEN

If the pyx figures tabulated by Martin Allen³⁸ are truly representative of the coin mix, then the number of coins produced would approximate to 9,139 groats (£152.32), 12,795 halfgroats (£106.63), 25,589 pence (£106.63), 38,384 halfpence (£79.97), and 48,437 farthings (£50.46). The indenture requirements also tabulated by Allen give results quite close to this at 9,911 (£165.18), 9,911 (£82.59), 29,734 (£123.89), 39,645 (£82.59), and 39,645 (£41.30), respectively. These numbers do not relate at all to the estimates I derived from hoard and die studies.³⁹ Perhaps it is a conclusive argument against any use of such studies to estimate details of coin production. But are these York pyx figures realistic, and were the two bags representing the two years (1423 and 1424) similar to each other, or was one strongly biased in some direction, such as the second year's work emphasizing small denominations because of complaints? This will never be known. Can there ever be a relationship between these documents and hoards or die-studies? The total dies and coins known 100 years hence might converge to a better match, or maybe they would diverge even further.

³⁸ Above, p. 125

³⁹ M. Lessen, as in n. 1, at p. 64.

THE RYTHER TREASURE TROVE

CRAIG BARCLAY

ON the afternoon of 4 April 1992 Mr Stephen Pickles, a keen metal-detectorist, visited a site near the small village of Ryther in North Yorkshire which had previously yielded numerous finds of Roman to post-medieval date. He had worked on the site on many previous occasions and, this time, had almost reconciled himself to leaving empty-handed when a weak signal from his detector prompted him to begin excavating alongside a row of leeks. At a depth of 18–20 inches he recovered two silver coins and, realising the potential importance of the find, summoned the landowner. Writing later in a popular detecting magazine, he described what happened next: 'We took a shovel back with us to the find spot and there we widened the hole some more to see if the coins were in any sort of container or were loose in the soil. I started to remove soil with my hands and slowly the edges of coins started to appear, and a little further down, the edges of a pot. The pot was on its side with the top half in pieces. It seemed to have been caught by the plough.'¹

A search of the surrounding area produced yet more coins and pieces of pottery, probably scattered by ploughing. In all, 812 silver coins were initially recovered and these were promptly taken to the Yorkshire Museum in York and left there to await an inquest. Further examination of the site led to the recovery of another five coins, bringing the total of pieces found to 817, with a face value of £6 12s. 10d. The coins, which were found to have been buried in the late fifteenth century, were declared to be Treasure Trove at an inquest held at Harrogate Magistrates' Court on 9 October 1992.

Although today something of a rural backwater, Ryther was, in the late fifteenth century, a thriving community, centred upon the Norman church of All Saints and the fortified manor which was the traditional seat of the powerful and influential de Ryther family. Mentioned in the Domesday Book, the village sits on the southern bank of the River Wharfe close to its junction with the Ouse and opposite the site of Nun Appleton Priory, the Cistercian occupants of which were closely linked with the village and its church.

Sir Robert Ryther, who was buried in All Saints, was the leading member of the de Ryther family at the time when the hoard was concealed. He was clearly both able and tactful, for he held high office under both Edward IV and Henry VII. He was made a Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1477 and 1486 and created Constable of York Castle for life in 1478, the latter appointment being renewed in 1486 and 1488.² The de Rythers also enjoyed much influence at the neighbouring priory, the family providing two of the fifteenth-century prioresses.³ It was a select establishment, with its members drawn from distinguished families, but it nevertheless obtained something of a reputation for scandal, the nuns being forbidden by the Archbishop of York from frequenting ale-houses, loitering by the ferry which then crossed the Wharfe and entertaining gentlemen in their chambers or in 'any secret place'.⁴

The bulk of the hoard comprised English pieces, with 238 groats, 30 half-groats, 532 official and two counterfeit pennies being recovered. Ireland was represented by four groats and two pennies, Scotland by two pennies, and the Low Counties by seven double-patards of

¹ S. Pickles, 'A silver harvest in the leek field', *The Searcher* 84 (August 1992), 17.

² *The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and all its Members from the Earliest Times* X, edited by G.H. White (London, 1949), pp. 10–11.

³ W. Wheeler, *Some Historic Mansions in Yorkshire and their Associations* I (Leeds, 1888), p. 164.

⁴ E. Bogg, *The Old Kingdom of Elmet: York and the Ainsty District* (London, 1902), pp. 282–83.

Charles the Bold, which would have circulated as groats. Double-patards have of course been found in other hoards, most notably that from Hartford, Huntingdonshire, which produced no less than 83 examples from the reigns of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold.⁵ In addition, recent finds have gone some way towards reinforcing our appreciation of the widespread circulation of the double-patard, with a number of specimens being recovered from areas as diverse as East Anglia and Wales.⁶

Turning our attention first to the pennies, some five per cent of those which were positively identified could be assigned to the reigns of Edward I/II, thirteen of these being of class 1–9, thirteen of class 10–15, and one being a Dublin penny of class IVa. As might be expected, this is a rather lower percentage than found in the Reigate II hoard, which was concealed some quarter century earlier, but the breakdown by class remains broadly similar.⁷ In total, the legible pre-1412 pennies make up over eighteen per cent of the total deposited, a figure which, owing to the probable early date of some of the worn and illegible coins recovered, should be considered a conservative estimate. Clearly, even in a very worn state, these early issues continued to circulate and to be included in hoards. A probable explanation for this phenomenon can be found in their relatively high weights, which, averaging almost 12.17 grains (0.79g), compare very favourably with those of later issues represented.

The Ryther hoard produced only a single penny of Henry IV, whilst 86 pennies of Henry V and 151 of Henry VI's first reign were recovered. Unsurprisingly, issues of the York mint dominate, accounting for over 88 per cent of the Henry V and almost 54 per cent of the Henry VI (first reign) pennies, although the early dominance of Calais during the annulet period witnessed in the Reigate II hoard is reproduced, with the French mint being represented by 23 pennies as opposed to two from London and a single specimen from York. The first reign of Edward IV is represented by 54 pennies, 36 of which were struck at Durham, whilst Henry VI's brief restoration is marked by a single penny. A single Irish penny of Edward IV's second reign is likewise present, supplementing the 63 English pieces recovered. A further 37 coins could be assigned to Edward IV, although their precise period of issue remains uncertain. Issues of the period 1461–83 can thus be seen to account for 156, or 29 per cent of the pennies recovered, of which 91 can be assigned with certainty to the York mint. Richard III is represented by two Durham pennies and one of York, whilst the latest coins recovered were four York mint pennies from the early reign of Henry VII.

Of the 6,567 silver coins in the Reigate II hoard, only some 657 were pennies, the remainder comprising 1,365 halfgroats and 4,545 groats, accounting for ten per cent, 21 per cent and 69 per cent of the silver total respectively. This differs radically from the composition of the far smaller Ryther hoard with 538 pennies (66 per cent), 30 halfgroats (4 per cent) and 249 groats and double patards (30 per cent). The groat component of the latter hoard is accordingly appreciably less numerically and proportionally important but, at almost 250 pieces, nevertheless significant. Edward III was represented by a single specimen, whilst two groats of Henry V were recovered. A mere seven groats of Henry VI's first reign were retrieved, in marked contrast to the thousands of pieces of the period from Reigate II, whilst issues of Edward IV's first (183) and second (34) reigns are overwhelmingly dominant, a phenomenon mirrored in the near-contemporary Norfolk County groat hoard of c. 1881⁸ and by the pre-Henry VII component of the Hartford hoard of 1964.⁹

⁵ M.M. Archibald and J.P.C. Kent, 'The 1964 hoard from Hartford, Huntingdonshire', in I. Stewart, 'Problems of the early coinage of Henry VII', *NC* (1974), at p. 147. Hereafter cited as Archibald and Kent, 'Hartford Hoard'.

⁶ See P. Spufford, 'Burgundian double patards in late medieval England', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 110–17. E. Besly, pers. comm., 3/2/1995. There is evidence from at least one Welsh context (Carmarthen Grey Friars), that the double patard remained in circulation into the 1530s.

⁷ The author is particularly grateful to Dr Barrie Cook for allowing him access to his unpublished report on the Reigate II (Brokes Road) Treasure Trove, which is extensively referred to throughout this paper.

⁸ J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* (London, 1956), p. 109, no. 289. L.A. Lawrence, 'A find of late Plantagenet groats', *BNJ* 8 (1911), 149–78.

⁹ Archibald and Kent, 'Hartford Hoard', pp. 144–47.

The average weight (in grams) of the various issues present can be summarised in tabular form:

	<i>Groat</i>	<i>Halfgroat</i>	<i>Penny</i>
<i>England</i>			
Edward I-II	—	—	0.80 (26)
Edward III	3.12 (1)	1.54 (4)	0.79 (47)
Richard II	—	—	0.80 (14)
Edward III – Richard II	—	—	0.75 (10)
Henry IV	—	1.69 (1)	0.93 (1)
Henry V			
Durham	—	—	0.77 (5)
London	3.60 (2)	—	0.70 (2)
York	—	—	0.83 (76)
uncertain	—	—	0.70 (3)
Henry VI (1st reign)			
Calais	3.75 (4)	1.78 (7)	0.85 (35)
Durham	—	—	0.84 (31)
London	3.30 (3)	1.91 (2)	0.87 (4)
York	—	—	0.87 (81)
Henry VI/Edward IV mule	—	—	0.89 (1)
Edward IV (1st reign)			
Bristol	2.94 (18)	1.55 (4)	—
Canterbury	—	1.46 (9)	0.78 (1)
Coventry	3.04 (3)	—	—
Durham	—	—	0.72 (36)
London	2.79 (109)	1.56 (1)	—
Norwich	3.13 (4)	—	—
York	3.03 (49)	1.54 (1)	0.79 (16)
Henry VI (2nd reign)			
London	3.06 (2)	—	0.65 (1)
York	3.05 (9)	—	—
Edward IV (2nd reign)			
Canterbury	—	1.19 (1)	—
Durham	—	—	0.73 (19)
London	3.07 (31)	—	0.84 (1)
York	3.01 (3)	—	0.76 (43)
Edward IV (uncertain period)			
Durham	—	—	0.78 (4)
London	—	—	0.70 (1)
York	—	—	0.74 (32)
Richard III			
Durham	—	—	0.76 (2)
York	—	—	0.84 (1)
Henry VII			
York	—	—	0.76 (4)
Uncertain issue	—	—	0.76 (35)
Counterfeit	—	—	0.72 (2)
<i>Ireland</i>			
Edward I	—	—	0.73 (1)
Edward IV	2.92 (4)	—	0.57 (1)
<i>Scotland</i>			
Alexander III	—	—	0.77 (1)
Robert II?	—	—	0.72 (1)

The standard weight for the silver penny had been established at 12 grains (0.78g) during Edward IV's first reign, with the groat and halfgroat corresponding at 48 grains (3.11g) and 24 grains (1.56g) respectively. It can be observed that, notwithstanding the extremely worn state of the bulk of the earlier issues, this standard is exceeded by the 336 pennies which predate

the first reign of Edward IV, these displaying a mean weight of 0.83g.¹⁰ There is thus no evidence to suggest the systematic clipping of earlier coins to bring them down to the 12 grain standard. Later pennies do not however reach the notional standard, 161 examples having a mean weight of 0.75g, or 96.2 per cent of the standard. The groats of Edward IV and Henry VI (restored) are likewise somewhat underweight and, despite there being only limited evidence of clipping, the 228 specimens recovered display a mean weight of only 2.92g, equivalent to some 93.8 per cent of the standard.

The hoard ends weakly, with the latest coins represented being four unworn York mint open-crown Type I pennies of Henry VII, one of which bears a legible rose initial mark. It is therefore likely that it was deposited c. 1487, prior to the issue or circulation of Type II pennies of the mints of Durham and York. The precise circumstances surrounding the concealment of the hoard must of course remain a mystery, but it may perhaps be significant that the summer of 1487 witnessed military activity in the area, including a fierce skirmish between followers of Lambert Simnell and troops loyal to Henry VII at nearby Tadcaster. Henry's supporters, led by Lord Clifford, were defeated and forced to retire to York, and many of the inhabitants of Tadcaster were slain or 'spoiled and robbed'. Nor did the Clifford escape without material loss, his 'gardeviances and trussing coffers' being seized and 'had unto the other party'.¹¹

The coins and accompanying jug were acquired by the Yorkshire Museum in January 1994.¹²

Acknowledgements The author would like to express his gratitude to Janet Church, Barrie Cook, Helen Patching, Stephen Pickles and the staff of the York City Archives. The precise findspot of the hoard is recorded in confidence at the Yorkshire Museum.

APPENDIX 1: THE POT

Sarah Jennings

This nearly complete small jug is a typical example of one of the best known products of the Humber ware industry.¹³ Humber wares were made in a number of places in the Humber basin – at Cowick, Kelk, Holme on Spalding Moor and possibly in York – and the products of all the known production centres are visually extremely similar.

Small unglazed jugs, such as this one, were usually very crudely made, untrimmed and unfinished and almost never glazed. Any glaze that is found on them tends to be accidental and to have come from other vessels in the kiln. Because of their size these jugs are usually called 'drinking jugs', but scientific analysis, as well as manuscript illustrations, clearly show that they were also commonly used as male urinals.

The frequency with which these 'drinking jugs' are found both in excavations and as casual finds suggests that they were cheap even by the standards of low-priced medieval pottery, and may well have been regarded as disposable items.

Drinking jugs of this type were made in the second half of the fourteenth century and were common in the fifteenth century. This example is likely to be contemporary with the date of the hoard rather than an old pot that was available to hand. Their popularity declined with the importation of the vastly superior German stonewares in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to date there is little evidence of the manufacture of these small jugs after the beginning of the sixteenth century.

¹⁰ This phenomenon has been observed elsewhere. See, for example, M.M. Archibald, 'The Attenborough, Notts., 1966 hoard', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 60–64.

¹¹ *York Civic Records* 2 edited by A. Raine (York, 1941), pp. 22–24.

¹² Accession no. YORYM: 1994.151. This acquisition would not have been possible without the generous financial assistance of numerous individuals and interested bodies. The Yorkshire Museum would particularly like to express its gratitude to the following: Stephen Pickles; Museums and Galleries Commission/Victoria & Albert Museum Purchase

Grant Fund; The Pilgrim Trust; York Civic Trust; BOCM Pauls Ltd.; Joseph Terry & Son; Nestlé Co. Ltd., the Council and Membership of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society and the many others who preferred to support our appeal anonymously.

¹³ S. Jennings, *Medieval Pottery in the Yorkshire Museum* (York, 1992), pp. 27–29; 51–53.

S. Jennings, 'Coin Hoard Pots, 'Humber ware drinking jugs and the problems of nomenclature', *Medieval Ceramics* 18 (1994), 82–83.

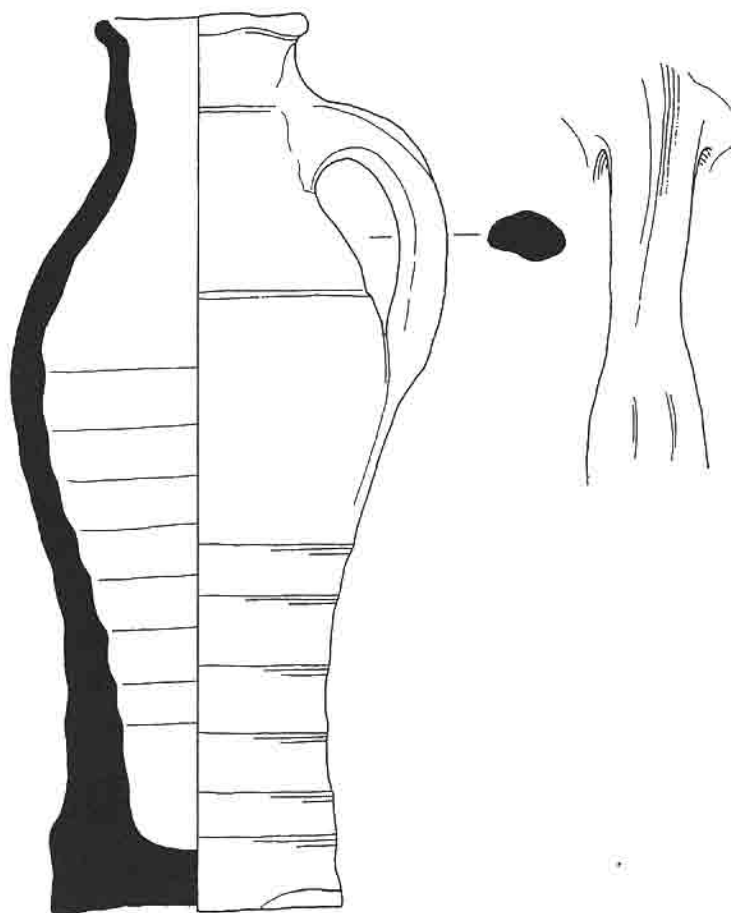


Fig. 1 The pot. (Scale 1:2)

APPENDIX 2: THE SUPPLY OF DIES TO THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL MINT

York House Book,¹⁴ 6 (1486–90)

[f. 103]

28 June 1487

delivere of the old conyng ȝryns unto the cite of London Be it had in mynde that the xxviiij day of Juny in the secund yere of the reigne of King Herry the vijth, Thomas Graa¹⁵ master of the mynt within the palois garth of the cite of York deliverd unto William Todde maier of the cite of York a bagg of ledder contigneing xij¹⁶ old conyng ȝryns, that is to say iiij standers and viij trusselles, the which bagg the said William Todde maier sealid and deliverd into the handes of John White coigner, to deliver unto the Chequour at London, and from thens to bring newe gravene ȝryns agane from the said Eschequour unto the cite of York.

¹⁴ The transcripts follow L.C. Attreed, *The York House Books 1461–1490*, 2 (York, 1991), pp. 581–82. See also D.M. Metcalf, *SCBI* 23: Ashmolean, pp. ix–x.

¹⁵ Thomas Gray, goldsmith: Free 1468; Sheriff of York 1488; Member of Parliament 1495; Lord Mayor 1497. See C.J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks* (London, 1905), p. 277 and G. Benson, 'Coins: Especially those relating to

York', *Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (1913), p. 71.

¹⁶ The figure is considered ambiguous by Attreed, who considers that it could equally be read as viij. This reading would however make no sense and was rejected by R. Davies, *Historical Notices of the Royal and Archiepiscopal Mints and Coinages at York* (York, 1854), pp. 78–79.

York House Book, 6 (1486–90)

[f. 103v]

19 July 1487

delyvere of the coigneing yryns of the cite of York unto Thomas Gray Memorandum that the xixth day of July in the secunde yere of the reigne of King Herry the sevent, Thomas Graye goldsmyth maister of the mynt at the palays of the moost reverend ffader in God tharchbisshop of York, personally appering bfore William Todde maier of the cite of York in the chambre upon Ouse brig, presentid unto hyme a bagg of ledder sealed, contigeneing in the same iiij standers and viij trusselles beryng the peny coigne sent unto hyme furth the kinges Eschequour as he shewed; the which bagg my lord maire receyved at thandes of the said Thomas and delyverd unto hyme the said iiij standers and viij trusselles and reservyd the bagg which thei wer in unto himself for soo much as ther was a holle in the side of the said bagg at the which the said yryns was takyn furth etc.

CATALOGUE

ENGLAND

Edward I/II

Bristol

1	Penny	–	Class 3; VILL/ABR/ISTO/LLIE	0.75
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Canterbury

2–3	Penny	–	Class 10cf	1.10; 0.65
4	Penny	–	Class 11	0.87

Durham

5	Penny	–	Class 2–3	0.82
6	Penny	–	Class 3	0.63
7–8	Penny	–	Class 10cf	0.80; 0.67

London

9–10	Penny	–	Class 1c	1.06; 0.90
11	Penny	–	Class 3g	0.73
12–15	Penny	–	Class 3	0.69; 0.75; 0.79; 0.88
16	Penny	–	Class 9b	0.94
17–19	Penny	–	Class 10cf	0.80; 0.83; 0.73
20	Penny	–	Class 10	0.76
21–24	Penny	–	Class 12–15	0.83; 0.86; 0.73; 0.76

York – Royal mint

25	Penny	–	Class 3c	0.83
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Uncertain mint

26	Penny	–	Class 3g	0.70
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Edward III

Durham

27	Penny	N. 1097	First coinage; crown on reverse	0.73
28	Penny	–	Pre-Treaty; DUR ...	0.85

29	Penny	N. 1150	Pre-Treaty	0.89
30	Penny	—	Pre-Treaty	0.69
31–32	Penny	—	Pre-Treaty or Treaty; DUREME; crozier before CIVI	0.85; 0.74
33	Penny	—	Pre-Treaty or Treaty DUREME	0.58
34	Penny	—	Post-Treaty; ...OLM	0.79
35	Penny	N. 1296	Post-Treaty	0.84
36	Penny	N. 1297	Post-Treaty	0.90
37	Penny	N. 1297	Post-Treaty; lis on breast	0.78
38–39	Penny	—	Fourth coinage	0.70; 0.84
40	Penny	—	Uncertain type	0.82

London

41–43	½-groat	—	Pre-Treaty	1.55; 1.53; 1.46
44	Penny	N. 1149	Pre-Treaty C	0.94
45	Penny	N. 1207	Pre-Treaty G; cross III; saltire stops	0.96
46–48	Penny	—	Pre-Treaty	0.84; 0.76; 0.77
49	Groat	—	Treaty	3.12
50	½-groat	—	Treaty	1.62
51	Penny	N. 1295	Post-Treaty	1.00
52	Penny	—	Uncertain period	0.70

York – Episcopal mint

53–54	Penny	—	Pre-Treaty G	0.69; 0.77
55	Penny	N. 1292	Post-Treaty	0.82
56	Penny	N. 1293	Post-Treaty; pellet on breast	0.79
57	Penny	N. 1295	Post-Treaty; extra pellets on reverse	0.80
58	Penny	—	Post-Treaty	0.73
59	Penny	—	? Post Treaty	0.83
60–66	Penny	—	Fourth coinage	0.98; 0.87; 0.88; 0.85; 0.88; 0.80; 0.65
67–69	Penny	—	Uncertain period	0.73; 0.68; 0.73

York – Royal mint

70	Penny	N. 1157	Pre-Treaty D	0.70
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Uncertain mint

71–72	Penny	—	Pre-Treaty	0.74; 0.80
73–74	Penny	—	Treaty	0.68; 0.80
75	Penny	—	Post-Treaty	0.65
76–77	Penny	—	Fourth coinage	0.77; 0.97
78	Penny	—	Uncertain period	0.66

Richard II*York*

79–80	Penny	N. 1329	Type I; cross on breast	0.73; 0.85
81	Penny	N. 1329	Type III; mark after TAS	0.84
82–83	Penny	N. 1330	Local dies; pellets by shoulder	0.74; 0.83
84–92	Penny	—	Uncertain type	0.67; 0.70; 1.00; 0.83; 0.90; 0.72; 0.77; 0.70; 0.90

Edward III/Richard II*Durham*

93–94	Penny	—	Uncertain type	0.76; 0.92
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York

95–102	Penny	–	Uncertain type	0.90; 0.82; 0.68; 0.64; 0.67; 0.58; 0.85; 0.70
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Henry IV*London*

103	½-groat	N. 1361	Light coinage; Type III	1.69
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York

104	Penny	N. 1351	Heavy coinage; Late style; Im: cross patee	0.93
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Henry V*Durham*

105	Penny	N. 1405	Class C	0.86
106–07	Penny	N. 1406	Class D	0.84; 0.78
108–09	Penny	N. 1407	Class G	0.64; 0.74

London

110	Groat	N. 1386	Class B; no fleured cusps above crown	3.77
111	Groat	N. 1387	Class C; Type 2; mullet on right breast	3.44
112	Penny	N. 1396	Class C	0.77
113	Penny	N. 1397	Class D	0.64

York

114–15	Penny	N. 1400	Class C	0.76; 0.84
116–24	Penny	N. 1401	Class D	0.73; 0.79; 0.77; 0.75; 0.80; 0.92; 0.76; 0.85; 0.72
125–41	Penny	N. 1403	Class F	0.84; 0.89; 0.87; 0.88; 0.76; 0.87; 0.87; 0.82; 0.73; 0.80; 0.79; 0.86; 0.80; 0.74; 0.77; 0.78; 0.89
142–43	Penny	N. 1404	Class G; mullet and trefoil by crown; annulet in one quarter of reverse	0.78; 0.87
144–61	Penny	N. 1404	Class G; mullet and lis by crown; annulet in one quarter of reverse	0.90; 0.83; 0.77; 0.67; 0.80; 0.94; 0.66; 0.85; 0.83; 0.84; 0.79; 0.79; 0.77; 0.79; 0.84; 0.78; 0.85; 0.85
162	Penny	N. 1404	Class G; hollow neck and armpits	0.83
163–65	Penny	–	Class F or G	0.78; 0.62; 0.85
166–74	Penny	–	Uncertain type; Im: pierced cross; mullet to left of crown	0.54; 0.64; 0.87; 0.77; 0.74; 0.74; 0.73; 0.86; 0.76
175–89	Penny	–	Uncertain type	0.82; 0.86; 0.70; 0.87; 0.99; 0.85; 0.74; 0.83; 0.80; 0.74; 0.60; 0.78; 0.75; 0.96; 0.78

Uncertain mint

190–92	Penny	–	Class C	0.55; 0.76; 0.78
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Henry VI – First Reign*Calais*

193	Groat	N. 1424	Annulet; Im: cross II	3.83
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194-99	½-groat	N. 1429	Annulet; Im: cross I	1.89; 1.68; 1.73; 1.78; 1.72; 1.74
200-222	Penny	N. 1432	Annulet; Im: cross V	0.66; 0.57; 0.86; 0.75; 0.89; 0.87; 0.87; 0.76; 0.92; 0.93; 0.92; 0.69; 0.89; 0.85; 0.75; 0.87; 0.84; 0.79; 0.82; 0.68; 0.77; 0.85; 0.93
223-224	Groat	N. 1446	Rosette-mascle; Im: cross II/V; saltire/rossette and saltire stops	3.78; 3.63
225	½-groat	N. 1448	Rosette-mascle; Im: cross V; saltire stops	1.95
226-29	Penny	N. 1450	Rosette-mascle; Im: cross III	0.98; 0.90; 0.95; 0.85
230-32	Penny	N. 1450	Rosette-mascle; Im: cross V	0.90; 0.95; 0.86
233	Groat	N. 1475	Leaf-mascle; Im: ⅔/cross III; leaf below MEUM	3.78
234-38	Penny	—	Uncertain issue	0.91; 0.85; 0.91; 0.97; 0.84
<i>Durham</i>				
239-41	Penny	N. 1452	Rosette-mascle	0.80; 0.84; 0.83
242-45	Penny	N. 1467	Pinecone-mascle	0.90; 0.78; 0.85; 0.76
246	Penny	N. 1491	Leaf-trefoil	0.80
247-58	Penny	N. 1511	Leaf-pellet	0.78; 0.90; 0.72; 0.86; 0.75; 0.90; 0.79; 0.86; 0.88; 0.94; 0.76; 0.96
259	Penny	N. 1522	Cross-pellet; no lines joining pellets on reverse	1.00
260-67	Penny	N. 1522	Cross-pellet; lines joining pellets on reverse	0.93; 0.79; 0.85; 0.79; 0.90; 0.89; 0.77; 0.82
268-69	Penny	—	Uncertain issue; rings in centre of reverse	0.97; 0.70
<i>London</i>				
270	Groat	N. 1423	Annulet; Im: cross I/I; no fleur on breast	3.40
271-72	Penny	N. 1431	Annulet	0.80; 0.86
273	Penny	N. 1464	Pinecone-mascle	0.86
274	Groat	N. 1484	Leaf-trefoil; Im: cross III b/none; saltire stops	3.86
275	Penny	N. 1490/1	Leaf-trefoil; Im: cross III b/none; leaf on breast	0.96
276	Groat	N. 1505	Leaf-pellet, class B	2.65
277	½-groat	—	Im: cross III b/none; trefoil after POSUI	1.89
278	½-groat	—	Im: cross III b/none; mullet before MEUM; two extra pellets on reverse	1.93
<i>York</i>				
279	Penny	N. 1433	Annulet	0.62
280-89	Penny	N. 1451 (i)	Rosette-mascle; crosses by hair	0.87; 0.89; 0.86; 0.75; 0.80; 0.76; 0.88; 0.69; 0.92; 0.82
290-93	Penny	N. 1451 (ii)	Rosette-mascle; saltires by hair	0.79; 0.73; 0.79; 0.90
294-305	Penny	N. 1451 (iii)	Rosette-mascle; mullets by crown	0.78; 0.74; 0.93; 0.96; 0.84; 0.95; 0.85; 0.92; 0.81; 0.86; 0.77; 0.99
306-07	Penny	N. 1466 (i)	Pinecone-mascle	0.84; 0.89
308-09	Penny	N. 1466 (ii)	Pinecone-mascle; rosette on breast	0.87; 0.84
310-16	Penny	—	Rosette or pinecone-mascle; Im: cross IIIb; mullets by crown	0.93; 0.78; 0.99; 0.84; 0.87; 0.77; 0.90
317-20	Penny	N. 1510	Leaf-pellet, class A	0.92; 0.79; 0.81; 0.90
321-30	Penny	N. 1510	Leaf-pellet, class B	0.80; 0.92; 0.92; 0.99; 1.07; 0.82; 0.98; 1.05; 1.00; 1.05
331-9	Penny	—	Local dies; leaf-pellet var?	0.87; 0.93; 0.98; 0.99; 0.90; 0.94; 0.88; 0.82; 0.86

144			THE RYTHER TREASURE TROVE	
340–53	Penny	N. 1521	Cross-pellet	0.88; 0.99; 0.92; 0.95; 0.93; 0.80; 0.80; 0.94; 0.86; 0.83; 0.95; 0.88; 1.00; 0.89
354	Penny	–	? Cross-pellet	0.67
355–59	Penny	–	Uncertain type	0.87; 0.98; 0.80; 0.78; 0.79

Henry VI/Edward IV mule

Durham

360	Penny	cf <i>BNJ</i> 1988 pp. 84–89	Obverse: leaf-pellet/reverse DUNOLIN, no rings in centre	0.89
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Edward IV – first reign

Bristol

361–65	Groat	N. 1580	Class VIA; Im: sun; B on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.23; 2.84; 3.17; 2.86; 2.38
366–73	Groat	N. 1580	Class VII; Im: crown; B on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	2.46; 3.12; 2.60; 3.10; 3.00; 3.13; 2.95; 3.03
374–75	Groat	N. 1580	Class VII; Im: crown; B on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.01; 3.10
376–77	Groat	–	Class VII (var.); Im: crown; B on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on left cusps only	2.86; 3.09
378–80	½-groat	N. 1585	Class VII; Im: crown; quatrefoils by neck	1.62; 1.49; 1.54
381	½-groat	–	Class VIII/VII; Im: crown; no marks by neck	1.54
382	Groat	N. 1580	Class VIII; Im: crown/ sun; B on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	2.96

Canterbury – episcopal mint

383	½-groat	N. 1590	Class Vb; Im: pall; trefoils on cusps; spur on reverse; no marks by neck	1.40
384	½-groat	N. 1590	Class Vb; Im: pall/nothing; trefoils on cusps; spur on reverse; no marks by neck	1.53
385	½-groat	N. 1590	Class Vb; Im: illegible; trefoils on cusps; spur on reverse; no marks by neck	1.65
386	½-groat	N. 1590	Class Vb; Im: pall/nothing; trefoils on cusps; spur on reverse; quatrefoils by neck	1.38
387	½-groat	–	Class Vb; Im: pall; trefoils on cusps; spur on reverse; trefoils by neck	1.34
388–91	½-groat	N. 1590	Class VIb/VII; Im: pall; trefoils on cusps; no spur on reverse; quatrefoils by neck	1.36; 1.46; 1.49; 1.50
392	Penny	N. 1601	Class VII; Im: pall; crosses by neck	0.78

Coventry

393	Groat	N. 1581	Class VI/V; Im: sun/rose; C on breast; trefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	2.85
394–95	Groat	N. 1581	Class VI; Im: sun; C on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.04; 3.23

Durham

396	Penny	N. 1543	Class IV; pellets by crown; no rose on reverse	0.65
397	Penny	N. 1543	Class IV; no pellets by crown; no rose on reverse	0.64

398–411	Penny	N. 1544	Class IV; rose in centre of reverse; no extra pellet	0.69; 0.62; 0.77; 0.72; 0.78; 0.70; 0.84; 0.70; 0.74; 0.80; 0.82; 0.62; 0.70; 0.76
412–15	Penny	N. 1544	Class IV; rose in centre of reverse; extra pellet in one quarter	0.80; 0.68; 0.73; 0.69
416–19	Penny	N. 1602	Class V	0.85; 0.68; 0.62; 0.64
420	Penny	N. 1603	Class VI	0.74
421	Penny	–	Class VI/VII 1; quatrefoil and B by bust; no marks on reverse	0.75
422–24	Penny	N. 1603	Class VII 1	0.73; 0.69; 0.69
425–26	Penny	N. 1604	Class VII 2	0.80; 0.67
427–28	Penny	N. 1605	Class VII 3	0.70; 0.78
429	Penny	N. 1606	Class VIII 1	0.76
430–31	Penny	N. 1607	Class VIII 2	0.72; 0.79
<i>London</i>				
432	Groat	N. 1532	Class III (var.); Im: rose; trefoil on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps; eye omitted	3.14
433–34	Groat	N. 1563	Class Va; Im: rose; trefoil on breast; annulets by neck; quatrefoils on cusps; eye after TAS	3.03; 2.99
435	Groat	N. 1567	Class Vc; Im: rose; trefoil on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps; extra pellet on reverse	3.16
436–38	Groat	N. 1567	Class Vc; Im: rose; fleur on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps; extra pellet on reverse	3.01; 3.05; 3.16
439–40	Groat	N. 1567	Class Vc; Im: rose; nothing on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps; extra pellet on reverse	3.04; 3.14
441	Groat	N. 1567	Class Vc; Im: rose; rose on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps; extra pellet on reverse	3.15
442	Groat	–	Class Vc (var.); Im: rose; fleur on breast; nothing by neck; fleurs on cusps; extra pellet on reverse	3.22
443–45	Groat	N. 1568	Class Vd; Im: rose; nothing on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps; extra pellet on reverse	3.11; 3.16; 3.17
446–52	Groat	N. 1568	Class Vd; Im: rose; fleur on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps; extra pellet on reverse	3.06; 3.09; 3.14; 3.02; 3.15; 3.07; 2.67
453	Groat	–	Class Vd/VI; Im: rose/sun; fleur on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps; extra pellet on reverse	3.17
454–72	Groat	N. 1569	Class VI; Im: sun; fleur on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	2.85; 3.05; 2.73; 3.12; 2.99; 3.07; 3.18; 3.13; 3.07; 3.20; 2.90; 2.76; 3.05; 3.14; 3.09; 3.10; 2.93; 2.90; 3.19
473	Groat	N. 1569	Class VI; Im: sun; nothing on breast; quatrefoils by neck; nothing on cusps	3.14
474	Groat	–	Class VI/VII; Im: sun/crown; fleur on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.10
475–80	Groat	N. 1570	Class VII; Im: crown; quatrefoils on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.00; 3.03; 3.10; 3.02; 3.06; 3.10
481	Groat	N. 1570	Class VII; Im: crown; trefoil on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	2.98
482	Groat	N. 1570	Class VII; Im: crown; quatrefoil on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.16

483–512	Groat	N. 1570	Class VII; Im: crown; fleur on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.04; 3.10; 3.09; 3.13; 3.13; 3.06; 3.10; 2.93; 3.05; 3.06; 2.93; 2.64; 3.03; 3.11; 2.65; 3.04; 3.05; 2.90; 3.00; 3.12; 3.02; 2.98; 2.75; 3.11; 2.94; 3.10; 3.01; 3.02; 3.14; 3.14; 3.04; 3.14; 2.46; 2.98
513–16	Groat	N. 1570	Class VII; Im: crown; nothing on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.12
517	Groat	N. 1570	Class VII; Im: crown; nothing on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	1.56
518	½-groat	N. 1584	Class VII; Im: crown; quatrefoils by neck	3.15; 3.24
519–20	Groat	N. 1572	Class VIII/VII; Im: sun and crown/sun; quatrefoil on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.02; 2.96; 3.16; 2.66; 3.10; 3.13; 3.07; 3.05; 3.13; 3.19; 2.98; 3.04; 3.15
521–33	Groat	N. 1571	Class VIII; Im: crown/sun; quatrefoil on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.12; 3.10; 3.08
534–36	Groat	N. 1577	Class Xa; Im: long cross fitchee/sun; trefoil on breast; trefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	2.84
537	Groat	N. 1577	Class Xa; Im: long cross fitchee/sun; nothing on breast; trefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	2.74; 3.10; 2.97
538–40	Groat	N. 1578	Class Xb; Im: long cross fitchee/sun; trefoil on breast; nothing by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.16
541	Groat	N. 1579	Class XI; Im: long cross fitchee; trefoil on breast; nothing by neck; trefoils on cusps	
<i>Norwich</i>				
542	Groat	N. 1582	Class VI/V; Im: sun/rose; N on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.09
543–45	Groat	N. 1582	Class VI; Im: sun; N on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.34; 2.98; 3.11
<i>York</i>				
546–49	Groat	N. 1583	Class VI; Im: sun; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.12; 2.99; 3.20; 2.93
550–51	Groat	N. 1583	Class VIIa; Im: lis/crown; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.07; 3.10
552–54	Groat	N. 1583	Class VIIa (var.); Im: lis over crown/lis; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	2.96; 3.07; 3.05
555–67	Groat	N. 1583	Class VIIb; Im: lis; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	3.05; 3.06; 2.98; 3.16; 3.08; 3.07; 3.14; 2.89; 3.07; 2.65; 2.95; 2.56; 2.97
568	½-groat	N. 1584	Class VII; Im: lis; quatrefoils by neck	1.54
569–71	Penny	N. 1595	Class VII 1	0.68; 0.73; 0.69
572–73	Penny	N. 1596	Class VII 2	0.78; 0.94
574–79	Penny	N. 1597	Class VII 3	1.09; 0.83; 0.97; 0.80; 0.65; 0.79
580	Groat	—	Class VIIa/VIIIa; Im: lis/sun; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; fleurs on cusps	2.81
581	Groat	N. 1583	Class VIIIa; Im: sun; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.05
582–91	Groat	N. 1583	Class VIIIb; Im: lis; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	2.94; 2.97; 2.89; 2.54; 3.06; 3.17; 3.14; 3.23; 3.29; 3.13
592–93	Groat	N. 1583	Class VIIIb; Im: lis; no mark on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.10; 3.12
594	Groat	—	Class VIIIb (var.); Im: lis; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on left cusps only	3.03
595	Penny	N. 1598	Class VIII	0.73

596–97	Groat	N. 1583	Class X; Im: lis/sun; E on breast; trefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.14; 3.00
598–601	Groat	–	Class X (var.); Im: lis/sun; E on breast; quatrefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	3.14; 3.08; 2.95; 3.04
602	Penny	N. 1599	Class X 1	0.64
603–605	Penny	N. 1599	Class X 2	0.74; 0.71; 0.80
606–11	Groat	N. 1583	Class XI; Im: lis; E on breast; trefoils by neck; trefoils on cusps	2.95; 3.05; 3.17; 3.25; 3.08; 3.10

Henry VI – Restored*London*

612	Groat	N. 1617	Im: Restoration cross; trefoils on all cusps	3.10
613	Groat	N. 1617	Im: Restoration cross; no trefoils on upper two cusps	3.03
614	Penny	N. 1622	Im: short cross fitchee	0.65

York

615–20	Groat	N. 1618	Im: lis; trefoils on all cusps	3.08; 3.18; 3.03; 3.18; 2.99; 3.13
621–23	Groat	N. 1618	Im: lis; no trefoils on upper two cusps	3.07; 3.09; 2.68

Edward IV – second reign*Canterbury Royal mint*

624	½-groat	N. 1639	Class XX	1.19
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Durham

625	Penny	N. 1658	Class XII–XIII	0.66
626	Penny	N. 1659	Class XIII–XVa	0.75
627	Penny	N. 1660	Class XVb	0.71
628	Penny	N. 1663	Local dies; V on breast; B by crown; lis by bust	0.77
629–33	Penny	N. 1664	Local dies; nothing by bust; D on reverse	0.84; 0.73; 0.79; 0.56; 0.67
634	Penny	N. 1665	Local dies; V by bust; D on reverse	0.77
635–39	Penny	N. 1666	Local dies; D and V by bust; D on reverse	0.72; 0.74; 0.68; 0.67; 0.74
640–43	Penny	–	Uncertain type; nothing by bust; rev. centre illegible; DERAM	0.75; 0.73; 0.80; 0.76

London

644–46	Groat	N. 1631	Class XII; Im: short cross fitchee; trefoils on cusps	3.13; 3.08; 3.20
647	Groat	–	Class XIII/XII; Im: large annulet/short cross fitchee; trefoil on breast; trefoils on cusps	3.18
648–54	Groat	N. 1631	Class XIV; Im: small annulet; trefoil on breast; trefoils on cusps	3.13; 3.15; 3.26; 3.24; 3.22; 3.22; 3.10
655	Groat	N. 1631	Class XV; Im: annulet and pellet; trefoil on breast; roses by neck; trefoils on cusps	2.91
656	Groat	N. 1631	Class XV; Im: annulet and pellet; trefoil on breast; nothing by neck; trefoils on cusps	2.98
657	Groat	N. 1631	Class XVI; Im: cross and four pellets; trefoil on breast; trefoils on cusps	3.24

658	Groat	–	Class XVI/XVII; Im: cross and four pellets/pierced cross; trefoil on breast; trefoils on cusps	2.86
659	Penny	N. 1641	Class XVII	0.84
660	Groat	–	Class XVIII/XVI; Im: pierced cross and pellet/pierced cross and four pellets; trefoil on breast; trefoils on cusps	2.98
661–63	Groat	N. 1631	Class XVIII; Im: pierced cross and pellet; trefoil on breast; trefoils on cusps	2.83; 3.22; 3.02
664–70	Groat	N. 1631	Class XVIII; Im: pierced cross and pellet; nothing on breast; fleurs on cusps	2.92; 3.17; 2.94; 3.07; 3.05; 3.16; 3.02
671–75	Groat	N. 1631	Class XXI; Im: cinquefoil; rose on breast; fleurs on cusps	2.56; 3.12; 3.07; 3.09; 2.96

York

676–78	Groat	N. 1633	Class XII; Im: lis; E on breast; trefoils on cusps	3.08; 3.02; 2.93
679–87	Penny	N. 1645	Class XII 2	0.88; 0.81; 0.87; 0.69; 0.78; 0.96; 0.79; 0.79; 0.77
688–89	Penny	N. 1648	Class XVI 3	0.80; 0.80
690–98	Penny	N. 1650	Class XVI 6	0.76; 0.94; 0.79; 0.80; 0.80; 0.75; 0.68; 0.69; 0.80
699–702	Penny	N. 1651	Class –; Sede vacante; Im: rose; rose on breast	0.73; 0.92; 0.89; 0.78
703–10	Penny	N. 1652	Class – or XXI 1; Lawrence Booth; B and key by bust	0.65; 0.69; 0.69; 0.69; 0.72; 0.67; 0.75; 0.60
711–13	Penny	N. 1652	Class XXI 1	0.59; 0.78; 0.68
714–17	Penny	N. 1653	Class XXI 3	0.79; 0.74; 0.62; 0.66
718–20	Penny	N. 1654	Class XXI 4	0.75; 0.74; 0.73
721	Penny	N. 1656	Class XXI 6	0.85

Edward IV – uncertain period*Durham*

722	Penny	–	DUXNOLM reverse	0.83
723	Penny	–	DUNOLM reverse	0.78
724	Penny	–	[]ELM reverse	0.72
725	Penny	–	Uncertain reading	0.80

London

726	Penny	–	No marks by bust	0.70
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York

727–46	Penny	–	G and key by bust	0.64; 0.69; 0.80; 0.67; 0.58; 0.76; 0.74; 0.78; 0.74; 0.78; 0.68; 0.76; 0.87; 0.83; 0.80; 0.64; 0.68; 0.73; 0.72; 0.78
747–55	Penny	–	No marks by bust	0.62; 0.70; 0.80; 0.80; 0.70; 0.99; 0.67; 0.78; 0.87
756–58	Penny	–	Quatrefoil on reverse	0.78; 0.70; 0.60

Richard III*Durham*

759–60	Penny	N. 1687	S on breast; D on reverse	0.74; 0.78
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<i>York</i>				
761	Penny	N. 1686	Im: rose; T and key by bust	0.84
Henry VII				
<i>York</i>				
762	Penny	N. 1722	Im: rose; T and trefoil by bust; extra pellet in two quarters	0.70
763–65	Penny	N. 1722	Im: illegible; T and trefoil on bust; extra pellet in two quarters	0.78; 0.79; 0.76
Uncertain period				
<i>Canterbury</i>				
766–67	Penny	–	Uncertain issue	0.70; 0.78
<i>Durham</i>				
768–69	Penny	–	15th century; DUNOLM	0.72; 0.70
<i>York</i>				
770	Penny	–	Late 13th – early 14th century	0.69
771–92	Penny	–	Late 14th – early 15th century	0.70; 0.83; 0.66; 0.68; 0.61; 0.76; 0.64; 0.88; 0.77; 0.83; 0.89; 0.74; 0.87; 0.58; 0.87; 0.65; 0.73; 0.57; 0.91; 0.78; 0.85; 0.85
793	Penny	–	15th century	0.83
794–96	Penny	–	Late 15th century	0.90; 0.73; 0.86
<i>Illegible mint</i>				
797	Penny	–	13th – 14th century	0.70
798	Penny	–	14th century	0.86
799–800	Penny	–	14th – 15th century	0.77; 0.84
IRELAND				
Edward I				
<i>Dublin</i>				
801	Penny	–	Class IVa	0.73
Edward IV				
<i>Dublin</i>				
802–804	Groat	–	Heavy 'cross and pellets' coinage: Im: rose/pierced cross; no extra marks	3.34; 2.44; 3.08
805	Groat	–	Heavy 'cross and pellets' coinage: Im: pierced cross; no extra marks	2.82
806	Penny	–	Light 'cross and pellets' coinage: Im: plain cross; no marks by neck; no marks in centre of reverse	0.57

SCOTLAND

Alexander III

807	Penny	—	Mullets with 24 points	0.77
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Robert II?

808	Penny	—	Uncertain mint	0.72
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BRABANT

Charles the Bold

809	Double patard	—	Van Gelder and Hoc 23–1	3.10
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FLANDERS

Charles the Bold

810–15	Double patard	—	Van Gelder and Hoc 23–3	3.10; 3.09; 3.18; 3.22; 3.14; 2.80
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CONTEMPORARY COUNTERFEITS

816	Penny	—	cf. Edward IV; London Im: cross	0.72
817	Penny	—	cf. uncertain 15th century English	0.72

SIMON'S MILL GOLD COINS AND MEDALS OF CHARLES II, 1660–62

MARVIN LESSEN

THOMAS Simon made seven related types (A–G) of screw press¹ gold and silver pieces of Charles II with the dates of 1660, 1661 and 1662. They have a diameter of about 30 mm, and gold examples of the proper thickness can weigh about 140 grains, a weight similar to that of a 'broad'.²

This paper will show that the types dated 1660 are commemorative *medals*, not pattern broads, and that of 1662 is a 20-shilling gold *production currency coin*, or broad, not a pattern. The Coronation Medal of 1661 is a part of this group, because it is similar in style and format to the others, and it even shares one of the dies. Without much qualification it can be said that Simon said all of this in his billing account to the government, although the numismatic world has seldom paid attention.

Simon's account for his work for Charles II may be found in Gough's second edition of *Vertue*,³ and a very thorough document it is, albeit with some lacunae and ambiguities, and without dates. Simon was quite clear to differentiate between seals, coins and medals, and there is no conflicting antiquarian use of the word 'medals' for coins.

Medallic Illustrations (MI) correctly lists and illustrates five types (A–E) as medals, excludes the broad (G), and uses the Vertue/Simon reference.⁴ Carter wrote about five of the types (B–E, G),⁵ and North lists five of the types (B, D–G) as pattern broads.⁶ The Montagu

¹ The terms mill, screw press, and machine-made are used interchangeably in this paper, and refer to the mechanical processes for making blanks and striking coins and medals. Better terminology would be 'mill and screw press'.

² Today we think of the broad as a machine-made 20-shilling gold coin, a familiar example of which is the Cromwell piece of 1656. However, this was a colloquial term for the denomination, and not a formal designation. In the 1660s, and maybe long before that, it was not Simon's handful of mill pieces, but rather the wide 33–35 mm thin, hammered, 140 grain, 20-shilling unites that were commonly known as broad pieces until they disappeared at the Great Recoinage. And so they were then compared with the 25 mm mill guineas made from 1663 on. This is mentioned in H.G. Stride, 'The gold coinage of Charles II', *BNJ* 28 (1958), p. 390. For usage as an adjective around this time cf. *The Use and Abuses of Money*, London, 2 Feb. 1670/1, p. 11, 'You will find the like, if you examine our Coin with the French: otherwise 'twere impossible that an old broad Piece of Gold, coined for twenty Shillings with us, should yield in France seven and twenty Shillings.' (Wing U143) Surely this refers to the multitude of hammered unites in circulation, and hardly to anything else. Evelyn's diary for 24 April 1665 mentions '... 50 pieces in broad gold.'

³ George Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great Seals, ... of Thomas Simon*, second edition, edited by Richard Gough (1780), pp. 85–95. Assisted by Stanesby Alchorne, this edition of Vertue includes Simon's account for the period 1660–65. The original is now in the British Library as Additional MS 45190, is from the Stanesby Alchorne sale,

Puttick and Simpson, 12 November, 1851 (lot 134), and was given to the British Museum by Helen Farquhar in 1938. What looks to be an *earlier* version, and maybe Simon's own, is British Library Additional MS 59792, ex. A.W.F. Fuller, ex Dr F.W. Cock, ex Philipps MS 10620, possibly Alchorne (lot 133). The transcriptions used in this paper are *verbatim* from MS 59792 as opposed to MS 45190 or the Vertue/Gough modernisation of 45190. Then a third version is British Library Additional MS 18762 from the Alchorne sale (lot 132), which might be a later copy c. 1667–8, when Elizabeth Simon's petition for payment was in process. See Appendix, Nos. 3a, 4, and 5. It cannot be assumed that the order of Simon's entries is chronological, for the report may be a summary from notes. However, chronology seems reasonable within a category heading. Most of the work concerns seals. An analogous Simon account covering 1650–57 of the Commonwealth period is PRO Mint 3/16 but, in contrast to the 1665 account, there are no specific entries in it or elsewhere for medal dies (the Lord Protector medal costs are for making the individual specimens). Nor have warrants survived, save for the Cromwell coins and one great seal. None of these various accounts appear to be in the same hand.

⁴ Hawkins, Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1885), vol. i, pp. 463–4, 472, and folio plates 44–45.

⁵ E.C. Carter, 'A review of the pattern broads of Charles II', *BNJ* 20 (1929–30), 207–213.

⁶ J.J. North, *English Hammered Coins*, vol. 2 (3rd edition, London, 1991), pp. 210–1.

and Murdoch sale catalogues illustrate five of the types (B–E, G), in seven specimens, as pattern broads.⁷ The Coronation Medal (A) is consistently listed as a medal.

The Coronation Medal

Type A: The Coronation Medal of 1661 is in gold and silver, both of which were normal production metals (MI 472/76). That the medal was available for the Coronation in April 1661 is not in question, so work on the dies had to begin early in that year, and without Blondeau's presence. Further specimens, especially those in gold, must have been made on demand over the next few years, so long as the dies were still useable. The medals are well made, and boldly struck on blanks that vary in thickness and degree of roundness. Only one pair of dies was used for this fairly substantial issue, and both developed cracks. Later vintage casts of no consequence exist in various metals.

obverse A: CAROLVS.II.D.G.ANG.SCO.FR.ET.HI.REX., bust right crowned and robed, signed T.S.

reverse A: EVERSO.MISSVS.SVCCVRRERE.SECLO.XXIII.APR.1661., king on throne (pl. 9, 1, silver, 131.3 gr).

This writer once saw a silver medal with a very evident obverse die crack at the bust truncation. An illustration of a gold example showing the beginning of that crack may be seen in the 1935 Vaughan Morgan sale, lot 164. Perhaps the eventual loss of the obverse die was due to a catastrophic fracture at that location. But before that, and while still in its uncracked state, this obverse was at some time paired with the reverse of type B to form type C.

The flat reverse die, called a matrix by Hocking, in excellent condition, is in the Royal Mint Museum (pl. 9, 2).⁸ A faint crack is evident from outside the circumference, then through VS.SV, and maybe further down the word, and there are specimens of the medal exhibiting various degrees of this reverse die flaw, which occurred *before* the obverse flaw.

lettering: extensive bifurcation, fugitive beading.⁹

edge: plain and has a fairly square [] profile,¹⁰ although the thickness is variable, and the profile may at times look rounded ().

die axis: 0° (a silver one at 270° weighs 113 gr, and shows an early state of the reverse flaw, implying less care in the later examples).

weight¹¹: silver 113, 131–150 gr; gold 150–202 gr.

The Simon account¹² has the following two entries for this particular medal under,

Meddalls

26 For the Corronation Meddall being Engraven on the one side wth his Maj^{ties} Effigies in his Royall Robes crownd with his maj^{ties} Titles in the Circumference, & on the other Side his Maj^{ties} Effigies from head to foot.

⁷ Montagu had the most extensive collection of all for this series, and it was exceptionally well catalogued, maybe even from his records, with weights and die descriptions and differentiations, especially for the broad, type G. Many of Murdoch's pieces were Montagu's. Montagu sale, Sotheby 13 November 1896; Murdoch sale, Sotheby 8 June 1903.

⁸ W.J. Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, vol. ii (1910), p. 192, No. 4.

⁹ For a discussion of the striking and edge-marking of early mill coins see Peter P. Gaspar, 'Simon's Cromwell crown dies in the Royal Mint Museum and Blondeau's method for production of lettered edges', *BNJ* 46 (1976), 55–63, and G.P. Dyer and P.P. Gaspar, 'The striking of proof and pattern coins in the eighteenth century', *BNJ* 50 (1980), 117–27. The manifestations on the coins and medals of the techniques used in their manufacture, such as bifurcation of letter bases,

fugitive beading of the rims, and the appearance of the edges, are factored into this paper.

¹⁰ A square, sharp edge is considered to be characteristic of the plain edge A, probably C, and G types. The few examples of A and G that have been examined seem to show the shearing or tearing effect that Dr Gaspar has noticed elsewhere. This is somewhat subjective, and does not guarantee that all specimens look the same or exist exactly as they came from the blank stamping procedure. The grained and lettered edge D types also have a square profile, but of course those edges are not in the same unfinished state as the others, and their profile is mainly influenced by the marking machinery.

¹¹ Weight ranges are only a guide; they are not intended to be all-inclusive.

¹² Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great Seals . . . of Thomas Simon*, p. 89.

sitting in his Royall Robes, with his Scepter in one hand & his other hand upon the Globe. Crownd by an Angell
with this Motto Everso missvs Svccvrrere Seclo, the 23 Apr^{ll} 1661 [£] 110

27 For making and Engraving the Originall Stamp of the Said Medals & coynng to the Vallue of five hundred
pounds worth for the present Occassion, for the Use of his Majestie
£ s
10-10

These charges clearly include both production and die making, but not bullion costs. Yet the entries are confusing. If the second states the price for the pair of dies and for producing the medals, then the amount is too low when compared with other work. On the other hand, if it is what it claims to be, then to what could the first entry refer? The amount of £110 is too high to be for the dies and the manufacturing. Possibly there were unspecified wax models and drawings somehow involved (work he usually invoiced separately under 'Draughts and Imbossings'). A guess is that entry 26 was the cost for design work, die making, and production, whereas 27 was some add-on, maybe relating to labour. Additional Manuscript 18762 prices these two entries together at £110. See Appendix, No. 3d, item 26, which says that there was no warrant for this medal, but the work was receipted.

Restoration Medals

All of the productions *dated* 1660 are established here as being medals, made probably to commemorate the Restoration, but well after the event. A discussion follows the descriptions of medal types B–F.

Type B: The earliest Restoration medal dated 1660 is of normal occurrence in silver, but it is very rare in gold, and there is one example in copper (MI 463/59, North 2776, Carter Type II).

obverse B: CAROLVS.II.D.G.MAG.BR.FR.ET.HI.REX, bust right laureate, draped, and cuirassed, with lion's head on shoulder, signed S.

reverse B: MAGNA OPERA DOMINI 1660

lettering: only occasional very slight bifurcation.

a. **edge plain:** silver has a rounded () profile:

(pl. 10, 3, silver, 118.8 gr, Ashmolean), an excellent example;

(pl. 10, 4, silver, 129.7 gr), the usual worn example;

gold has a square [] profile:

(pl. 10, 5, gold, 175.3 gr, British Museum).

die axis: 180°

weight: silver 112, 119–136 gr; gold 175 gr.

examples in gold: British Museum: Carter 175 gr.

b. **edge lettered** type 'a':

(mark?) VERGINIAM CAVEAS [T(V)T?]AMNE.(S?)OLVITO ZONAM THO[.][SI?]MO[N].

Parsons, following Carter, read this as VERGINEAM CAVEAS ISTAM NE SOLVITO ZONAM THO SIMON. Copper specimen only, Ashmolean Museum, *ex* Owen Parsons, *ex* Carter.

(pl. 10, 6, copper, 139.5 gr, Ashmolean), bifurcated letters, and this could be unique, in having a lettered edge, which is in poor condition, in the legend itself, and in the metal.

This example was probably made later, at the time of the D series to practise with edges, or just to satisfy some demand.

The Simon account¹³ has the following entry for this particular medal under

¹³ Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great Seals . . . of Thomas Simon*, p. 89.

Meddalls

29 For the Originall Stamps of Another Meddall, Ingraven in Steel Dyes, with his Majties Effigies in an Imperiall Dress, and his Majties titles on the one Side & on the other Side, the four Coats of England, Scotland France & Ireland, Singly Quarterd, with this Motto (Magna Opera Domini) [£] 38.

The charge is for making the two dies, and does not mention production. The price of £16 given in Vertue is incorrect. See Appendix, No. 3d, item 28, which says that this was covered under a general warrant for medals, and was receipted.

Hocking wrote that a bust puncheon in the Royal Mint Museum is the one used for this medal (**pl. 10, 7**).¹⁴ However, it is not, nor is it clear just what this punch was used for. It has the characteristics of a Simon work, and it may have corroded and been cleaned over the years, for it is neither sharp nor fresh.

Type C: This is another Restoration medal dated 1660, or just a die concoction of Types A and B, in silver, with three specimens known (MI 463/60, Carter Type III).

obverse A: this used the Coronation medal's obverse die in an uncracked state.

reverse B: this used the MAGNA reverse die.

lettering: bifurcated obverse and reverse.

edge: plain and has a square [] profile.

die axis: 180°

weight: silver 126, 132 gr.

examples: 1) (**pl. 10, 8**, silver, 131.5 gr, British Museum); 2) Spink 31 (299); 3) Montagu (828) = Murdoch (631) = Thorburn (293) = Vaughan Morgan 1935 (390), 126 gr.

Type D: This Restoration medal dated 1660 occurs normally in silver and rarely in gold, and it can have three different edges (MI 464/62, North 2777, Carter Type I).

obverse D: CAROLVS * II. REX., bust right laureate, draped, and cuirassed with lion's head on breast, signed S.

reverse D: MAGNALIA.DEI 1660.

lettering: extensive bifurcation regardless of the type of edge, fugitive beading.

a. **edge plain:** there should be examples of this medal, which never underwent the subsequent edge marking. The silver example in the Montagu sale (826) at 143 gr was not illustrated, but it is likely to have had a legitimate plain edge. The thick silver one in the British Museum, with a die axis of 180° is reported as having a rounded () edge (**pl. 11, 9**, silver, 171.7 gr, British Museum). However, its small diameter makes it appear that the original edge has been removed, and it should not be considered a plain edge, although it conceivably could have been struck on a blank smaller than the dies. In gold, Montagu (819) = Murdoch (620) = Mackerell (31) = Bruning (18) at 132 gr looks to be a full specimen and therefore a natural plain edge medal. But the 120 gr example that often recurs at auction has had its original and unknown type of edge ground off, and it is not a proper plain edge medal (Sotheby 26 May 1994 (167)).

die axis: 180°

weight: silver 143; gold 132 gr.

b. **edge grained** vertically, commonly referred to as a milled edge: both gold and silver have a square [] profile (**pl. 11, 10**, silver, 143.1 gr). This is the most common edge. On the particular example illustrated the rim beadings do not extend fully to the edge of the medal,

¹⁴ Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, ii, p. 10, No. 100.

and it does not exhibit the characteristic overlap of several 'grainings' (pl. 11, 10A), which often results from Blondeau's type of edge marker. Other specimens of the D medal do have the overlap, similar to that on a Cromwell shilling (pl. 11, 10B).

die axis: 180°

weight: silver 131–143, 159 gr; gold 130–140 gr.

examples in gold: (pl. 11, 11, gold, 130.2 gr, British Museum); Montagu (818) 137 gr; Murdoch (621) 140 gr.; in silver: Murdoch (629).

c. **edge lettered** type 'b1': (pl. 11, 12, silver, 185.9 gr, Manville) *REVERSVS.SINE.CLADE.VICTOR [branch] SIMON.FECIT, with slight overlaps at * and DE. on the example illustrated.

die axis: 180°

weight: silver 153–198 gr.

examples in silver: British Museum E3462, 197.7 gr.

These lettered edge medals have a thick flan to provide a surface for the edge lettering. A cracked die would also necessitate a thick flan, and Montagu (825) at 193 gr mentions a cracked obverse die, but this has not been seen. There does not seem to be a lettered edge type D recorded in gold.

The Simon account¹⁵ has the following entry for this particular medal under

Meddalls

30 For the Stamps of another Meddall wth his Majesties Cyphers, and the Badges of the four Kingdoms between them [£] 16.

The description fits the reverse, unfortunately without the legend being noted. No specific mention is made of the obverse, nor is production included. See Appendix, No. 3d, item 29, which groups this into the same general warrant and receipt for medals as the Type B Magna medal.

Type E: A further Restoration medal dated 1660, having one completely new die, is in silver, with only two specimens known (MI 464/61, North 2778, Carter Type IV).

obverse E: PROBASTI. ME. DNE. SICVT. ARGENTVM, crowned shield. This could have been intended as a reverse die.

reverse B: this used the MAGNA reverse die.

lettering: bifurcated obverse and reverse.

edge lettered type 'b2':

*REVERSVS.SINE.CLADE.VICTOR [branch] SIMON.F (Montagu)

edge lettered type 'b3':

*REVERSVS.SINE.CLADE.VICTOR [branch] SIMON (BM)

(these edges have not been compared to see if they really are different)

die axis: 180°

weight: silver 165, 174 gr.

examples: 1) edge 'b3' – (pl. 11, 13, silver, 165.4 gr, British Museum); 2) edge 'b2' – Montagu (829) = Murdoch (630), 174 gr. Again the thick flan provided a surface for the edge lettering.

Type F: A possible Restoration medal die combination dated 1660 is reported in silver, and is listed only by North (North 2779). The existence of an actual specimen of this logical combination has not been verified; still it is carried throughout this paper as the sixth type. It is of no significance without knowing its characteristics.

¹⁵ Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great Seals . . . of Thomas Simon*.
p. 90.

reverse B: this used the MAGNA reverse die.

reverse D: this used the MAGNALIA reverse die.

lettering: ? edge: ? dies axis: ? weight: ?

The term Restoration, as used by MI and Vertue, is a fitting one if these medals were intended to commemorate the return of Charles in May of 1660, and were ordered by him for casual rewards or gifts. According to MI some of the legends can be related to the Restoration. No warrants pertaining to these medals have been uncovered, and those documents that remained in the Simon family line until recent times did not include them (nor anything else in this present paper for that matter).¹⁶ Aside from Simon's account there is no known contemporary written material to explain how or why these medals were used.

Simon's Restoration medals have been uncritically assigned pattern coinage status for many years. They are not coins, nor do they look much like coins, and their relief is much too high to have been coins. There were no warrants or orders in 1660 for a mill coinage, and the 1660 date negates any thought that they could relate to the 1662 broad coinage. A discrepancy is their unexplained 180° die axis, an orientation which is contrary to the 0° used for medals.

It is hard to believe that these medal dies would have been made between mid-1660 and mid-1662, when there was such a great panic to produce coins and important seals. Even though it may be too early, a somewhat arbitrary date of late 1661 is considered for type B in this paper.

It is clear that types B–F were official medals, having been mentioned in at least one of their dies in Simon's account. What may seem like random die mixtures or mules (C, E, F) could have been *pièces de plaisir*, or private orders. Types B and D are common enough in silver, are the only substantial issues, and may even have been sold commercially. More likely they were used for general distributions at various official functions. However, they are quite different from each other, with differences in fabric and appearance that are not easy to describe. Type D is heavier, a bit wider, and thicker. The letter fonts are not of the same style; the B letters are frosted while those of D are plain. Both types are always expertly made, but there is a 'softness' to B with a lack of finish in the fields, which contrasts with the 'boldness' and fine finish of D (and A, C, E too). It is unusual to see a bold example of B, with the frosting of the letters and bifurcation fully distinct (but see the 1907 O'Hagan sale (555) = Sotheby 9 October 1992 (977) for an unusually strong silver example). Wear contributes to those characteristics, and for some reason most of the B medals do show wear or rubbing. The edges of B are rounded; those of D and A are fairly square and sharp, as they came from the blank stamping press, assuming that they were not hand-filed, which seems unlikely. The B blanks could have been prepared differently or their edges hand-smoothed before or after striking. Because of these and other perceived differences the medals are almost surely separated in time, and perhaps even in some methods of manufacture, while it should be recognised that not all of one type were necessarily made in a batch. Some Bs could well have been made later during the D period. There may be a chronological significance to the fact that B always has a plain edge, whereas D usually has a grained or lettered edge, a significance that could relate to Blondeau's assistance or lack thereof. Even though type B has a very fine, elaborate, and high-relief bust, and is consistently on a round flan, type D has the look of a more finished product, with a better prepared blank and finer edges, a higher quality of striking and a nicer general appearance, and with more examples in gold. Types C and E are of the style and quality of D. Without question each of the dies for the Restoration medals is a singleton.

To carry the separation in time of medals B and D further, and yet to associate medal B closely to Coronation medal A in order to form the type C mule, type B is assigned a date

¹⁶ D.F. Allen, 'Warrants and sketches of Thomas Simon', *BNJ* 23 (1940–1), 439–48. Dispersed at Christie's 14 July 1987.

c. late 1661 to mid-1662, if for no better reason than to place it prior to Blondeau's return. The sole lettered edge (copper) B specimen would have been made later, maybe for practice while the edged Ds were in process, and it does not need to affect the sequence. Why it should also have a unique edge legend is unexplained. Type D is most likely to have been made any time after mid-1662, well after Blondeau's return and with his assistance, and the date could even have been several years later, for it has similarities to Simon's 1665 naval medal. When considering the sequence A-B-D, it must be admitted that A and D have an affinity to each other that B does not share. It is hoped that the reasoning for this sequence is not unduly influenced by the order in Simon's account or by Blondeau's whereabouts. Types C, E and F could fall in alphabetical order as listed. A preferable scenario is to move all of the Restoration medals to c. 1663-65, but that might be too late to account for uncracked type C.

The Broad

Type G: This is a currency production gold coin of 20 shillings made in March and April 1662 from several dies, and it may be unique in silver and copper (North 2780, Carter Type V).

The portrait is an excellent one, and looks like the familiar contemporary illustrations of Charles, including those of Simon's medallic works, his sketches for the hammered coins, and the works of John Roettiers. In contrast, the elegant, regal, and well-finished *hammered* gold coin portraits are rather stylised and do not look much like Charles; many of the silver coin portraits do, but with a bust dominated by a multitude of hair (wig), lace and crown. The bust puncheon is of a similar size and format to that used for the hammered gold, but it is doubtful that the same tool was involved.

obverse: CAR.II.D.G.M.FR.ET.HI.REX., bust left laureate, draped, and cuirassed, signed with an S, or it may even be unsigned.

reverse: FLORENT.CONCORDIA.REGNA.1662

lettering: varying degrees of light bifurcation.

edge: plain and has a square [] profile.

die axis: 180°

weight: gold 137-142 gr; silver 146 gr; copper 89.3 gr.

Four obverse and four reverse dies have been recorded from a search of sale catalogues and museum holdings, resulting in five distinct die pairings, two of which are known from single coins only. These five pairs may represent all that were used. All dies were formed from the same puncheons, with hair, wreath, ties, and minor crown and arms details added or modified in the dies. At least three of the eight dies exhibit cracks. Pair G.1/2 is assumed to be the first in chronological order, because the dies are finer and more elaborate with frosted lettering. For expediency the letters on the other dies were not frosted. The sole surviving die is Obverse G.3/-, and it may have been saved because it was the final one in use. By far the commonest of all the coins came from the G.3/3 pair. A very gross count of coins noted by die, with no attempt to account for repeats, shows 42 specimens for G.3/3, 12 for G.2/3, 12 for G.1/2, one for G.1/1, and one for G.4/4. Of course these figures cannot provide legitimate ratios, but they have to be indicative, and one could scale up by any arbitrary factor.

G.1/1 (obverse 1/reverse 1): Copper only. There is NO signature apparent, and even though the coin is extremely worn the area under the bust is fairly well protected.

Copper: this, the only specimen recorded, is in the Ashmolean Museum, (pl. 12, 14, copper, 89.3 gr, Ashmolean). The wear could have occurred from accidental circulation as a halfpenny. It seems to be struck, but even if not it confirms the existence of a specific reverse die, at the moment known only from this example, and likely to remain unique. All in all, it is a strange piece, perhaps a trial struck from unhardened dies, after which the reverse was rejected and discarded, but probably not re-worked to form one of the other reverses.

G.1/2 (obverse 1/reverse 2): wreath has 10 leaves, with berries, letters in both legends are frosted.

silver: NO signature (**pl. 12, 15**, silver, 146.1 gr, Manville), no die cracks, lettering very bifurcated. This would be an early trial piece, before the signature was added, yet the strong, bold strike implies that it was made after the dies were hardened. This probably is Montagu (830) = Murdoch (633).

Gold: has a vertical signature S at 0° (**pl. 12, 16**, gold, 137.0 gr). On later coins both obverse and reverse dies show cracks on top. A normal production coin.

Example: Montagu (822)

G.2/3 (obverse 2/reverse 3): wreath has 9 leaves, with berries.

Gold: horizontal signature S at 90° (**pl. 12, 17**, gold, 141.1 gr). A normal production coin. The possibility of a coin without the signature has been noted.¹⁷

Example: Montagu (820)

G.3/3 (obverse 3/reverse 3): wreath has 10 leaves, without berries.

Gold: signature S at 30° (**pl. 12, 18**, gold, Royal Mint). A normal production coin. On the later coins the obverse shows a crack across the tops of H.I.R, which developed and extended with use. The flat obverse die itself, called a matrix by Hocking, is in the Royal Mint Museum (**pl. 12, 19**),¹⁸ and Dr Gaspar noticed that the S is ground away on the die.¹⁹

Examples: Montagu (456), also (821) = O'Hagan (203) = Watters (491).

G.4/4 (obverse 4/reverse 4): wreath has 10 leaves, without berries. The most distinctive feature of the obverse is the first leaf, which extends almost to the beading. From the photograph, NO signature S is evident on this die. The reverse die is extremely close to reverse G.-/3, but it is not the same. The British Museum specimen (**pl. 12, 20**, gold, 140.4 gr, British Museum) is the only one recorded at present. It is very surprising to find two dies, not otherwise known, on the one coin.

The Simon account²⁰ has the following entry for this coin under

Stamps for Coynes for England

[23] For making Stamps for a twenty Shilling Pieec by way of the Mill working mySelf & my Servants Nine or ten weeks time £ 45.

This entry follows the one for the dies for the hammered coinage. The only other billing for English coins is the final item of the account, and that is for the mill 1d, 3d, 4d (the 2d is not mentioned, Vertue/Gough being in error). There is a separate entry for Scottish coins. The price seems low for multiple dies. See Appendix, No. 3d, item 23, which says that these dies were covered under a general warrant for mill coins, and was receipted.

Type G has to be the only coin or broad, and it is not a pattern. Full documentation is available, and will be described further on, to show that a gold mill coinage was ordered, that Simon made dies for the purpose, that bullion was supplied, and that a few thousand coins were produced, halted only because of mechanical failures, which could have meant the fracturing of the dies. The design and legends match those of the currency hammered coinage.

¹⁷ When the Murdoch collection was sold, many to Spink, Samuel Spink noted the broad die varieties, and discussed them in 'An unpublished variety of Simon's broad of 1662', *NCirc* March 1905, p. 8185. He said this variety was 'almost exactly as no. 1 [die G2/3] but it omits the artist's initial S beneath the King's bust'. Maybe it is that die, and maybe not, but it is not one of the dies predicted to lack the signature. He

also noted the differences between dies of the cherub's wings on the breastplate.

¹⁸ Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, ii, p. 10, No. 99.

¹⁹ Private communication.

²⁰ Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great Seals ... of Thomas Simon*, p. 89.

There are two inconsistencies – a plain edge instead of an expected grained edge, and a signed obverse when coin dies were never signed.

The S signature is very tiny and unobtrusive, and it looks like an uncertainty or afterthought, as evidenced by the uncracked, unsigned silver and copper coins which, in the absence of other data, might be the earliest examples in the series. There may be gold coins, in addition to die 4, which completely lack the signature (as opposed to a faintly struck S), probably from die 3 after the S was erased, and less likely from die 1, before the S was added (but see footnote 17 that could apply to die 2). Normally the signature would point to a pattern or a medal. However, in this case the reality of a signed currency has to be faced. The removal of it from die 3 may have been done at official request during production, but too late to have had much effect.

It is unknown if the multiple dies were prepared in advance or only as the need arose, but the former is the method expected for a production coinage,²¹ with additional dies added while production progressed. The fact that unsigned Obverse 1 in silver and copper was coupled with two different reverse dies and then, signed in gold, with one of those reverse dies, shows that at least these three dies were made at the same time. Hypothetically, if only a single press was in use (an unknown), then one pair of dies could have remained in the press until a replacement became necessary, which was either at hand or forced the production run to stop until a new die was made. This looks to be the only instance where Simon made multiple dies for the screw press (excepting the little 1647 Essex medal with its die breakage, the 1653 naval rewards for different reasons, and ignoring the unstudied machine-made 1d–4d).

The edge is plain, and a collar was not used, nor could one have been used with these flat dies. While the craftsmanship of the dies reflects the highest standards of Simon's work, the end products often are not of a like quality. What is seen on the many ill-formed coins are the results of the rolled plate, the blanks press-stamped from the plate, the marginal striking quality, the unfinished sharp plain edge, and undoubtedly the rush. Bifurcation of the letter bases is usually slight, but it is there.

No English coins or medals come to mind that have edge markings between the time that Blondeau left England c. late 1658 and his return from France early in 1662. Through 1658, anything that Simon made with a marked edge was done in conjunction with Blondeau, and the implication is that a marked edge required Blondeau's presence, and certainly his machinery. This is consistent with Blondeau's secrecy. He must have taken his edge-marking equipment with him to France, and maybe that hardware had not yet returned by April 1662. Surely Simon had to know all about its use, for it was he who would have made the dies (bars) for the edge markings. None of this addresses the possibility that there might have been some edge-marking hardware of Ramage's still about (highly unlikely that Simon could have used it), or the fact that we do not know what equipment had been at Drury House in the Strand, where Simon and Blondeau produced the Cromwell coins, or what was actually used for the 1662 coinage.

Peter Blondeau had been in London for three or four months by this time of April 1662. Had he assisted Simon and/or the production workers with the machinery, which may or may

²¹ A further reason to believe that the Cromwell dies were initially used for trial purposes. The term pattern implies a preliminary or unused design, but those designs were official and approved and a coinage was ordered. However, had they gone into full production then multiple dies should have been prepared beforehand. For a proposed coinage of £10,000/week it had to be known that a single set of dies was impossible. Maybe the reason so many 1658 coins were released instead of

being melted was because they were sold or given as gifts when Cromwell died, in the medallion sense, as keepsakes or for propaganda purposes. And perhaps production was even continued for that purpose. The earlier 1656 coins were more likely to have been distributed at the time as trial balloons, and some of the gold may have been stored for anticipated issue in 1658. Any explanatory Mint documentation was unfortunately lost to the rats.

not have been the same units recently returned to the Mint from Drury House, then better blanks, edge graining, and higher quality strikings would have been expected. Blondeau had just become the principal player in the technical workings of the Mint as it was becoming mechanised in the move towards mass production. In that same month of April he proposed the future mechanical equipment and conditions for such an undertaking²² (not to be confused with the already existing equipment used for the coins now under discussion). In a sense, Simon and Roettiers were nothing more than the die-makers. So Blondeau should have been involved with the actual press work for the 1662 coins, but the physical evidence does not support that.

The weight is proper. The gold coin, mill and hammered, remained at 140 $\frac{3}{4}$ grains, regardless of its tally, even though the bullion value was greater than twenty shillings. Not until the guinea coinage of December 1663 did both the weight and value change.

Defining these coins as currency is not a new concept. Stride may have been the first to write about the broad being actual currency and not a pattern,²³ and Schneider was quite explicit to support that twenty years later.²⁴ For some reason the subject was ignored in the traditional writings of Folkes, Ruding, Kenyon, and Brooke. The coining records, the quantity produced, and the reversion to a hammered coinage because of problems, leave no room to deny this claim. On the other hand it is not proved that the broads were actually released for public circulation, although the average coin exhibits some wear from whatever cause. Since they were apparently not mentioned in pyx trials²⁵ we are faced with something like the Cromwell dilemma, but perhaps such a small coinage did not need to be delineated in the pyx records as a separate entity.

The history of this coin begins with an authorization of 31 January 1661/2 'to prepare punches, matrices, dies, etc for coining by press and screw', and of 3 February 'to make stamps for the new coin'.²⁶ From 24–27 February 167 lb of gold was delivered to the Mint, and a 28 February warrant was issued to the Mint officers 'to coin gold . . . by the press and screw into pieces of twenty shillings each; making them less than before, so as better to receive the stamp, but with the same figure, inscription, and arms, with slight differences; and permitting for better dispatch, the plates of gold to be passed for the press at St. Katherine's water-mill near the Tower . . .'.²⁷ It would have taken considerable time to process this into coin blanks. By 8 or 9 April no more than 82 lb²⁸ had been coined (this converts to about 3360 coins), for at that date a warrant was issued to the Mint 'to coin by the hammer into 20s. and 10s. pieces such defective gold as Stephen Fox shall deliver into the Mint – the dyes made by Thos. Simon for coining with press and screw being found insufficient for the service'.²⁹ Badly struck coins, scissel, and the remainder of the bullion would have been included, and that may have finished rapidly by 19 April 1662,³⁰ even with new blanks, but using existing

²² C.E. Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 343, where he summarizes the Freeman and Slingsby Court report of 13 April 1662. BL Add MS 34, 358. See Appendix, No. 6.

²³ Stride, 'The gold coinage of Charles II', p. 390, unfortunately, without references.

²⁴ H. Schneider, 'The Tower gold of Charles I', *BNJ* 49 (1979), 74–81, which also has some interesting comments on the survival of mill gold coins by Levers, Mestrelle, Briot, and Simon.

²⁵ Henry Symonds, 'The pyx trials of the Commonwealth, Charles II and James II', *NC* 4th ser. 15 (1915), 346–7. H. Schneider, 'The hammered gold coins of Charles II', *BNJ* 36 (1967), 122–68, at p. 128, who referenced Symonds for this, and said that 'the broads appear only at the trial of the pyx held on August 4th, 1669, together with other mill gold coins'. This is confusing for Symonds does not say or imply that, and makes no mention of broads.

²⁶ Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint*, p. 348, fn 296; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (CSPD)* 1661–62, pp. 260 and 264.

²⁷ *CSPD* 1661–62, p. 290; Challis *ibid.*, p. 341, fn 282; J. Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 159.

²⁸ Stride, 'The gold coinage of Charles II', p. 390.

²⁹ *CSPD* 1661–62, p. 334. A fuller transcription from the original is found in Helen Farquhar, 'Thomas Simon, "one of our chief gravers"', *NC* 5th Series 12 (1932), 309, where she reproduces this and other references to Simon from Secretary of State Edward Nichols Private Minute Book of the Privy Council, p. 230, which she borrowed from F.W. Cock at the time.

³⁰ Unfortunately the quotes above are from *CSPD*, which paraphrased and modernised the original entries. However, Stride, 'The gold coinage of Charles II', p. 390 quotes from what were probably original Mint records, which were later transferred to the PRO.

hammered dies. Die cracks are evident, yet the coins that survive today are not exceptionally flawed; most likely if terrible dies did strike terrible coins, such coins were melted at the time.

Modern thinking accepts that Simon had trouble with his dies *vis à vis* the power of the screw press, whereas John Roettiers did not, or at least had fewer problems. Many of the screw press coin and medal dies throughout the Commonwealth period show die fracture, and this continued for the rest of Simon's life. Whether it was his fault or the smith's, it was a recurring problem, and Simon's attempt at a mass production coinage by the screw press ended in failure. Challis makes the interesting observation that the Roettiers provided their own steel, and hired their own smith.³¹ Except for the mill series of 1d–4d money, invoiced April 1665, and the Petition/Reddite crowns, the Spring of 1662 was the end of Simon's coinage monopoly, as the Roettiers brothers took over. His remaining years would have been spent on seals and medals, and undoubtedly in other capacities, such as on tools for the Scottish coinage, for he was still fully employed and paid by the Mint until his death in July 1665.

Dies and production in summary

The production coins, G, are a mixed lot. Many of them are of high quality work, but the general run of them are not, with many being carelessly made, both in striking and blank preparation (thickness, roundness, and the occasional filing of the blank's surface for weight adjustment), and this is not particularly surprising. They are of the marginal quality that would be expected from a new type of hurried production run, especially if they were made without Blondeau's help. In contrast, the medals, A–E, are carefully made.

The two dies that remain today (reverse of A and obverse of G3) are called matrices by Hocking. In his terminology that means a flat die without a shoulder or neck, but these are not matrices at all. Flat dies could not use a collar, and the resultant lettering must be bifurcated (fish-tailed letter bases) to some degree, whether extensively or barely noticeable. Any edge marking would have been applied by use of Blondeau's parallel bar, Castaing type of machinery, before striking (a characteristic of his). Therefore, all the examples of A–G, whether unmarked (plain), lettered, or grained edge should show letter bifurcation, and there should also be fugitive beading around the periphery as the metal flowed outward. Even where bifurcation is not especially evident, the letter bases are not very square. Hot blanks that required less striking force might have been used at times, resulting in less bifurcation. The Mint's and Blondeau's methods for punching and rounding the blanks (if separate operations) is not known for certain for that period.³²

It is concluded that all of the dies used for the coins and medals in this paper were of the same general, flat type, the production processes were similar, except for how the edges were finished, and the end products had similar characteristics. Thus the Coronation Medal (1661), the type B Restoration medals (dated 1660), and the coins (1662) with their plain edges did not use Blondeau's edging machinery, whereas the grained and lettered edge Restoration D–E medals, and the sole copper type B (dated 1660), did.

When all is said and done, and when the documents described in footnote 3 and the Appendix are considered, one has to wonder if Simon's responsibility ended when he supplied his dies. Such of course had to be so for seals and possibly for coins. But this could also be true for these medals, in contrast to his involvement during the Commonwealth. Except for the Coronation Medal, the accounts specify charges only for making dies or stamps, and then

³¹ Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint*, p. 350, CSPD 1663–64, p. 625, warrant for 25 June 1664 implies a smith.

³² Some of the crude blanking presses of the period can be

found in Dennis R. Cooper, *The Art and Craft of Coinmaking* (London, 1988), pp. 97–101.

submitting or surrendering the dies to Mint officials, not for using them. This paper does not propose that Simon was not involved with the manufacture of the finished products, for the writer believes that he certainly was. However, it needs to be stressed that there are no obvious charges by him for striking or supervising medals B–F. With coin G it is less clear what he and his workers did for nine or ten weeks.

The tools illustrated in the plates are all that are known today, and there is no record, evidence, or rust traces to imply late post-Simon restrikes of the medals. However, since the dies were official, and Simon turned them in, then they were available for use on request, until broken, throughout Charles's reign, and maybe even later.

No attempt has been made to estimate production quantities, except for type G, or survival figures. It is not intended that the designations A–G be used outside this paper. *Medallie Illustrations* remains the proper reference for medals A–E, and '1662 currency broad of 20-shillings' should now suffice to define type G, broad being a convenient and familiar term to differentiate it from guinea, even though it is inaccurate.

Die and Coining Characteristics

<i>type</i>	<i>letters</i>	<i>dies</i>	<i>edge</i>	<i>edging machinery</i>	<i>date</i>
A (Coronation)	bifur.	flat	plain	none	April 1661
B (Magna)	bifur.	(flat)	plain	none	>mid-1661
copper			lettered	Blondeau's Castaing	>mid-1662
C (Coro/Magna)	bifur.	(flat)	plain	none	>mid-1661
D (Magnalia)	bifur.	(flat)	plain	none?	>mid-1662
			grained	Blondeau's Castaing	>mid-1662
			lettered	Blondeau's Castaing	>mid-1662
E (Probasti)	bifur.	(flat)	lettered	Blondeau's Castaing	>mid-1662
F? (Magna/Magnalia)	?	(flat)	?	?	>mid-1662
G (20/-broad)	bifur.	flat	plain	none	March 1662

Where flat means not shouldered, (flat) means assumed, all letter bases should have a tendency to be bifurcated, and beading should be fugitive.

THE PLATES

1. Medal Type A, Coronation, silver, 131.3 gr., author.
2. (1x and reversed 2x) Reverse steel die to Medal Type A, Royal Mint Museum, Hocking, p. 192/4.
3. Medal Type B, Magna, silver, plain edge, 118.8 gr., Ashmolean Museum. An especially sharp, unworn example.
4. Medal Type B, Magna, silver, plain edge, 129.7 gr., author. A typical worn example.
5. Medal Type B, Magna, gold, plain edge, 175.3 gr., British Museum M7463.
6. Medal Type B, Magna, copper, lettered edge 'a', VERGINIAM ..., 139.5 gr., Ashmolean Museum, from Owen Parsons, ex E.C. Carter.
7. (1x and 2x) Steel bust puncheon, similar to, but not the one used for Type B, Royal Mint Museum, Hocking p. 10/100.
8. Medal Type C, Coronation/Magna, silver, plain edge, 131.5 gr., British Museum, E3458.
9. Medal Type D, Magnalia, silver, plain edge, 171.7 gr., British Museum E3460.
10. Medal Type D, Magnalia, silver, grained edge, 143.1 gr., author.
- 10A. The edge of No. 10, showing regular graining and no overlap.
- 10B. The edge of a 1658 Cromwell shilling, showing regular graining with overlapped grains.
11. Medal Type D, Magnalia, gold, grained edge, 130.2 gr., British Museum E3459.
12. Medal Type D, Magnalia, silver, lettered edge 'b1', REVERSVS ..., 185.9 gr., H.E. Manville collection.
13. Medal Type E, Probasti, silver, lettered edge 'b3', REVERSVS ..., 165.4 gr., British Museum E3463.
14. Broad of 20 shillings, Type G, Dies G.1/1, copper, 89.3 gr., Ashmolean Museum. A prototype.
15. Broad of 20 shillings, Type G, Dies G.1/2, silver, 146.1 gr., H.E. Manville collection. A die trial.
16. Broad of 20 shillings, Type G, Dies G.1/2, gold, 137.0 gr., author. Currency.
17. Broad of 20 shillings, Type G, Dies G.2/3, gold, 141.1 gr., author. Currency.

18. Broad of 20 shillings, Type G, Dies G.3/3, gold, Royal Mint Museum, Hocking 1359. Currency.
19. (1x and reversed 2x) Steel obverse die for Die G.3/-, Royal Mint Museum, Hocking p. 10/99.
20. Broad of 20 shillings, Type G, Dies G.4/4, gold, 140.4 gr., British Museum 1946-10-4-2336. Currency.

APPENDIX

I wish to place on record the Simon papers in the British Library's Department of Manuscripts, for two reasons. First, three of the documents are copies of Simon's Accompt-book, one of which was published in Vertue, and another is directly related to one of those copies. Second, this is an attempt to transcribe the short, and at least to note the long, Simon-related papers, with a hope to consolidate and publish them all in the future. All but one of these documents are listed in volume 9 of the 1985 Index of Manuscripts in the British Library. Some have been referred to from time to time, but only MS 45190 seems to have been published in its entirety (Vertue). Helen Farquhar owned or had access to various documents, some of which she presented to the British Museum, and some she published. Henry Howorth spoke on the gathering of numismatic records in his presidential address to the Royal Numismatic Society 19 June, 1913, printed in *NC* 4th Series 13 (1913), and said that the subject had been favourably discussed with the Council of the British Numismatic Society at the time. The talks seemed promising, but nothing further was ever done.

No. 1. Sloane MS 856, f. 4b, the 16th entry:

'Warrant for graving of severall Seales

It is his Ma^{ty} will & pleasure that you forthwith make the severall Seales hereafter named vidt his Ma^{ty} Seale for the Dutchy of Lancaster & the privy Seale for England a great Seale for Ireland & the Seales for the Court of Justice there vidt kings bench Comon Plea & Excheqr in the usuall formes & figures of the severall Seales respectively & agreeable to those belonging to the said Courts in the time of the Late king of blessed memory adding onely in the Inscription immediately after the word Carolus the word secundus and for soe doing this shall be your War^t Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 13th of June 1660

To Thomas Symon his Ma^{ty} Engraver'

No. 2. Sloane MS 856, f. 9, the 33rd entry:

'Thomas Symon to make severall Seales

Our will & pleasure is that you doe forthwith prepare all the Originall or Master Punchins & charges necessary for the coynage of our gold & silver moneys by way of the presse or screw as allsoe some stamps or dyes of each sort of Our Coyne according to these draughts. The first thereof (with the Armes of Our kingdoms of England Scotland France & Ireland in single leusthions crowned wth their points turning inwards & a star in ye middle) to be for Our gold coyne. The other (with foure double [Letters] or Cyphers of Our name crowned likewise & with the severall badges of Our kindgomes) to bee for O^r Silver moneys and concerning O^r portraiture on the other side of O^r Coyne together with the severall Mottos & Inscriptions for the flat sides and Edges thereof, as likewise concerning the severall sizes of O^r moneys. Our further will & pleasure is, & wee doe strictly b[eg] you to pursue such directions & Instructions for the better carrying on & perfecting of Our service therein as you shall from time to time receive from Our trusty servant Henry Slingsby Esqr & this shall bee your War^t Given at Our C^t at Whitehall etc

To Thomas Symon one of O^r Cheife Engravers'

This is probably a copy of the general warrant for mill coins (see item 23 in No. 3d, below), except that one can see descriptions of what became Roettiers gold and silver coins of 1663 and later, and even of the Simon Petition/Reddite crown. The manuscript copy unfortunately lacks a date but, based on what is written before and after it, the date may fall between 6 July and 12 December 1661. This is not in *CSPD*.

Sloane 856 is considered to be a 17th century volume consisting entirely of copies of writs of Privy Seal, Parliament warrants and other State papers, chiefly in the time of Charles II. This volume was the property of one Henry Gregory. The original warrants for these two entries are not known to exist.

No. 3. Additional MS 18.762 deals with Elizabeth Simon's request for payment owed. It is described in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1848-1853*, 1868, p. 147. 'The Accompt of Thomas Simon, one of his Majesties Chiefe Gravers for the Mint. Seales and Meddalls; 1660-[1664]; with the taxation of the same, and petition of Mrs Simon for the payment of the unsettled balance; 1667. 1668.' From the Stanesby Alchorne sale. Puttick & Simpson, 12 November, 1851 (lot 132). The British Library accession assigns all five parts of this Alchorne lot to MS 18762.

- 3a. A copy of Thomas Simon's account (c. 1667?)
- 3b. 8 November 1667 letter from Ashley to Slingsby to consider the rates in Simon's account.
- 3c. 13 December 1667 letter from Slingsby to Ashley in reply.
- 3d. 18 July 1668 detailed report from Ashley to Charles II.
- 3e. undated, unsigned answers of Elizabeth Simon to Ashley.

No. 3a. Additional MS 18,762 (part 1). Folio.

Wrapper: 'The Accompt of Tho: Symons One of his Ma^{ty}: Cheife Gravers'. Then 14 pages, ending with a summary of the charges £3070, the amount received £1000, and the remaining due £2070.

This is probably the latest of the three account copies, more than likely made up in 1667 just for this case, and it is very similar to Nos. 4 and 5 below.

No. 3b. Add MS 18,762 (part 2). Folio. One page: 'I desire M^r. Slingsby Master & Worker of his Ma^{ty}. Mint to consider of the Rates set upon the Services mentioned in this book and in a Paper herewith sent amounting to the Sume of one hundred & ten pounds, and to certifie me his opinion thereof
Novemb^r 8th 1667 Ashley'

The 'Paper and £110' refer to the lost account sheet in Nos. 3c and 3d, below.

No. 3c. Add MS 18,762 (part 3). Docketed: '13 Decem 1667 Coppy of M^r Slingsbys Reporte to the Lorde Ashley, concerning M^{rs} Symons Accompt, upon an Order of Reference of the 8 November 1667.

	£		
Remaining due upon the Accompt	2070	0	0
Allowed upon the Accompt	1500	0	0
Received in Money	900	0	0

Then one page: 'My Lord I have according to yo^r LoPPs commands perused M^r Simons book of Acco^{ts} and the paper of one hundred and ten pounds sent with it, and upon consideration of the severall rates for the services therein mentioned doe finde that if he werre to have been paid ready money for them, there might then very reasonably have been some Abatements made upon most of the Particulars in the Accompt. But in regard that the Services aforesaid for his Ma^{ty} did in a manner for severall years together soe wholly take up the time both of M^r Simons and his Servants that he could not gaine leisure to work for private persons whereby to get money to maintaine his family; And in respect he was out of purse soe much ready money for the Silver & Gold for the severall Seales & Medalls in the Accompt mentioned, at the Mint rate onely. I doe therefore humbly conceive & certifie that the rates demanded for the particular Services in M^r Simons booke of Accompt & the aforesaid Paper, cannot now be judged unreasonable to be allowed unto his Widow & Children, after so many yeares attendance for payment before & since his death, nevertheles I most humbly submit the same unto yo^r LoPPs better Judgement.
13 December 1667 H Slingsby'

The 'Paper and £110' again refer to the lost account sheet in Nos. 3b, above, and 3d, below.

No. 3d. Add MS 18,762 (part 4). Folio. Docketed: 'A copy of the Lord Ashleys Report in the Case of M^{rs} Eliz: Symon, widdow 18 July 1668'. Seven pages:

'In Pursuance of yo^r: Mats Reference upon the Annexed petic'on of Elizabeth Symon, I have exam'd the Vouchers exhibited by the prte relating to the particulars menc'oned in her Accompt hereunto also annexed. And have desired of M^r Slingsby master worker, of yor Ma^{ty}, Mint, his opinion of the prices demanded, And doe humbly represent to yo^r: Maty first the state of ye said Vouchers vizt.'

This is a very interesting document copy, and eventually all pages need to be transcribed and published. Each item has a direct relationship to the entries in the Simon account No. 3a, above, and for each it tells whether or not there was a warrant to do the work, and an official receipt for the finished product. In other words, in trying to assess the validity of each Simon charge, Ashley wanted to know if the specific item was genuinely ordered, and if a finished product (dies) was supplied. From this it is usually possible to determine the items in Simon's account that originally had associated warrants, few of which now survive. All three copies of the Simon Account have the same content and order, but the numbering is not always the same; pairs can be combined into one number, and later items are not numbered. For use of document No. 3d, it is best to use the associated Accompt No. 3a, and count by hand. Even so, the entries have sufficient descriptions associated to avoid ambiguity, regardless of the numbering system.

The medals and coins discussed in the body of this paper, and thus of interest here, can be expanded as follows:

For Type A Coronation:

- *26: ffor the Coronac'on Medalls./ Noe Warr^t for makeing them./ M^r Slingsby's Certificate, that they were made by yo^r Mats appointment & delivered to ye Ld Cornwallis for yo^r Mats use/. And the Receipt of the Officers of ye Mint of ye dyes of those Medalls./

For Type B Magna:

'28 ffor the Originall Stampes of a Medall engraven in Steele dyes./ with yo^r Mats Effigies in an Imperiall dresse pr[etc?]/ Noe particuler, but yo^r Ma^{ty} gen^{ll} Warr^t for makeing of Medalls./ The Receipt of the Officers of the Mint, for these Stampes./

For Type D Magnalia:

'29 ffor the Stampe of an other Medall, with yo^r Mat^s Cyphers pr[etc?]/ The Same War^t. & like receipt, with that last before mencoⁿ'ned'

For Type G broad:

'23 ffor the Stampes for a twenty shillings peice, by way of the Mill./ Noe particuler, but yo^r Mats gen^{ll} Warr^t ffor the Stampes, for Coyne by the Mill/. The Certificate of ye Officers of ye Mint, of y^r delivery of this p^ticuler/.'

But most interesting are the listings for items *not* in the Simon account, and which have numbers greater than 73 ('ffor Altering the Stampes for y^e Small money . . . ' – the familiar final entry in the account). See Nos. 3b and 3c, above, where it appears likely that the 'Paper and £110' represent Simon's total charge for items 74–76. Preceding new item 74 is mention of the 'Paper' or account now apparently lost.

'These are in an Accompt in a sheet of paper aprte from the Brooke./ [Booke]

74 ffor a Steele Signet for ye L^d Arlington./ yo^r Mats Warr^t to make it./ The Lord Arlingtons Receipt for it./

75 ffor two Stampes, or dyes, for the Crowne peice of Silver/ yo^r Mats Warr^t for makeing them./ The Receipt of the Officers of the Mint for them./'

Item 75 must be for the Petition crown, since Simon is not known to have made any other crown. So the (Petition) crown dies have to be considered official. See No. 7, below. The next item, 76, is two pages further on, and might be the only reference known to the 1665 Dominion of the Seas medal. MI 506/145.

'76 One paire of dyes, with yo^r Mats head, & yo^r Mat^{ie} on ye Reverse in a Sea Chariott, with horses./ Noe Warr^t for makeing it./ The Receipt of the Officers of the Mint for it./'

There is no higher item number than 76, and the lost separate sheet for these three items could be the last accounting that Thomas Simon ever did. The final page concludes with,

'18th July 1668

Ashley

'This is a true Copy.'

No. 3e. Add MS 18.762 (part 5). Folio. Two pages:

'The Answer of M^{rs} Simon Widow of Thomas Simon deceased late chiefe Graver of his Ma^{ties} Mint & Seales to some p^ticulars in the Acco^t whereto his Lo^{pp} the Lord Ashley in his Report hath certified doubtfull & referred to his Ma^{ty}s pleasure & command.

Particularly

That there is neither Warn^t nor Receipts for'

And it goes on to discuss the negative aspects of 16 of the items detailed in No. 3d, above. This is done in five entries by Lord Ashley, interleaved by four answers by Mrs Simon. It is undated and unsigned, and undoubtedly a clerk's copy, intended to go with the July 1668 document No. 3d, but in a different hand. Because it is unsigned, it is not certain that this is complete, but it appears to be.

No. 4. Additional MS 45190. Folio. Blank cover page, title page: 'The Accompt of Thomas Simon one of his Ma^{ties} Chief Gravers for the Mint Seals and Meddals 166_'. Then 13 pages following.

Described in *The British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1936–1945*, 1970, p. 117. From the Stanesby Alchorne sale. Puttick & Simpson, November 12, 1851 (lot 134), and given to the British Museum by Helen Farquhar in 1938. She apparently bought it at auction in the early 1930s. This is the exact document that Richard Gough and Stanesby Alchorne printed in the 1780 edition of *Vertue* (as opposed to Add MSS 59792 or 18762), though with modernised spelling and a few inaccuracies. See footnote 3.

No. 5. Additional MS 59792. Folio. First title page: 'Simon's account with ye King for making the dies for the coinage & 1664'. Second title page: 'The Account of Tho. Simon one of his Majest^{ies} cheif gravers for the Mint Seals and Medalls'. Then eleven pages following.

Perhaps Alchorne lot 133. It was Philipps MS 10620. Sotheby June 1898 (1086), bought by F. William Cock MD, with whom Helen Farquhar carried on a correspondence about this in the 1920s and 1930s, leading to her Thomas Simon paper in the 1932 *NC*; then in the Cock sale Sotheby 8 May 1944 (280) bought by A.W.F. Fuller for £10; then a note by Estelle Fuller in 1965 'The Great Seal collection of A.W.F. Fuller presented to the Library of London University on advice from B.M. who were first offered this gift.' Also under this MS 59792 are Farquhar letters to Cock, an offprint of her 1932 *NC* paper, some newspaper and auction clippings. Is this an earlier copy or the original by Simon? If so then MS 45190 (definitely the copy used by Gough and

in the Alchorne sale) is later and probably a clerk's copy in much better condition. But 45190 has the fourth and fifth entries from the end dated. This seems a contradiction, for a later copy should not have more annotations.

No. 6. Additional MS 34358 ff 15-16

'At the Court at Whitehall the 13th Aprill 1662

	persons
	The King's most Excellent Maj ^{tie}
His Royal Highness the Duke of York	Earl of Lauderdale
Lord Chancellor	Lord Wentworth
Lord Treasurer	Lord Seymour
Lord Privy Seal	Lord Hatton
Duke of Ormond	Lord Hollis
Marquiss of Dorchester	Lord Ashley
Lord Chamberlaine	M ^{ce} . of the Ordnance
Earl of Barkshire	M ^{ce} . Treasurer
Earl of Anglesey	M ^{ce} . Vice Chamberlaine
Earl of Carlisle	M ^{ce} . Secretary Nicholas
	M ^{ce} Secretary Mourice

The agreement of Sir Ralph Ffreeman Knight Master worker of his Maj^{ty} Mint and Henry Slingsby Esq Deputy to the said Master worker concerning the several proposals made by them about coining his Maj^{ty} money by way of the Mill and Press being this day read and debated att the Board his Maj^{ty} present in Councill, it was approved off and confirmed by his Maj^{ty} and their Lordps and ordered to be Entered in the Book of Council Causes as it folowes in haec verba.

To the Right hono^{ble} the Lord Treasurer
and the Lord Ashley Chancellor of the Excheq

The humble Representation of Sir Ralph Ffreeman Knight Master worker of his Ma^{ty} Mint and of Henry Slingsby Esq^r Deputy unto the said Master worker concerning this agreement about coining his Maj^{ty} moneys by way of Press and Mill.

In obedience to yo^r Lordps Order of the 10th instant signifying his Maj^{ty} further pleasure and Express Commands concerning the Speedy settlement of the new way of Coining and directing the drawing up in writing the several agreements with the Corporation of Moneyers in the Tower, with Peter Blondeau, with the Gravers and Melters upon their respective undertakings, tasks and allowances Wee doo humbly certify unto yo^r Lordships./

Concerning the undertaking taske and allowances of the Moneyers, having several times treated with the Provost and Moneyers of the Mint in the presence and with the advice of the rest of his Maj^{ty} officers there, concerning the proper Tasks in coining the moneys and the allowances fitt to be made them in coining by way of the Mill and Press. We have agreed and settled the undertaking Taske and allowance of the said moneys in manner following.

The several plates of Gold and Silver being cast by such Melter or Melters as the Master worker shall trust and employ therin of fitting breadth and thickness according to the respective Coines, cleaned barbed and made fitt for the Mill the said Corporation are after the usual charge of the Mint to refine the same in standard from the office, and his Maj^{ty} is to be at the ffirst charge in providing and ffurnishing them with all necessary Tools Engines and Buildings for coining in the new way and if the said Peter Blondeau shall then out of his Allowance maintain in good and sufficient repair all the said Tools and Engines except such as are particularly undertaken to be repaired by the Moneyers and shall likewise make new ones in the room of such as shall break or faile at his own charges, and shall teach and instruct the Moneyers in the using of his new invented Tools and Engines, and in coining by way of the Mill and Press the said Corporation are willing and have undertaken to pass the said plates at the Horse Mill and to cutt flatten seize neal blanch and coin the peeces to maintain the Horses to find Allom Argoll and Sawdust to keep in repair the oven, ffurnaces utensils for nealing and blanching to make good the Ballances, Small ffiles pans Tubbs Traves Bowles and Sacks and all wast of Gold and Silver in nealing working and blanching.

In consideration of which said Taske and undertaking his Maj^{ty} is to allow and the Masterworker is to pay unto the said Corporation of Moneyers Eight pence for every pound weight of Silver and Three shillings for every pound weight of Gold coined in the new way. And they doe humbly referre and submit six pence more for the pound weight of Gold and one penny upon the pound weight of Silver for better sizing unto his Maj^{ty} gracious pleasure to be bestowed as upon a full tryal of the new way of coining they may be found to need or deserve the same. And in relation to the better establishing of the new way of Coining the said Corporation are ready and willing to be directed in all other things by the officers of the Mint and will likewise submit to such Rules and Orders as his Maj^{ty} shall at any time please to appoint by Indenture of the Mint for the better Government of the same as in duty to allegiance they are bound.

Concerning the undertaking Taske and Allowance of Peter Blondeau. It is agreed likewise with the said Peter Blondeau and he doth undertake for the sume of one Thousand pounds to prepare and make ready all the Rowlers Instruments to cutt flatten make round and size the peeces: the Engins to mark the Edges of the moneys with letters and grainings. the great presses for coining the moneys and all other necessary Tools and Engins for the new way of Coining according to an Inventory delivered unto the Councill with the proposition. And if his Maj^{tie} shall hereafter have occasion upon the weekly coining of greater quantities of Silver moneys to employ more Tools Engins etc The said Peter Blondeau is to provide such likewise at the same rate and proposition.

The said Peter Blondeau is to maintain in good and sufficient repair all the said tools and Engins such only Excepted as are part of the undertaking of the Moneyers or that belong unto the Melter or Graver. He is to provide men and materials as Brass Copper Iron Steel and Lead wood and Coal and all other necessaryes for keeping them in repair and making new ones in the place of such old ones as shall faile and at the Expiration of the Terme limited unto him upon his agreement he is to leave all such Tools and Engins as his Maj^{tie} shall have paid for in good and sufficient repair fitt for use.

The said Peter Blondeau is to direct and instruct the Moneyers in coining the Gold and Silver moneys by way of the Mill and Press and in the using of all such of his new invented Tools and Engins as shall be employed in their Taske and undertaking.

He is to make all Gold and Silver peeces round before they are sized and to make the Edges of all the Gold and Silver Coins with letters or Grainings according to their respective sizes before they are stamped on their flatt sides. He is likewise to prepare and grave the Rings or viroles of Steel for marking the Edges of the Several coines with letters and grainings and to make good all his wast of Gold and silver in rounding the Edges.

The said Blondeau is to discover his Secrets in rounding the peeces before they are sized and in marking the Edges of the Moneys with letters and grainings unto his Maj^{tie} if he should please to doe him the honour of being a wittness unto his Art and Inventions, unto the M.^c Warden, Master and worker and Comptroller of the Mint and to such other persons only of trust and confidence as the said Peter Blondeau shall from time to time find necessary to employ in assisting him to round the peeces and to marke the Edges of the moneys according to the quantities weekly coined./

And lastly for the defraying of all his Expenses in the said several Tasks and undertakings and in satisfaction for his labour and industry he is to be allowed Three pence for every pound weight of Silver and one Shilling for every pound weight of Gold coined in the New way. small silver moneys under the value of six pence only excepted which are not any part of the agreement with him or the moneyers, and the said allowance for such his undertaking is to be continued unto the said Peter Blondeau for the space of one and Twenty years and no longer unless his Maj^{tie} shall be pleased at the Expiration of the said Terme to continue the same/ [page]

Concerning the Gravers Wee doe humbly certifie.

That wee have proposed unto Thomas Simon and John Roettiers Gravers severally to accopt of one penny in the pound weight for Silver and ffour pence the pound weight for Gold for the ffurnishing the Mint with Stamps for coining in the new way. But by reason of a contest in the Art between them, wee doo at present find it a very difficult thing to bring them into any agreement.

Concerning melting remelting and casting the Gold and Silver Wee doe humbly certifie that in respect the Master worker is according to his Indenture at ffine and Ransome in case the money shall not prove of due ffiness, and in regard the manner of melting and casting in this way so also the quantity of Seizell allowed to be remelted and cast by the Master worker will occasion a greater expense and wast than ordinary and wee have not thought fitt before a tryall had both of the way and persons to be trusted and employed therin to make any certain agreement concerning the same, yet does not doubt but to settle it in such manner as to bring the charge therof within the remainder of the Eighteen pence for the Silver and the Seaven Shillings for the gold allowed by his Maj^{tie} and the Councill for the whole Expense upon the proposition and undertaking

Ra. Ffreeman
H. Slingsby

Portions of this document have been published in Ruding and Challis, and alluded to elsewhere.

No. 7. Additional MS 16,400. 305 × 185 mm.

*Charles R

Our will and pleasure is that you forthwith make and prepare a Seale in Silver for Our Royall Consort the Queen according to these draughts. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 29th day of April 1662

To Thomas Simon one of Our Cheife Gravers

On this original warrant there are 114 mm sketches of both sides of the seal for Queen Catherine. More interesting is a 39 mm sketch between them of a coin obverse with a right-facing bust of Charles and the legend CAROLUS space II DEI GRA; in other words a sketch of one side of the Petition/Reddite crown. Why it is here is unknown. A loose pair of cut-out crown drawings with a different bust, and a reverse dated 1662.

without the garter, and with heraldry like the first Roettiers crown, is found in D.F. Allen, 'Warrants and sketches of Thomas Simon', *BNJ* 23 (1940-1), p. 444 and Pl. III/3, sold at Christie's 14 July 1987, lot 23. Those sketches are really an image of the Roettiers crown, and it is probable, though not absolutely certain, that they were drawn by Simon as Allen assumed.

Acknowledgements go especially to H.E. Manville, who early on examined and provided many details, including edge readings, of the coins and medals in the British and Ashmolean Museums, for his photographs, and for a review; G.P. Dyer of the Royal Mint for photographs of the three tools and a coin; P.P. Gaspar for a review and many helpful suggestions; M. Sharp of A.H. Baldwin & Sons for several medals for study; N.J. Mayhew of the Ashmolean Museum for photographs and details; J. Larkin, L. Syson, the Photographic Services, and the Trustees of the British Museum for photographs and details; M. Blackburn of the Fitzwilliam Museum for a photograph; J.D. Bateson of the Hunterian Museum; and the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library for document photocopies

Addendum

An interesting discussion of the portrait is by Katharine Gibson, 'Samuel Cooper's profiles of King Charles II and Thomas Simon's coins and medals', in *Master Drawings*, vol. xxx, no. 5 (New York, Autumn 1992), 314-19.



1



2



Reversed 2×

LESSEN: COINS AND MEDALS OF CHARLES II (1)

PLATE 10



3



4



5



6



7



2X



8

LESSEN: COINS AND MEDALS OF CHARLES II (2)



9



10



10A



11



12



10B



13



PLATE 12



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



LESSEN: COINS AND MEDALS OF CHARLES II (4)

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THOMPSON'S *INVENTORY* AND BROWN AND DOLLEY'S *COIN HOARDS* – PART 2

H.E. MANVILLE

IN the first part of this series on hoard and find notices which might have been utilized by Thompson and Brown & Dolley, entries from *The Gentleman's Magazine* (GM) and *The Scots Magazine* (SM) were listed and tentative numbers assigned.¹ Two further hoard/find reports may be added to the Part I list:

***259b.** LONDON, Smithfield, St. Bartholomew's Hospital (TQ 3282), 2 August 1736.

August. Monday 2. The first Stone was laid of a new Building at St Bartholomew's Hospital ... The Workmen found at a Depth of 20 Feet, 60 or 70 Pieces of old silver Coin, the Bigness of Three-pences.
– GM 1736, 485.

Note: D.M. Metcalf, in NC 6, 18 (1958), 83, cites a brief account in the Society of Antiquaries *Minute-book* ii, 133, 8 Jan 1735/6, identifying one coin from a St. Bartholomew's Hospital hoard as a Henry V [*recte* Henry VI?] Calais mint groat, and comments that such a coin is in conflict with the supposed 'size of threepences'. The hoard was stated to have been found 'in an oaken box under a corner foundation stone', which appears to disagree with the GM account. Could there have been two hoards, the deeper one possibly of Roman coins, denarii being quite similar in diameter to eighteenth-century threepences?

***Add.Fr1.** ST POL, DE LÉON, Brittany, NW France, early 1843?

In the cathedral of St. Pol de Léon in Britany (*sic*), a curious deposit of mediaeval coins has been lately found. Some workman occupied in repairing the vaulting of the church discovered, on the top of one of the capitals of the shafts whence the vaulting ribs spring, a vase in earthenware, containing thirty coins of the 14th century. This vase seems to have formed the last member of the shafts where they run to a centre on the top of the capital; and its contents were no doubt designed to commemorate the epoch of the roof being built. This is known to have been built by Bishop Guillaume de Rochefort, who was consecrated bishop of Léon in A.D. 1349. The greater portion of the coins are of the Dukes of Britany ... There is a coin of Edward III of England, one of David of Scotland ...

GM N.S. 19 (May 1843 i), 522.

The present listing reprints hoard and find notices, not cited in *Inventory* and *Coin Hoards*, from three provincial societies, three numismatic magazines, and four commercial lists:

C&A – *Coins & Antiquities Ltd.*, 1970-Xmas [1978], Successors to DJC.

DJC – D.J. Crowther Ltd., 1966–69. Then see C&A.

LNS – *Journal of the Liverpool Numismatic Society*, Liverpool/London, 1873/4, 1876.

MNS – *Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society*, Manchester, 1864–73.

NG – *The Numismatic Gazette* (Corbitt & Hunter), Newcastle upon Tyne, 1962–67. Then see NGQ.

NGQ – *The Numismatic Gazette Quarterly*, 1968. Continued from NG.

NM – *The Numismatic Magazine*, Bury St Edmund's, 1886–1903.

NQ – *The Numismatic Quarterly*, Bury St Edmund's, 1881.

NUM – *Numismatology*, Colchester, 1892–94.

YNS – *Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Fellowship*, 1st series (from 1913, ... *Society*), Hull (Manchester, 1925), 1910–34; 2nd series, Doncaster (1953–60)/Halifax (1964–68)/Huddersfield (1970), 1951–73.

Additions and corrections to some of the initial hoard reports quoted in Part I and here have been published elsewhere and presumably all additional material will be incorporated into any

¹ Part 1, *BNJ* 63 (1993), 91–113, pl. 10–11, J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500*, RNS Special Publications No. 1 (Oxford, 1956), I.D. Brown and Michael

Dolley, *A Bibliography of Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967*, Royal Numismatic Society & Spink & Son Limited, Special Publication No. 6 (London, 1971).

complete revision. Although not included in Part 1, references to recent publications of hoards, where they exist, have been noted here. Temporary new numbers have been assigned to establish some order to the additional references, but undoubtedly these will be changed in any future revision. However, it is hoped that by citing hoard/find material not noticed in *Inventory* and *Coin Hoards*, or which has been published since, material useful for a revision has been put on record in some semblance of order.

Occasionally a series of finds can be grouped into a probable single hoard. D.M. Metcalf's 'Some finds of medieval coins from Scotland and the north of England', in *BNJ* 30 (1960/1), 88–123, gathered find reports from Meols beach, on the Wirral peninsula near Liverpool. Utilizing other sources, in several cases Metcalf was able to group reported single finds into apparent beach erosion hoards. Meols beach coin-finds noted in *LNS* which were included in these groupings, such as three William I pennies found in 1869, have been combined into these reassembled hoards. One 1861 Cnut find not previously noted is suggested as a possible addition to another hoard group.

Brown & Dolley included sections on hoards deposited outside the British Isles, as far afield as North America and Australasia; Thompson did not. In addition to continuing the *F series for important single finds, especially of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins, and the *U series for hoards of unknown composition, two new categories have been added: *Add. for pre-1500 continental hoards containing British-related material, and *BN for hoards consisting solely of banknotes.²

Citations are as printed, with the exception of omitting the full stop after a monarch's regnal initials and reduction of the use of italics in some early reports. A few lengthy accounts have been divided into shorter paragraphs.

I would like to thank B.T. Curtis, A.J. Holmes, and Dr Keith Sugden for supplying reference material not easily available in the United States. Thanks also are due to I.W. Douthwaite, Hon. Secretary of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society, for permission to cite hoard reports from the second, post-war, series of the Society's *Transactions*. H.E. Pagan kindly reviewed the material before publication and I am grateful for his advice on hoard material in general.

Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500

***45a.** BOLTON PERCY No. 1 (formerly No. 364: ULLESKELF), N Yorks (SE 5341), spring 1847. *Add reference and change date and location.*

Photograph of a lump of coins from the hoard.

– G(eorge) Benson, *YNS* 1, 4 (1914), pl. 5, 45 (facing 100).

Coins in the York Museum: (45) is part of a hoard of stycas found at Bolton Percy.

– G(eorge) Benson, *YNS* 1, 4 (1914), 108.

Note: Although the discovery date previously was given as 1846, E.J.E. Pirie has placed it to the spring of 1847. See *BNJ* 51 (1981), 33, 48.

***45b.** BOLTON PERCY No. 2, N Yorks (SE 5341), late autumn 1967.

BOLTON PERCY, Yorkshire – 1,500 Northumbrian stycas, covering the period Eanred, Aethelred II, Redwulf, Osberht, Wigmund and Wulfhere. Buried c. 876 [*recte* 867] at which date the Vikings captured York. Latest coins of Wulfhere, Archbishop of York.

– *NGQ* 1, 1 (March 1968), 23.

On 16 December 1967, some Northumbrian stycas Quære: (Eanred, Aethelred II, Redwulf and Osberht, Archbishops Wigmund and Wulfhere) were brought to the Yorkshire Museum by two boys and the find spot reported. These were surface finds from plough scatter and over the next few days the area was excavated under Mr Willmot's direction. As a result, a pot and the remains of a wooden container, together with over 1500 copper coins, are now being examined and classified by the Museum.

² With the introduction of the *BN category, *EZ18 in Part I should be re-numbered *BN1.

The find spot is near to that of the similar hoard discovered at Bolton Percy in 1846 and was probably deposited at the same time.

– Allister Lonsdale, *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 3 (1968), 58.

Note: The 1967 Bolton Percy hoard was examined in depth by H.E. Pagan in *BNJ* 43 (1973), 1–44.

47. BERSCAR, Closeburn (No. 3, 'Borscar'), Dumfries/now D & G (NX 8992), 24 December 1900. *Add reference.*

A few days ago a farm servant, while ploughing at Berscar, Closeburn, turned up parts of an earthenware pot, and on examination, the vessel was found to contain a number of silver coins of ancient date. They are worn thin, but parts of the inscriptions can easily be deciphered. The majority have on one side two cross bars at right angles, and three small balls on each of the four quarters thus formed, with the inscription, 'LOND.-CIVITAS.' On the reverse side there are three bars forming a triangle, enclosing a crowned head, with full front face. Others have a similar head enclosed in a circle, with the letters 'DUBLI-CIVITAS' on the other side. Other(s), again, have 'REX SCOTORUM' on one side and 'ROBERTUS' or 'ALEX' on the other. This would seem to indicate the date as being from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The inscriptions vary considerably on different coins. They had evidently been placed in a bag, as decayed fragments of cloth were found in the vessel, which, unfortunately, was much broken up . . .

– *NM* 15, 181 (Jan. 1901), 7 (from *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*).

Note: A full account of this hoard is given by I. Stewart in *BNJ* 47 (1977), 92–101.

***57b. BRIDLINGTON?**, E Yorks/now Humberside (TA 1766), before 1961.

There is an otherwise unrecorded hoard of silver coins from Elizabeth I to Charles II (1663) which appeared in Bridlington in 1961 although the find was made before that date. The remaining pieces were 72 in number and all Tower Mint issues in corroded conditions as from a wreck. No more of consequence is known . . .

– F. Banks, *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 4 (1970), 25–6.

***88a. CHESTER** No. 7, Lion Brewery (SJ 4066), winter 1899?

A workman employed at the alterations in progress at the Lion Brewery Company, Chester, discovered while filling his timbrel what he described as 'a row of thin buttons' irregularly cemented together. The man afterwards discovered that they were silver coins. They were twenty-four in number, of which eighteen are of Edward I, of the London Mint, two of Canterbury, two of Berwick, and one of Lincoln. There is also one of Edwards II (*sic*), of the vill. of St. Edmundsbury Mint.

– *NM* 14, 161 (May 1899), 33.

***93a. CLOSEBURN** (No. 4), Croal Chapel, Dumfries/now D & G (NX 8982), early 1870s?

Some twenty-five to thirty years [before 1900] a somewhat similar [to Berscar – see No. 47 above] deposit was found at Croal Chapel in the same parish.

– *NM* 16, 181 (Jan. 1901), 7 (from *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*).

Note: The Croal Chapel find does not appear to be the same as *Inventory* 92/93 of 1844/6 and therefore may be yet another Closeburn hoard.

***139a. DUNAMASE**, Queen's Co./now Laoighis, 1758.

Sixty-four silver coins struck by Vikings in Dublin in the eleventh century and which belong to an Irish hoard at Dunamase (*sic*), have been rediscovered by Mr. R.H.M. Dolley, of Kingston, Surrey, a specialist in medieval coinage in the British Museum's coins and medals department.

Mr. Dolley found the coins among a collection of 146 Hiberno-Norse coins, part of a collection of the eighteenth-century surgeon, William Hunter. The coins had lain unexplored in the strong-room of the Hunterian Museum of the University, Glasgow for 200 years . . . Mr. Dolley said that they were imitations of the coins of William the Conqueror.

– *NG* 1, 4 (July/Aug. 1962), 5 (from *Manchester Guardian*, 9 June 1962).

Note: The Dunamase hoard was discussed by D.M. Metcalf in *NC* 6, 18 (1958), 81: drawings in the Society of Antiquaries *Minute-book* ix, 157, 8 Dec 1763, include 'a copy of William the Conqueror's "Canopy" type'. Apparently eight coins of the hoard were in Matthew Duane's collection by 1758. Dolley's attribution of the Hunter coins to his hoard apparently was intuitive – based on his familiarity with sources of Irish coins issued c. 1085.

***169a. GARTON ON THE WOLDS**, near Great Driffield, E Yorks/now Humberside (SE 9859), 17 May 1959.

Eight coins were discovered in what may have been the remains of a purse under a skeleton in a grave on the site of an excavation at Garton on the Wolds near Driffield, on the 17th May, 1959, by Mr. T.G. Manby, of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, who was assisting in the excavations . . . The coins were removed to the Huddersfield Museum for separation and treatment . . . The Driffield Coroner subsequently decided against

holding an inquest and the coins were returned to the Messrs. Grantham and placed in their private museum at Driffild.

The coins discovered in the burial are all silver sceattas . . . The absence of Northumbrian sceattas from the find suggests that the coins were deposited before the issue of the first known Northumbrian sceattas by Eadbert, probably about 745 A.D. The inclusion of the coin attributed to King Ethelbald (716–757 A.D.) makes the date of deposition most likely between 740 A.D. and 750 A.D.

It will be noted that one of the coins (No. 6) has traces of gold in the alloy. This is not particularly unusual as the early sceattas are believed to have been debased thrymsas.

Further particulars of the discovery will be found in the 1960 Edition of the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, and an article by Mr. S.E. Rigold to be published in the Numismatic Chronicle or the British Numismatic Journal will refer to the discovery and suggest some re-attribution of the traditional identification of the sceatta series. The coins have been identified as: – [description of eight coins].

– YNS 2nd ser., 1, 5 (1960), 28–30, pl. 14.

Note: See S.E. Rigold, *BNJ* 30 (1960/1), 49.

***193b.** HORNSEA, on beach near, E Yorks/now Humberside (TA 2047), 1964.

Two rose nobles of Edward IV (1460–70), found on beach near Hornsea, in 1964, and in a private collection.

– Allister Lonsdale, *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 2 (1966) 63.

***195a.** HULL (KINGSTON UPON), E Yorks/now Humberside (TA 0928), 1868.

(A) hoard . . . of 1868 from Hull itself which, at the time, was dismissed with some uncertainty as a hoax. It was, in fact, a unique deposit of 'black money' of the late 13th–early 14th century, in some bulk and was most certainly contemporary. [Thomas] Sheppard had accepted it as genuine but did not, apparently, feel competent to assess the attribution to John the Blind of Luxembourg . . .

– F. Banks, *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 4 (1970), 25.

***195b.** ILKLEY MOOR, W Yorks (SE 1145), early 1961.

Early in 1961, six worn silver pence of Edward I were found scattered over the turf and topsoil of Ilkley Moor within a limited area only a short distance outside Ilkley itself. They were not declared Treasure Trove and were given by the finder to Ilkley Museum.

– *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 1 (1964), 41.

218. KINGHORNIE, Kincardine/now Grampian (NO 8372), October 1893. *Add reference.*

Last month, while a ploughman was working in a field near Bervie, in Scotland, he uncovered an earthenware pot or urn, containing about five hundred silver coins, in splendid preservation. The bulk of them consisted of Edward II, and probably some of Edward III, the remainder being those of Alexander III, of Scotland. The various kinds of Edward were struck in London, but other mints were well represented, viz., Dublin, Bristol, and Waterford.

– *NM* 8, 95 (Nov. 1893), 99 (from *Newcastle Daily Leader*).

***238a.** LLANTRITHYD/LLANTRIDDYD, S Glamorgan (ST 0472), 1962.

The British Museum has . . . acquired seven Henry I pennies which were recently found at Llanrithyd (*sic*), near Cardiff. Only fourteen others are known to exist. This discovery has established the fact that there was a mint at Cardiff.

– *NG* 1, 4 (July/Aug. 1962), 5 (from *Manchester Guardian*, 3 July 1962).

Note: The coins are of the double inscription type (*BMC* XI); see R.H.M. Dolley, *BNJ* 31 (1962), 74–9. An eighth specimen was found subsequently and the coins were acquired by the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, not the British Museum.

254. LONDON No. 15, Tower Hill (TQ 3079), March 1869. *Add reference.*

In the operations, during last year, for sinking the shaft of the Tower Subway on Tower Hill, 200 to 300 coins, dating from the reign of Henry III, were discovered about fourteen feet from the surface.

– *MNS* 1, 9/10 (1870), 210.

***266a.** MEOLS BEACH No. 1, Cheshire/now Merseyside (SJ 2320), 1865/1867.

1865 – Silver Sceatta, analogous to two types figured by Ruding, Plate 1, figs. 8, 9, yet differing in detail, as it bears on the obverse (?) a number of pellets distributed among the letters and rude ornament, which are totally absent from the otherwise similar type of fig. 8. Through clipping, the piece has lost so much weight, that in place of an approximation to the average weight of such coins (some sixteen or seventeen grains), it only gives seven. It is, nevertheless, of interest, not merely as a rarity but as the earliest piece recorded (or known) to have been discovered in all the district formerly known as Mercia, and there are strong grounds for believing in its issue by one of the Mercian kings, although absolutely identified pieces are as yet unknown. Meols beach.

– LNS I (1873/4), 14–5.

1867 – Silver Sceatta belonging to the class formerly ascribed to Ethelbert I king of Kent, or one of his immediate successors . . . This position is, however, disputed by Mr. Lindsay [*View of the Coins of the Heptarchy*, 1842, 25] . . . refer(ing) the piece in question to Ethelred king of Mercia, A.D. 675 . . .

This second example of the sceatta class found upon the Meols beach is a much finer coin than the first, which only weighs seven grains – this amounting to seventeen. The value of these pieces is considerably heightened by their still remaining the only recorded examples discovered, not merely in Cheshire, but the whole kingdom of Saxon Mercia . . .

The devices upon this class of coins bear a distinctive character, variously modified in details. One example, first published so lately as 1860, by Mr. Lindsay, and engraved in his supplemental *Notice of Remarkable Greek, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon Coins*, plate II, fig. 2 . . . appears all but identical with our new find from the Cheshire shore . . .

– LNS I (1873/4), 19.

Note: It appears that these two coins are remnants of the same beach-erosion hoard. See D.M. Metcalf No. 34: Meols, Chester No. 4, in *BNJ* 30 (1960/1), 97.

***266b.** MEOLS BEACH No. 2, Cheshire/now Merseyside (SJ 2320), 1861/1867

1861 – Silver Penny of Knut (A.D. 1016–35.) Obv. – ‘KNUT RECX’; full bust of Knut, the head filleted to the left. Rev. – ‘SWILEMAN (or Swigeman) ON WIN’; (Winchester); in the field a double or voided cross, the limbs meeting in an annulet, with central pellet, all within a plain circle . . . Meols beach. In the finest state of preservation for this small size.

– LNS I (1873/4), 10–1.

1867 – Silver Penny of Knut, or Canute (A.D. 1016–1035), was found upon the Meols beach. This piece, unfortunately in only a fragmentary condition, bears obverse CNUT.REX.ANGLO, head of Knut to the right in a quatrefoil, with a floriated Crown. Reverse – EGILE . . . NL . . . (probably Egilric on Lond. for London): voided cross in quatrefoil with pellet in centre, each limb opening out into a trefoil and terminating in the beaded border more elegantly than in Mr. Hawkins’ representative type – Pl. XVI, fig. 212 of his *Silver Coins of England*.

– LNS I (1873/4), 43.

Note: D.M. Metcalf cited traces of a hoard of five Cnut coins found in 1859 and the years immediately preceding, deposited 1030 or later, with the comment that no further coin of Cnut was found until 1867 – the sources used evidently omitting the 1861 find. It is possible that either or both of these two coins might be from the same hoard. See D.M. Metcalf No. 31: Meols, Cheshire No. 1, in *BNJ* 30 (1960/1), 96, 114; *Inventory* 128: Dove Point, this account not noticed.

***266c.** MEOLS BEACH No. 3, Cheshire/now Merseyside (SJ 2320), 1869.

1869 – A Penny (half) of William I, with two sceptres. Meols beach.

1 Do. do. do. do.

1 Do. (a fragment) do. bonnet type do.

– LNS I (1873/4), 51.

Note: D.M. Metcalf suggested that these three William I coins found in 1869, a PAXS penny found before 1863, a cut-halfpenny of the two sceptre type in 1873, and perhaps a cut-halfpenny of the two stars type in 1874, were the remains of a small hoard deposited c. 1078. See D.M. Metcalf No. 35: Meols, Cheshire No. 5, in *BNJ* 30 (1960/1), 97, 113–4.

***298a.** OTTERSPOOL, Lincs/now Merseyside (SJ 3886), late 1863.

1863 – Towards the end of the year some navvies, employed in the construction of the new line of railway from Liverpool to Manchester via Garston, found near the inner reach of the Otterspool creek another small batch of coins, but fearful of the pieces being claimed by other parties, they kept the matter so close that little beyond the bare fact of recovery has transpired, and this little too late for tracing any. They are asserted to be of very small size, but with, comparatively, large letters for so limited a disc, which would lead to the conclusion of their proving stycas of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria.

– LNS I (1873/4), 13.

Note: With so little known of the hoard, there is a possibility that the coins were not ‘stycas’ but Roman.

308. PENICUIK, Midlothian/now Lothian (NT 2359), 29 January 1898. *Add reference.*

The finding of early English coins in a wood on the farm of Fallhills, Penicuik, is regarded with great interest, and active measures are being taken by the Crown authorities for the conservation of the collection. The coins were first brought to light, the *Scotsman* says, by the action of a mole, the person who found them having observed something glittering at the side of a mole-hill. Stooping down, he found it to be a coin, and with little trouble he unearthed a number, approximately estimated at ninety. Later on a gentleman, with two assistants, drove to the wood, and with implements proceeded to dig about the spot where the first coins were found. At a depth of nine

inches a collection, lying in systematic order, were found. The coins, which numbered 270, were in rouleaux – the regularity of the rolls indicating that the coins had been placed in the earth with a degree of deliberation which would hardly be compatible with hurried hiding after a battle.

An examination of about two hundred of the coins by experts reveals points of considerable interest. The greater number consist of silver pennies and half-pennies of the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), these pennies being the largest silver coins minted until 1352, when Edward III issued groats . . . The greater number bear the London impress: Canterbury makes a good second; while of English boroughs, Bristol, Newcastle, and Durham also occur. A proportion bear the stamp of the Dublin Mint – head in a triangle, with the inscription, 'CIVITAS DUBLINIE'. It was long believed that the Capital was the only place at which Edward I set up a Mint in Ireland, but further research showed that Waterford and Cork also possessed them, and, curiously, one in the Penicuik collection had been minted at the former place.

The coins already specified all bear the distinguishing writ, 'EDW.R.ENG DNS.H.Y.B.', and are to be differentiated from the next largest number – the mintage of Edward II (1307–27) – by the name being spelt variously Edwa, Edwar, or Edward. These two classes comprise nearly the sum total of the two hundred already examined, but three or four of the remaining ones are of much interest. Two are of Alexander III (1249–1292), bearing the legend, 'ALEXANDER DEI GRA REX. SCOTORUM'; whilst a third is of the reign of Robert the Bruce (1300–29) . . .

The farm on which the coins were found is within three miles of Roslin Castle, around which many a skirmish took place between the retainers and sections of the English army at various times . . .

– *NM* 13, 147 (March 1898), 19–20.

325. SCOTTON, near Knaresborough, N Yorks (SE 3259), 10 June 1924. *Add reference.*

Early in June an interesting discovery was made while clearing ground during building operations at Scotton, near Knaresborough. According to the *Yorkshire Herald*:

'Arising out of the finding of over 300 coins of the thirteenth century at the residence of Mr. Mark Marlow Bartholomew, George House, Scotton, near Knaresborough, an "inquest" of an unusual character was held . . . at Knaresborough Court House, yesterday . . .

The discovery at George House was made on June 10th . . . An earthenware vessel was found under the kitchen flags, containing about 312 silver coins, 300 of which belong to the period of the first three Edwards and a few are the silver pennies of the date of Alexander of Scotland. They are in a good state of preservation . . .

The coins were duly forwarded to the Treasury in addition to the broken pieces of pot, and subsequently the collection was purchased for the Hull Municipal Museum. The authorities at the British Museum have been good enough to classify and label the coins, and the following list contains particulars of the 319 coins in the collection . . .

– T(homas) Sheppard, *YNS* 2, 5 (1925), 183–7.

Note: *Inventory* No. 325 gives 310 coins, although the referenced account by G.C. Brooke, in *NC* 5, 4 (1924), 325–6, has 'about 320' and lists the same 319 coins printed here. A note to No. 325 has: 'Exhibited at a meeting of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society by Mr. T. Sheppard, 25 Oct. 1924'; that citation (224) is for 'papers read' and is starred, indicating that it had been printed.

***328a. SHAFTESBURY**, Dorset (ST 8622), 1957.

A hoard of Anglo-Saxon silver coins, 28 of them minted at York was unearthed during excavations at Shaftesbury, in Dorset in 1957. Among the York moneyers represented were Eadric, Frostulf, Hundulf, Leofstan, Oda, Stircar, Sumerlede, Sunulf, Sweat [*recte* Swart], Thurstan [Thorstan], and Wencos [Wenos]. The coins were minted between 997 and 1003. For further details see *Yorkshire Post*, 14th February 1957.

– Editor (Graham Teasdale), *YNS* 2nd ser., 1, 3/4 (1957), 11.

***331a. SKIPTON Castle**, N Yorks (SD 9851), 1958.

AR pennies were found during renovations in the cellars of Skipton Castle in 1958, and were declared Treasure Trove. [4 Edward I, 1 Alexander III coins listed] A fuller report by R.H.M. Dolley appears in *NC* 1959, 199–200.

– *YNS* 2nd ser., 1, 5 (1960), 31.

372. WATFORD No. 1 (Oxhey), Herts (TQ 1295), 1818. *Additional parcel.*

At a country auction sale at the end of last year there appeared a small lot of coins under the description 'Medieval Silver Pennies of the 12th Century'. As purchased, the lot comprised fourteen pennies and a cut farthing. A brief historical annotation, written in the last century by its owner, accompanied the lot, and indicated that there had been six pennies of Henry I (1100–1135), six of Stephen (1135–1154), a halfpenny of Stephen and a cut farthing of Henry. The collector's summary gave the following further information:

'These coins were found at Oxhey near Watford 1818: part of the jar which contained the coins: a coin with earth on it as it was found with these others in 1818: H.M.S.S. from J.R.:W.S., 1849' . . .

– *DJC* 1967 no. 2, (2).

Note: Six Henry I pennies, one Henry cut farthing, and five Stephen, 'extremely weakly struck', coins described and on offer.

385. YORK No. 2, Bootham (SE 6051) 29 September 1953. *Add reference.*

On September 29th, 1953, a labourer digging a drain at Bootham School, York, came upon a hoard of 908 thirteenth and fourteenth-century silver coins wrapped in cloth in a badly eroded bronze vessel. The coins were found at a depth of more than eight feet beneath the level of the courtyard, at the rear of the School. At an Inquest held in the School Hall on October 30th, the coins were declared treasure trove, and sent to the British Museum for further examination. Although many were worn and encrusted with verdigris, it was possible to identify all of them with a fair degree of confidence, and a detailed study of the hoard has been prepared by Messrs. R.H.M. Dolley, I. Stewart, and E.J. Winstanley for publication in a forthcoming number of the *British Numismatic Journal*. With the exception of eight coins retained by the British Museum, the whole hoard has been acquired by the Yorkshire Museum, the full market value of the coins being paid to the finder, as a reward for particularly prompt and frank reporting of his discovery.

The following is a summary of the find. The date of deposit would seem to be c. 1326/7 . . .

— R.H.M. Dolley, *YNS* 2nd ser., 1, 2 (1953), 118–22.

Note: 904 coins listed, the same as given in *Inventory* No. 385, 'from Mr. R.H.M. Dolley, 1953'. The 'forthcoming number' is *BNJ* 27 (1952/4), 281–93.

*Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967***EL12. ST. ALBANS (Park Street), Herts (TL 1404), 9 February 1886. *Add references.***

A singular discovery of gold coins has been made at Park Street, a little village on the southern borders of Bedfordshire, and has been reported to the Treasury. A man . . . was engaged in splitting some old oak beams, when, in the centre of one of them, he came upon a cavity, out of which rolled a number of bright Coins. The hole had been neatly formed, and was circular in shape, having apparently been drilled into the wood, and it was fitted with a plug to conceal it. On further search being made, another hiding-place of the same kind was found, also containing treasure.

The Coins, which number over a hundred, consist of nobles, angels, and half-angels, and vary in date from the reign of Henry VI to that of Henry VIII. They are in excellent preservation. Some of them bear the figure of St. Michael, others a ship with a cross for a mast, and all have Latin inscriptions upon them. The largest Coins are about the size of half-a-crown, and the smallest resemble a sovereign . . .

— *NM* 1, 4 (April 1886), 28.

Some time ago it was reported in the *Daily News* that a workman . . . of Park-street, near Luton, while cutting up some old beams found a large number of old English gold Coins of various dates, in a cavity which had been carefully prepared for their reception. There being a question whether the find could be regarded in the light of 'treasure trove', the Treasury Office was communicated with, and the authorities decided that the Coins should be forwarded to them. This has been done, and the Treasury has retained a considerable number for the National Collections, the finders receiving payment for them at about the rate of their value as old gold. The question of the Coins constituting a 'treasure trove' has thus been decided in the negative. Dr. John Evans, the Numismatist, has also acquired a portion of the Collection by purchase.

— *NM* 1, 11 (Nov. 1886), 81–2.

Note: The title of John Evans' original report in *NC* 3, 6 (1886), 173–203, is, 'A Hoard of English Gold Coins found at Park Street, near St. Albans'. Park Street is located two miles south of St. Albans and the hoard probably should be re-named in any future compilation.

***EN37? LONDON, Clapton (TQ 3079), early 1892?**

Recently two men were excavating for gravel in their garden at Clapton, London, E. When about seven feet below the surface they came upon a large iron box containing 2,000 sovereigns of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The gold had evidently been buried many years.

— *NUM* 1, 3 (March 1892), 23.

Note: A hoard of so many Elizabethan gold coins would have stirred considerable interest, not least at the Treasury and British Museum. Unless corroborated by other accounts it appears this report is erroneous.

EO11. SHEFFIELD, W. Yorks (SK 3587) October 1913. *Add reference.*

(C)oins found in excavations for the extension of the premises of Sir W.C. Leng & Co., Proprietors of *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, High Street, in October 1913.

2 groats		Henry VIII.
3 shillings		Edward VI.
1 sixpence		Edward VI.
1 groat		Mary.
5 shillings		Philip and Mary.

29 shillings		Elizabeth.
30 sixpences		Elizabeth.
2 threepences		Elizabeth.
1 half groats		Elizabeth.
2 sovereigns		James I.
1 Gold Britain crown		James I.
12 shillings		James I.
2 Irish shillings		James I.
4 sixpences		James I.
1 Irish sixpence		James I.

There were also 1 ancient silver medal, foreign silver coin (probably Papal), 6 silver coins (foreign, but not decipherable), a silver horseshoe and chain (in six pieces). The following is a description of the separate coins: – [taking up three pages].

– E. Howard, *YNS* 1, 4 (1914), 87–90.

EP9. TEMPLE NEWSAM. Leeds, W Yorks (EN 4342), 7 July 1959. *Add references.*

A hoard of 216 silver coins of the period 1554–1631, representing the reigns from Philip and Mary to Charles I, was found in 1959. It was declared Treasure Trove, and purchased for Leeds City Museum. A full catalogue is in the Museum.

– *YNS* 2nd ser., 1, 5 (1960), 30.

The second Temple Newsam hoard, discovered in the same vicinity on 7 July, 1959 ... was made by Christopher Anderson and Henry Cook while preparing ground for opencast mining on the Leventhorpe division of the Oxbar site adjoining Pontefract Lane. The two men, while engaged in taking off topsoil to a depth of about eighteen inches with a scraping machine, noticed coins scattered over the ground amongst fragments of a pottery container. First reports stated that 245 coins had been recovered, but at the Inquest on 29 July, there were only 216 ...

The hoard consisted entirely of shillings and sixpences struck between 1554 and 1641–43, although traces of copper oxide on several coins suggested that there had been at least one copper coin in the jar. Since the receptacle (*sic*) appeared to have been deliberately concealed rather than lost the hoard was declared treasure trove and purchased for Leeds City Museum.

Owing to the total obliteration of field boundaries and other landscape features by opencast mining no exact findspots can now be determined, but ... it has been possible to establish reasonably accurate grid references: S.E. 3654 3025 (1905) and E.N. 4365 4297 (1959) ... [Catalogue of coins appended.]

– Christopher Gilbert, *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 2 (1966), 39–41, from the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, record card; Leeds Coroner's Court inquest proceedings, 29 July 1959.

EP10. OULTON, Leeds, W Yorks (SE 3627), '1906' (*recte* 21 October 1905). *Add references and correct location and date.*

The first find was made on 21 October, 1905, by George Barton and James Buckley while digging a grave for a favourite horse on Lawn's Stud Farm, at Newsam Green. They chose a secluded spot in a natural hollow at the end of Tan Pit Field, about the centre of a triangle formed by three ancient oaks. The two men, digging side by side, had reached a depth of about eighteen inches when they noticed a curiously shaped earthenware jar. The men, not being of an antiquarian turn of mind, tossed it to one side and continued with their work. The burial completed, they examined the jar, the mouth of which had been sealed by a corroded metal cover. The vessel was found to contain a quantity of tarnished, dirt-encrusted discs to which they attached little importance, believing them to be old 'Co-op' checks. However, superficial cleaning showed they were, in fact, silver coins ...

At the inquest, held at Oulton on 17 November ... Mr Dodgson of Leeds Museum reported that there were 258 silver coins comprising sixpences, shillings and half-crown pieces of the reigns of Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James I and Charles I. The jury decided the hoard was treasure trove and the ... coins are said to have eventually been divided between the Crown, the Hon. Lindley Wood [Lord of the Manor] and the finders, but it has not been possible to verify this information ...

The destination of only 51 of the original 258 coins has been established. In 1906 the Hon. Lindley Wood gave 14 to Leeds Museum (of which 11 are now distinguishable) and 13 to the Yorkshire Museum at York (none of which are now distinguishable). When he sold Temple Newsam House to Leeds Corporation in 1922 the earthenware jar, together with 27 coins remained in the house ... [Catalogue of coins appended.]

– Christopher Gilbert, *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 2 (1966), 38–40; see *Skyrack Courier*, 28 Oct., 25 Nov. 1905; *Yorkshire Post*, 18 Nov. 1905.

Note: It is clear that the entry-line for this hoard should be amended to:

EP10. NEWSAM GREEN, Lawn's Stud Farm, Tan Pit Field, W Yorks (SE 3630), 21 October 1905.

See also EP9 Temple Newsam.

EP116. WHITCHURCH. Bucks (SP 8020), late 1897. *Add reference, with number of coins found.*

The Treasury authorities have just received from the Chief Constable of Buckingham a remarkable collection of coins recently discovered at the village of Whitchurch, through the falling in of a ceiling of an old house. They are all of silver, and number twenty-eight, belonging entirely to the period covered by the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I. The bulk of them, are in an excellent state of preservation. The oldest date decipherable is 1565.

– *NM* 13, 145 (Jan. 1898), 4.

***EP147? HOGHTON,** Lincs (SD 6125), early 1900?

A singular discovery of coins has been made at Hoghton, midway between Blackburn and Preston, at a farmhouse . . . near Hoghton Tower . . . the scene of one of Cromwell's advances. Fifty-five silver coins, varying in value and dating from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, have been discovered under the thatch of the roof, where it is conjectured, they were placed for safety from plunder by Cromwell's troops. They are in a remarkably good state of preservation, and contained in a curious bag of washleather.

– *NM* 15, 171 (March 1900), 22.

Note: Either the centuries are confused (sixteenth century = 1600s?) or the mention of Cromwell is gratuitous and the hoard should be placed in the **EL** series: 'Hoards deposited in England and Wales between 1500 and 1544'.

ER5. SPALDING, Lincs (TF 2422), '1918'. *Add references and correct date.*

In the Annual Report of the Spalding Gentleman's Society, 1917, (was) the following entry among the list of additions: 'Purchased a collection of 17th century Tokens, found in a small brass box on an allotment of Mr. T. Stevenson, situated on the Pinchbeck Road, opposite the Union.' . . . (Description of box, which) contained 21 17th century tokens (listed, and a) Groat, Mary (alone) – 1553–1554 (very poor) . . .

– T(homas) S(heppard), *YNS* 2, 2 (1918), 41–3.

ES3. FORMBY, Lincs (SD 2907), 1869 ('deposited in 1669'). *Earlier deposit date suggested.*

Early in February of this year [1869], whilst removing the decayed thatch from one of the oldest tenements in the straggling village of Formby, the owner . . . noticed, to his great surprise, some pieces of money dropping through the mass. Upon examination, the source of supply was found in a pig's bladder, rotten with age and moisture, but which had apparently contained about a score of English shillings of the 16th and 17th centuries, struck by sovereigns from Elizabeth to Charles II, both inclusive. All have been much panned at the rim, and seen considerable service in circulation, resulting in uncertainty as to mint mark in some cases; but the nineteen pieces which have come under notice may be tabulated as follows, the dates being appended:

	Mint Mark.	Date.
1 Elizabeth	woolpack	1594.
2 James I	fleur-de-lys	1604.
1 Do.	trefoil or cinquefoil	1613.
4 Chas. I	crown	1635.
1 Do.	triangle	1639.
1 Do.	star	1640.
2 Do.	triangle in circle	1641.
1 Do.	P in circle	1643.
1 Do.	R (?)	1644.
1 Do.	R in circle	1644.
1 Do.	K in circle	
2 Do.	illegible	
1 Chas. II	Crown (?)	1669.

Total: – Elizabeth, 1; Jas. I, 3; Chas. I, 14; Chas. II, 1 = 19.

– *LNS* 1 (1873/4), 53.

Note: Although placed in the **ES** series ('Hoards deposited in England and Wales between 1660 and 1685'), a note says, 'Might have been deposited in 1644' – presumably on the possibility that the Charles II piece was mistaken for one of his father. The shillings of Charles I and the hammered issues of his son both face left and are generally similar, although the busts differ and the son does not exhibit his father's famous pointed beard. If this small hoard was concealed during the civil war, that could explain why it was not retrieved by the owner. On the other hand, H.E. Smith, the Liverpool author, appears to be an accurate observer and if the bust on a hammered shilling really was of Charles II instead of a very worn Charles I, then the date 1669 must be a misprint for 1660. If the coin actually had been dated 1669, of course, it would have been the smaller-module milled issue, with right-facing bust and without mintmark.

***EU9. HASLINGDEN, Lancs (SD 7823), September 1892?**

While excavating near the wall of an old-fashioned public house at Haslingden a workman in the employ of the Haslingden Corporation discovered an oak box containing over 200 copper coins of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. The coins were in remarkably good condition.

– *NM Supp.* 36 (1 Oct. 1892), 4 (from the *Manchester Courier*).

Recently a workman employed by the Corporation, while attending to some drainage work near the White Horse Inn, Haslingden, came across a collection of coins embedded in the base of a wall. The coins, about 200 in number, consisted almost entirely of halfpence and farthings of the reign of William and Mary. A few were of the Stuart period. From a numismatic point of view the collection was of no material value. The coins were distributed somewhat freely by the finder, but acting on instruction received from Mr. Thornton, agent to the Duke of Buccleuch, he is now engaged in recovering the missing specimens.

– *NUM* 1, 12 (Dec. 1892), 95.

Note: The first account is an excellent example of how press reports so frequently are garbled.

EV7. SOUTHWARK, London (TQ 3278), 1897. Add reference.

About 1897, during the demolition of a house in Southwark, the workmen discovered an earthenware vase containing clippings of silver coins. These were from coins varying in date from 1594 to 1644. I have obtained some of these from Mr. A.H. Baldwin, and they surely represent 'the limit' with regard to clipping coins, and there is no wonder the old transgressors were severely dealt with. In most cases the entire inscription was removed, and in several, even parts of the middle of the coin also. The actual weight of silver removed instances is quite half . . .

– Editor (Thomas Sheppard), *YNS* 1, 5 (1915), 118–9, pl. 11, 1–8 – facing 118, duplicating illustrations in *BNJ* 1 (1903/4), 161.

Note: Included in the report is a brief account of the similar 'Marcham Find' (*Coin Hoards* EV5), derived from *BNJ* 1 (1903/4), 149–59.

GD5. BRIDLINGTON, Yorks (TA 1766), 31 December 1921. Add reference and correct numbers in hoard.

According to the press: – 'An interesting discovery was made at Bridlington, December 31st, 1921, while workmen were widening the roadway near the ancient Bayle Gate . . . The Kirk Gate roadway is being extended over the site formerly occupied by dwelling houses, and it was while digging out the foundations of these houses that Isaac W. Clarkson struck gold! At any rate, his pick axe shattered an earthenware jar, and gold and silver coins were scattered in all directions. This treasure trove naturally aroused great interest, and . . . about 70 gold coins, and not fewer than 60 silver coins (were collected) . . .

The coins have been handed to Supt. Robson, and consist of 43 gold guineas, 27 half-guineas, and 60 silver coins – made up of crowns, half-crowns, and shilling pieces. Some of the gold is of the period of Charles II. 1671, some of 1725, and 1796 . . .

The following is a list of the coins found near Bayle-gate, the gold in a pot, the silver in loose sand.

Period of coins from Charles II to George III, 1671–1791.

Silver – 60.

24 half-crowns

5 crowns, including one of Louis XV.

20 shillings

11 sixpences.

Gold – 70.

43 guineas.

27 half-guineas.

– Editor (Thomas Sheppard), *YNS* 2, 5 (1925), 203–4.

Note: *Coin Hoards* GD5 cites the number of coins as 61 each gold and silver.

***GD43. LONDON, Bethnal Green (TQ 3482), summer 1889?**

Half a bushel (four gallons) of copper twopenny pieces were discovered recently in the house of a female miser . . . who was found dead on a small couch, at her residence, 16, Pleasant Place, Bethnal Green, London, E. The copper twopences were coined in the year 1797 . . . When legal tender, they were seldom seen as currency, probably owing to the fact that they had been withdrawn from circulation by private individuals like the above eccentric old lady.

– *NM* 4, 45 (Sept. 1889), 104.

***GD44. LONDON, Fleet Street (near), (TQ 3079), early 1897?**

In some of the by-streets in the neighbourhood of Fleet Street, London, are still to be found the remains of what were at one time pretty little cottage gardens . . . (S)ome workmen who had occasion to disturb the soil in order to reach a damaged sewer . . . came across a number of pieces of metal, which, on examination, proved to be an alloy

of bronze. Close to them was a melting pot and the rusty remains of some rough tools, as well as what were undoubtedly dies for the manufacture of counterfeit coins . . .

– *NM* 17, 138 (June 1897), 43.

Note: Unless the 'pieces of metal' included blanks or counterfeit coins, strictly speaking this is not a hoard. But it was buried and the implements were for coining.

GF2. ALFORD, Lincs (TF 4575). 1 April 1918. *Add reference.*

An interesting hoard of coins was discovered at Alford, Lincolnshire, on April 1st, 1918, during the course of repairs to a house. The coins being of gold and *prima facie* treasure trove, communication was opened up with H.M. Treasury, with the result that the usual inquest was held. Full particulars of the Inquest by the Louth District Coroner, upon April 26th, appeared in issues of the *Louth and Lindsey Observer*, May 3rd, 1918, and in *The Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser* for May 4th.

It appears from these accounts that a labourer, when removing the brick floor of the pantry at 'The Elms', Alford, found about four inches below the surface of the floor a jar – 'about the size of a one-pound jam jar' – covered with a piece of slate and containing coins. On examination, the coins were found to consist of '33 royal crown guineas, 67 spade ace guineas, 17 royal crown half-guineas and 2 half-sovereigns'. The earliest of the coins was dated 1738 and the latest, a half-sovereign, 1828. The total value of the coins was estimated at about £300.

The jury, in accordance with the Coroner's suggestion, returned a verdict that the coins were found on the premises and that they were treasure trove . . .

– William Martin, *YNS* 2, 2 (1918), 50–2.

Note: The report, which is in a letter from William Martin, Temple, to Thomas Sheppard, at some length contests the verdict as 'extremely doubtful' because 'the latest coins date from 1828 and that the ownership of the house, and also the names of those who dwelt there at the time, can be accurately ascertained. Now it is essential to treasure trove that the owners shall be unknown . . .'

GG15. MOLD, Flint (SJ 2363). *Correct reference.*

(d) *NM* 18 (1903), 46 (not 47).

***GG41.** LONDON, Pentonville Road (TQ 3079), summer 1899?

For many years past an old man . . . has lived the life of a recluse in a tenement-house in Pentonville-road . . .

Upon his two rooms being searched a . . . cigar-box was unearthed containing £439 in gold twenty-four £5 notes and one £10 note, all of which were issued in 1861 . . . In an old cash-box a bar of dirty-looking metal came to light, which is recognised (*sic*) as a bar of gold. This bar appears to have been cast from gold coins, as it contained an alloy. A considerable quantity of jewellery was discovered on the premises, and also a life policy, the premium of which had been paid up to December of this year . . .

– *NM* 14, 166 (Oct. 1899), 73.

***GG42.** LONDON, but found at Sittingbourne, Kent (TQ 9063), spring/summer 1892?

From time to time hidden treasures of a valuable nature have been unearthed in the freights of street refuse and rubbish which are regularly taken to Sittingbourne from London, and a portion of which is used in the manufacture of bricks. A large heap of this rubbish, many tons in weight, had been for several months on one of the wharves attached to a brick-field, when some boys accidentally came across two or three coins, which, after having the dirt removed, turned out to be sovereigns. A more extended search then took place, in which numbers of men, women, and children eagerly joined. The total sum recovered amounted to about £130, which was equally shared among the searchers.

– *NUM* 1, 8 (Aug. 1892), 62.

***WT8.** GUNWALLOE BEACH, Cornwall (SW 6522), 1890s and earlier.

Every now and then (writes a correspondent to the *Western Morning News*), Spanish dollars more or less battered are found on the beach to the back of the Gunwalloe Church, five miles from the Lizard head. In 1784 a galleon was wrecked on the spot, having on board, it is said, 17,000,000 dollars, besides bars of gold which were to be deposited in London for safety during the unsettled state of national affairs in Spain . . . From time to time hundreds of dollars have been picked up, and only so recently as a fortnight since (one was found). On one occasion, a few years since . . . so many (were found) that it was reported to the Board of Trade, to whom was handed over the Government share of the spoil. Scores have been found in the fissures midway up the cliff, where they have been washed by the waves in a gale . . .

– *NM* 13, 153 (Sept. 1898), 69.

Note: For further accounts of Gunwalloe beach finds, see J. Jones, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* 10 (1890/1), 437–8; R. Larn & C. Carter, *Cornish Shipwrecks No. 1: The South Coast* (Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 140–2.

WU1. WEST HARTLEPOOL, Durham (NZ 5032), 10 + March 1867. *Add reference with more precise discovery date.*

An extraordinary discovery of treasure-trove has been made on the sea beach, midway betwixt West Hartlepool and Seaton Carew. The surface sand was washed from the beach by the late storm, and for upwards of a mile along the shore layers of peat were exposed. On Sunday afternoon, some men, observing the curious appearance of the peat, turned some of it over with a stick and found several coins embedded in it. They were quite black, but, on rubbing them, found that they were Spanish dollars about the size of a crown. They renewed their search and found a large number, but the tide was approaching, and they had to desist.

A report of this find was soon spread about, and when the tide receded hundreds of people were on the sands in search of the treasure. During the whole of the night the people were working with lamps, and some of them picked up as many as ninety of these coins. Altogether, some hundreds of coins have been found.

Besides the coins, which are dated from 1720 to 1804, some gold coins have been found, a gold crucifix, and gold rings. Yesterday morning, some thousands of people were assembled on the beach as though a gold mine had been discovered, and men, women, and children were engaged in searching for the treasure.

In 1829, a vessel called the 'Duck', of London, came ashore at this place, and amongst her wreck was then found about £300 worth of these dollars. The vessel had formerly been a Spanish slaver, and was taken by the English as a prize, and the coins had evidently been secreted in her timbers.

– *MNS* 1, 4 (1867 i), 89 (from *Manchester Guardian*, 12 March 1867).

Note: In 1867, March 12th was a Tuesday. The initial discovery, therefore, was made on the 10th; finds continued into the 11th and probably during following days.

***NT5.** SOUTH CHRISTIAN, Kentucky, spring 1900?

While ploughing in a field on his farm near Lafayette, in South Christian, Ky . . . a prominent planter, ploughed up an old stone pitcher containing 3,700 dollars in gold, mostly old English coins. A buggy house covered the spot where the money was found, and it is supposed the pitcher of gold was hidden there over one hundred years ago.

– *NM* 15, 176 (Aug. 1900), 60.

***NU5.** MILAN (near), Monroe County, Michigan, 1898?

(A) prominent farmer living about three miles north of Milan, Monroe county, Mich., recently brought into Milan and exhibited twenty-six English sovereigns and two half-sovereigns which he had ploughed up on his farm the day before. The half-sovereigns were dated 1817, under George III, and the sovereigns 1831, George IV. He believes there are many more where he found these, as he had not made a thorough search . . . The value of those he showed was about 135 dollars.

– *NM* 14, 160 (April 1899), 30.

***IU22.** CURRICLOUGH, near Bandon, Co. Cork (W/4), March/April 1898.

. . . The other day a farmer in the townlet of Curriclough, near Bandon, was levelling a fence near his house, when he found, about a foot from the surface of the ground, a heap of coins concealed in the centre of the fence. There were twenty-seven coins found – twenty large coins, the size of a half-crown, five the size of a halfpenny, and two the size of a shilling, and they all bear on the obverse side the head and side-face of King James II, with a laurel wreath, and the inscription 'JACOBUS II. DEI GRATIA'; while the reverse has a crown and the initials 'J.R.' and the inscription 'REX MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB.', with the dates of issue, extending from January, 1689, to May, 1690 . . .

– *NM* 13, 148 (April 1898), 27 (from the *Sketch*, 30 March 1898).

***JC3?** PORTAFERRY, Co. Down (J/5), spring 1892?

It is reported from Newtownards (Ireland) that whilst Mr. James Rogan, of Portaferry, was effecting some repairs in the family vault in Slanes burying-ground, he found a skin bag containing a large number of guineas, half guineas, and foreign coins, all in splendid preservation. The coins are at present lodged with Sergeant Robert Berry, Portaferry, for safety. Arrangements have been made with a gentleman in Belfast for the sale of the entire lot, and the proceeds are expected to amount to the sum of £10,000.

– *NUM* 1, 6 (June 1892), 46–7.

Note: The reference to 'foreign coins', presumably gold, suggests an eighteenth-century provenance. As the prevalence of Portuguese gold coins circulating in England was high in mid-century, this hoard has tentatively been placed under George II where it matches exactly the 1838 Knockninny hoard (JC1).

Hoard of unknown composition

***U7.** LISSYCASEY, Co. Clare (R/2), early 1881? ('ancient gold').

Great excitement was occasioned a short time ago, at Lissyasey (*sic*), between Kilrush and Ennis. Two men digging a drain came across an iron-clasped chest of very large dimensions, and lying on it was a large sword. The men assumed that it was a coffin, and conveyed the intelligence of their discovery to the police. The box was

opened by the police, and to their surprise they found it to be full of gold coins of ancient date. The men claimed the treasure trove, but the police sent to Ennis for a horse and car, and, escorted by a party of police, the box and sword were conveyed to Ennis station . . . On the sword was engraved the word 'O'Neill'.

– *NQ* 1, 2 (April–June 1886), 10 (from the *Daily News*).

Note: Another, possibly mythical, 'press golden hoard'. If the account is even partially accurate, it is surprising that R.H.M. Dolley does not appear to have noticed it.

***U8? THORNTON** (near), Lancs (SD 3442), autumn 1897?

The excavators employed in preparing for the laying of a new tramway from Blackpool to Fleetwood have dug up a number of old coins.

– *NM* 17, 138 (June 1897), 92.

Note: Thornton is mid-way between Blackpool and Fleetwood. The 'old coins', of course, could be anything from British Celtic onward. A fuller report with further details is needed before final cataloguing.

Banknotes hoard

***BN2 PAYLESHAM**, Essex (TQ 8786), early 1898?

A strange discovery of bank notes has been made at Paylesham, a village near Southend-on-Sea. Not long since an old resident . . . died . . . (In a box, stowed away in a cupboard, bank notes to the value of £3,000 were discovered.

– *NM* 13, 147 (March 1898), 21.

Single finds

***F9. CHEDDAR**, Somerset (ST 4553), 1962.

Eleven coins dug up at Cheddar and cleaned and examined at the British Museum, have proved to be exciting discoveries. They are Saxon and Normal silver coins, some of which Mr. Dolley of the British Museum believes may have been dropped during a gambling party. One, a round halfpenny of the reign of Edmund, grandson of Alfred, carries the name of the striker, Biorhtulf of Bath. Only one other halfpenny of this kind has been discovered. There are also a ninth-century Aethelwulf penny from Canterbury and two bearing the inscription of Burgred, King of Mercia – all odd finds on the site of a West Saxon royal palace.

– *NG* 1, 4 (July/Aug. 1962), 4–5 (from *Manchester Guardian*, 3 July 1962).

***F10. KIRKBYMOORSIDE**, N Yorks (SE 6986), early 1965?

A very rare find has recently been reported to us of a Sceat of Northumbria, of the second reign of Aethelred I (789–796) . . . described by North, Vol. 1, 184, and was found in Kirby (*sic*) Moorside Churchyard . . . We understand that the coin will probably be deposited in a local museum.

– *NG* 4, 3 (May/June 1965), 79, illus.

***F11. MEOLS BEACH** No. 4, Cheshire/now Merseyside (SJ 2320), 1867.

Third of a Penny of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1042–1066.

Obverse – + EDPARDE +; filleted head of the Confessor to the left. Reverse – + ELPINE ON SU . . . (Southwark or Sudbury); a voided cross with a pellet in the centre. Diameter six lines [*i.e.* on Mionnet's scale], weight seven grains. Hitherto no such coin has been recorded in numismatic annals, simply through lack of examples . . .

– *LNS* 1 (1873/4), 43–8.

Note: The reporter, Henry Ecroyd Smith, then enters into a very long justification for his calling this a third-penny, primarily that its weight is 'exactly one-third of the average weight, or 21 grains' of the Confessor's pennies.

***F12. POCKLINGTON**, E Yorks/now Humberside (SE 8048), late 1961.

Late in 1961 a rare gold noble of Henry V (1413–1422) was found during trenching operations at Pocklington. The coin was in mint condition. It was not declared Treasure Trove and became the property of the local Council.

– *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 1 (1964), 42.

***F13. SCARBOROUGH?** churchyard, N Yorks (TA 0488), 1965.

AR sceat of Aethelred I of Northumbria, second reign (789–796), found by Mr E. Collier, the Sexton, at a depth of twelve inches in the N.E. corner of the churchyard in 1965. Moneyer CVDCLI; (North, E.H.C., 1, No. 184). This is the first recorded Anglo-Saxon coin found in Ryedale, although an earlier sceat (B.M.C. 4) was found on Westerdale Moor, approx. NZ 640026, in 1957.

– Allister Lonsdale, *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 2 (1966), 64–5 (from *Transactions of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society*, 1 [1965]).

***F14.** WEST KIRBY, St Bridget's church, Lancs/now Merseyside (SJ 2186), 1869.

1869 – During the operations connected with the restoration of the parish Church of St. Bridget, West Kirby, several coins were discovered and preserved by the rector. Of these the following are worthy of record:

A Silver penny of Alexander III of Scotland, from his latest mintage, executed between A.D. 1280–1289.

Groat of Henry VII, first coinage.

Quarter-Shilling of Elizabeth, dated 1574.

Copper Farthing of Elizabeth, dated 1602.

The last being the scarcest, of which type, except bearing the date of the previous year, two examples have occurred upon the neighbouring Meols beach, where likewise two pennies of Alex. III, though of an earlier mintage than the above, have been found. The Scotch element may have been introduced by a rector of West Kirby, temp. Stephen, named Nigillus, who was succeeded by three generations of his descendants.

– *LNS* 1 (1873/4), 52–3.

***F15.** WESTERDALE MOOR, N Yorks (NZ 6403), 1957.

... an earlier sceat (B.M.C. 4) was found on Westerdale Moor, approx. NZ 640026, in 1957.

– Allister Lonsdale, *YNS* 2nd ser., 2, 2 (1966), 65, from *Transactions of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society*, Vol. 1, No. 8, (1965).

Note: From a note in *F13 report.

Addendum: pre-1500 continental hoards/finds containing British-related coins

***Add.Fr2.** MONT-DE-MARSAN, Landes, SW France, autumn 1898?

A Calais telegram announces (an item) of interest to numismatists. In demolishing the old police office at Mont de Marsan a vase was found containing 276 well-preserved gold coins, dating back to the fourteenth century. Amongst the effigies on the coins are those of Philip VI of France and the Black Prince.

– *NM* 14, 157 (Jan. 1899), 1.

***Add.Ge1.** RIBNITZ, Mecklenburg, Germany, 1887.

Herr Dannenberg, at a recent meeting of the Berlin Numismatic Society, reported that a great discovery of English Pennies had been made in Mecklenburg, the total find numbering one thousand eight hundred and fifty, all of which are ascribed to Henry III, with the exception of thirty-seven. A few of the Coins are of Scotch and Irish mintage. The Pennies were evidently coined in twenty-one different towns.

– *NM* 3, 27 (March 1888), 31.

Note: Then find name and date of the hoard are supplied from the publication of it by H. Dannenberg, 'Der Sterling-Fund von Ribnitz', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 15 (1887), 302–24 and plate 8.

***Add.Gr1.** NAXOS, Cyclades, Greece, summer 1969.

Through the kindness of Mr. B. Curtis of Coins and Antiquities Ltd. (formerly D.J. Crowther Ltd.), I was able in December, 1969 to study and record a large parcel of thirteenth century coins, mostly English, which the firm had recently acquired. It is now understood that two smaller parcels of comparable, but not identical, composition have also reached London and it appears that all derive from a hoard that is reliably stated to have been discovered in the summer of 1969 on the island of Naxos. The coins in the three parcels, which numbered over 1300, are thought to have comprised virtually the whole of the hoard as discovered, and share a dull, chalky, appearance which confirms their common source...

Unlike any hoard from the British Isles, but in common with some from abroad such as that from Norrbys, in Gotland (*BNJ* XXVII, 359–61), the Aegean hoard contained both short- and long-cross coins with a substantial majority of the former... [discussion of hoard relevance and categories of 938 coins, including breakdown of 863 short-cross pennies by class and mint].

– Ian Stewart, *C&A* 1970, no. 3, (2–3).

Note: An authoritative account of the 'Naxos' hoard of thirteenth-century sterlings was published by Lord Stewartby in *NC* 154 (1994), 147–66.

***Add.No1.** FOLDÖY, Jelsa parish, Rogaland, Norway, spring 1907.

In Part 2 of Volume VII of the *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Dr. A.W. Brogger describes a hoard of silver coins found on a small island twenty-eight miles northeast of Stavanger, in 1907. It was turned out by the plough and consisted of nearly 800 silver coins, fragments of silver rings, etc. There were 4 Norwegian (1047–1066), 99 Danish (1047–1075), 532 German (early 11th century), and 135 Anglo-Saxon coins belonging to Aethelred II (the Unready), Canute, Harold Harefoot, Harthacnute, and Edward the Confessor (1042–1066), and one Irish coin from Dublin (Sigtrygg Silkiskeggi). There was also 1 Hungarian coin and 3 Cufic coins.

The Anglo-Saxon coins were minted at Canterbury, Lincoln, London, Thetford, Winchester, Colchester, Dover,

Exeter, York, Ipswich, Leicester, Oxford, Nottingham, Stamford, Derby, Jedburgh, Hertford, Hastings, Norwich, Rochester, Sandwic (*sic*), Shrewsbury, Southwark, Wallingford, Wilton, and there is one 'Barbarian'.

– Editor (Thomas Sheppard), *YNS* 1, 5, (1915), 121–2.

Note: This is listed as hoard no. 90 in K. Skaare, *Coins and Coinage in Viking-Age Norway*, 1976, pp. 150–1 (with additional references).

***Add.Ru1.** ARCHANGEL (near), Russia, 1968?

(N)o pennies of Ipswich were recorded in the Awbridge [Hants. c 1902: *Inventory* 16] find, and hitherto examined specimens for the Ipswich mint of Stephen type VII have left one or two problems unsolved. In *BNJ* XXXV (1966), Commander R.P. Mack in his article 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135–54' lists two Ipswich coins of type VII under his no. 114, the second of which bears the legend: +DAVI(D):ON:GIPE: The second D of the moneyer was presumably conjectural. The importance of the new coin (see illustration) is that for the first time the (fifth) letter, T, of the moneyer's name is preserved quite clearly on the coin...

The new coin was recently received from Russia, where, it seems, it was unearthed not very long ago near the town of Archangel... Both the striking of the coin and the general condition are better than on most specimens of the Awbridge pennies which are at the moment available for study...

– K.G. Bryant, *DJC* 1968, no. 6, (2–3), half-pl.

It is indeed interesting to find that the spelling of the moneyer's name on that coins (*sic*) is 'DAVIT'... This 'new' coin apparently from a find spot in Russia, is in fact a die duplicate of the hitherto unique coin published by me in *B.N.J.* XXVIII (1958) Pl. XXXI No. 10...

– F. Elmore Jones, *DJC* 1969, no. 1, (3).

***Add.Sw1.** BOSARVE, Hablingbo, Gotland, Sweden, 1889.

The other day the plough of a peasant in the island of Gothland unearthed a valuable treasure in the shape of two large spiral armlets, a buckle, and a long bar used in payment, all of solid silver, together with nearly 400 silver coins. Some of the coins were Anglo-Saxon, and bore the effigy of King Ethelred. The others were German and Cufic coins. The 'find' has been purchased by the State.

– *NM* 4, 45 (Sept. 1889), 103.

Note: The identity of this hoard is clear from the summary of the contents of the Bosarve hoard, no. 202 in G. Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit*, 1974, p. 222, table 202.

Index of Coin Hoards/Finds (continued from part 1)

Numbers without letter prefixes refer to Thompson's *Inventory*; two-letter prefixes to Brown & Dolley's *Coin Hoards*. A star prefix indicates hoards/finds added to these lists. *F = single find; *U = unknown composition; *BN = banknote hoard; *Add. = continental addendum to *Inventory*.

GF2	Alford	*139a	Dunamase
*Add.Ru1	Archangel, Russia		
		*GD44	Fleet Street, London
47	Berscar	*Add.No1	Foldøy, Norway
*GD43	Bethnal Green, London	ES3	Formby
*45a	Bolton Percy No. 1 (formerly Ulleskelf)	*169a	Garton on the Wolds
*45b	Bolton Percy No. 2	*WT8	Gunwalloe beach
	Bootham – see York No. 2		
*Add.Sw1	Bosarve, Sweden	*EU9	Haslingden
*57b	Bridlington?	*EP147?	Hoghton
GD5	Bridlington	*193b	Hornsea
		*195a	Hull
*BN1/EZ 18	Charing Cross, London		
*F9	Cheddar	*195b	Ilkley Moor
*88a	Chester No. 7; Lion Brewery		
*EN37?	Clapton, London	218	Kinghornie
*93a	Closcburn No. 4; Croal Chapel	*F10	Kirkbymoorside
*IU22	Curriclough		
		*U7	Lissycasey
		*238a	Llantrithyd/Llantridddy

*GG42	London (at Sittingbourne)	*F12	Pocklington
	London – <i>see</i>	*JC3?	Portaferry
	Bethnal Green		
	Charing Cross	*Add.Ge1	Ribnitz, Germany
	Clapton		
	Fleet Street	EL12	St Albans – <i>should be</i> Park Street
	Pentonville Road		
	Smithfield	*Add.Fr1	St Pol de Léon, France
	Southwark	*F13	Scarborough?
	Tower Hill	325	Scotton
		*328a	Shaftesbury
*266a	Meols beach No. 1	EO11	Sheffield
*266b	Meols beach No. 2		Sittingbourne – <i>see</i> London
*266c	Meols beach No. 3	*331a	Skipton Castle
*F11	Meols beach No. 4.	*259b	Smithfield, London
*NU5	Milan, Michigan	*NT5	South Christian, Kentucky
GG15	Mold	EV7	Southwark
*Add.Fr2	Mont-de-Marson, France	ER5	Spalding
*Add.Gr1	Naxos, Greece	EP9	Temple Newsam
	Newsam Green – <i>see</i> Oulton	*U8?	Thornton
		254	Tower Hill, London No. 15
*298a	Otterspool		
EP10	Oulton – <i>should be</i> Newsam Green	372	Watford No. 1
		WU1	West Hartlepool
		*F14	West Kirby
	Park Street – <i>see</i> St Albans	*F15	Westerdale Moor
*BN2	Paylesham	EP116	Whitchurch
308	Penicuik		
*GG41	Pentonville Road, London	385	York No. 2: Bootham

GOLD AND THE GOSCHEN POUND NOTE

G. P. DYER

THE theme of this paper is prompted by the failure of Barings. It will, disappointingly perhaps for some, have nothing to say about Mr Leeson, being inspired instead by an earlier Baring crisis, equally infamous, when the irresponsible villain of the piece was Lord Revelstoke, a partner and senior member of the Baring family.

On the occasion to which I refer, in the late autumn of 1890, the banking house of Baring Brothers had overreached itself by funding speculative loans in South America, and a situation had developed where, although the firm was financially sound in the long term, its short-term liabilities were greater than the resources it had at hand.¹ The crisis came to a head in November 1890 and from it the country escaped, in the words of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Goschen, by the skin of its teeth.² As Barings' bills began to come in, the Bank of England had urgently to acquire £3,000,000 in gold from the Bank of France and a further £1,500,000 in gold from Russia; and a rescue fund, ultimately amounting to something like £17,000,000 or £18,000,000, was put together by City institutions and joint-stock banks. The hero of the hour was thought to be William Lidderdale, the Governor of the Bank of England, who had kept his head better than many others and who was subsequently rewarded by a City dinner and appointment as a Privy Councillor. As for poor Revelstoke, in the reconstruction of the firm he lost his country estate and his collection of French furniture and pictures.³

In the early days of the crisis secrecy had been maintained as far as possible. Goschen himself had gone to Scotland in the middle of it to honour a speaking engagement, fearing that to cancel the arrangement would suggest that an emergency of some kind had arisen.⁴ By its end, however, the situation had become known far beyond the confines of the City. The crisis was openly spoken of as one that would have made the banking collapse of 1866 look like child's play, that could have seen London deposed from its position as the 'banking centre of the universe',⁵ for Barings was the most widely-known commercial firm in the world and its name was said to be as good in every port as a banknote.⁶ Accordingly, there was much discussion afterwards of the lessons to be learned, and of the voices that were raised the clearest and most effective, as Professor Andréadès wrote a few years later,⁷ was that of the Chancellor George Goschen.

Within a few weeks of the crisis, on the seemingly inappropriate occasion of an after-dinner speech on 28 January 1891 to the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, Goschen outlined a scheme that would address the problems that recent events had thrown into such sharp relief. A little sympathy might be felt for the businessmen of Leeds, faced after a good dinner with a speech on a 'dry and confused subject', but *The Times*, from where that description comes, acknowledged that Goschen had made it as attractive as the most pungent political tirade and praised the speech, delivered extempore from notes, as 'weighty and lucid'.⁸ Despite its

¹ There are many published accounts of the crisis. Particularly useful in the context of the present paper is L.S. Pressnell, 'Gold reserves, banking reserves, and the Baring crisis of 1890' in *Essays in Money and Banking in Honour of R.S. Sayers* edited by C.R. Whittlesey and J.S.G. Wilson (Oxford, 1968), pp. 167–228.

² Goschen's speech at Leeds, reported in *The Times*, 29 January 1891.

³ David Kynaston, *The City of London*, vol. 1: *A World of Its Own 1815–1890* (London, 1994), p. 435.

⁴ Arthur D. Elliot, *The Life of George Joachim Goschen*,

First Viscount Goschen, 1831–1907 (London, 1911), II, p. 173.

⁵ Goschen's speech at Leeds, reported in *The Times*, 29 January 1891.

⁶ Arthur Crump, 'The Baring financial crisis' in *The Economic Journal*, I, June 1891, 389.

⁷ A. Andréadès, *History of the Bank of England* (London, 1909), p. 371.

⁸ *The Times* of 29 January 1891 carried a leading article as well as a full report of the speech. A second leader appeared the following day.

cautious and rather tentative nature, its importance was immediately recognised and it was characterised by *The Bankers' Magazine* as the 'largest proposal' before the banking world since that cornerstone of nineteenth-century banking legislation, Sir Robert Peel's Bank Charter Act of 1844.⁹

It would strain the patience of numismatists to follow every detail, but in essence what lay at the heart of Goschen's proposals was a belief that the banking reserves of the country were too small in relation to the nation's gigantic liabilities. These liabilities were payable in gold, and though Britain was the great gold market of the world its available stock of gold for use, for sale, for immediate purposes, was extremely small in relation to that held by other countries (Table 1). At some £24,000,000 its holdings of gold and silver in the Bank of England were little more than half those of Germany, only a quarter those of France, and a mere sixth those of the United States. It was this that required attention in view of possible future emergencies; it was here, according to Goschen, that one of the real lessons of the Baring crisis was to be found, for at its height the Bank of England had been obliged to obtain urgent supplies of gold from abroad.

TABLE 1. Bullion reserves, January 1891

	£
Bank of England	24,000,000
Bank of Germany	40,000,000
Bank of France	95,000,000
United States Treasury and National Banks	142,000,000

Source: Goschen's speech at Leeds, reported in *The Times*, 29 January 1891. See also *The Bankers' Magazine*, 51, May 1891, 794–96.

How was the available reserve to be increased? Certainly it would be useful for banks to be placed under the discipline of publishing their accounts more frequently in order to encourage them to hold larger cash balances, but Goschen believed that there was something more that could be done. Though Britain might have relatively little gold at the centre, there was undeniably a very large amount of gold circulating amongst the people of the country in the form of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. No one – neither the Mint nor the Treasury, neither economists nor bankers – could be sure how much was out there, and estimates ranged from £65,000,000 to £120,000,000.¹⁰ Whatever the precise figure, Goschen suggested to his audience in Leeds that here was an enormous reservoir of gold that for all practical purposes was not accessible in an emergency, that could not be tapped when gold was needed most. In a crisis it stayed firmly in pockets and purses, and effectively was no reserve at all.

It was Goschen's view that an extra £20,000,000 in the Bank of England was more use than £30,000,000 in circulation; that is to say, if it could be done he would gladly extract £30,000,000 from the gold reserve in the hands of the public, even though foreign drains might reduce the resulting increase in the central reserve to only £20,000,000. And it is this that brings us to the aspect of his scheme which is of special interest to numismatists, because to effect such an improvement in the central gold reserve Goschen proposed to displace a portion of the sovereigns currently in circulation by re-introducing one-pound notes, no such notes having been issued by the Bank of England or by commercial banks in England and

⁹ *The Bankers' Magazine*, 51, March 1891, 427–31.

¹⁰ Goschen was later to suggest a figure of £73,000,000 to the House of Commons, while mentioning other estimates that ranged from £80,000,000 to £120,000,000: *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 355, cols 681–86 (8 July

1891). The estimate of £65,000,000 given above is taken from Robert Giffen's letter to Goschen, 14 January 1891 (British Library of Political and Economic Science, Welby Collection on Banking and Currency, R (S.R.) 1017, vol. 7, no. 93).

Wales since the 1820s. The impending withdrawal of large quantities of light gold coins offered a convenient opportunity for the revival of one-pound notes and he suggested an issue of £30,000,000, to be backed by £20,000,000 or two-thirds in gold and £10,000,000 or one-third in Government stock, the gold so displaced from circulation forming a second and protected reserve, a kind of war-chest, for use in emergency. He also contemplated, as a concession to bimetallicists, the introduction of ten-shilling notes backed by silver.

At the end of his speech Goschen announced that he was working on a plan with the Bank of England, and indeed the broad principles of the plan had been in Goschen's mind for some time. Since at least the spring of 1887 he had been exploring in one context or another the possibility of an issue of one-pound notes,¹¹ and by 1889 major elements of the scheme outlined in Leeds had undoubtedly become the subject of official discussion between the Bank and the Treasury.¹² Characteristically, however, the Chancellor had blown somewhat hot and cold, and had hesitated until the Baring crisis gave him an ideal opportunity to take the public into his confidence, an opportunity rendered all the more timely by the presence at the Bank of England of a strong Governor and one who, unusually for Bank Governors, was not implacably hostile to pound notes (Fig. 1).

Consultation, both private and official, now continued,¹³ and Goschen delayed first the presentation and then the implementation of legislation to restore the gold coinage so as not to

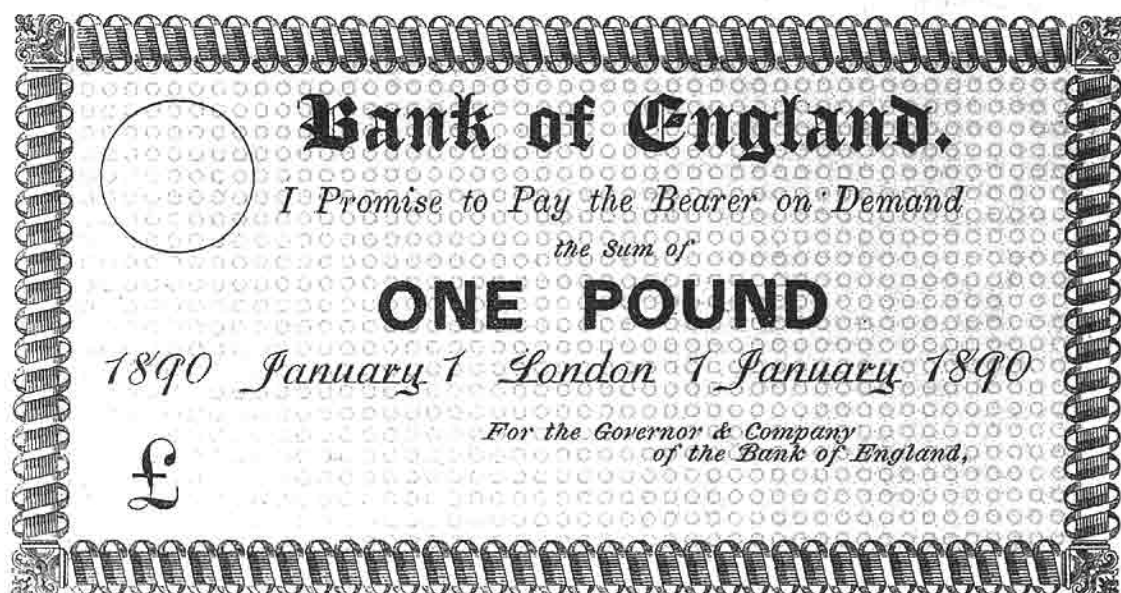


Fig. 1. An experimental Bank of England one-pound note dated 1 January 1890 (reproduced by courtesy of the Governor & Company of the Bank of England)

¹¹ See, for instance, Goschen's statement in the House of Commons on 16 May 1887 (*Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 315, cols 150–51) and also the entry for 4 January 1888 in the Diary of Edward Hamilton, one of Goschen's senior advisers at the Treasury (BL, Add. Ms. 48,647, fols 111–12). Hamilton enjoyed direct access to Goschen and his Diary is a key source of information on the development of the scheme and reaction to it.

¹² Hamilton's Diary: BL, Add. Ms. 48,650, fols 55–56 (15

February 1889) and Add. Ms. 48,652, fols 6–7 (4 December 1889).

¹³ The speech was soon being distributed as a sixpenny pamphlet, with a preface by Goschen dated 18 February 1891 indicating that it had prompted public discussion but denying that final or formal plans had already been drawn up: *Speech by the Right Honourable G.J. Goschen at Leeds. On the Insufficiency of our Cash Reserves and of our Central Stock of Gold.* (London, 1891).

cast doubt on his willingness to proceed with a larger scheme of currency reform.¹⁴ The Chancellor touched briefly on the subject in a speech at the Mansion House in May 1891,¹⁵ but it was not until December that year, after giving his 'best attention to the subject for months and months', that he unveiled revised and more detailed proposals. This he did on the afternoon of 2 December at the Merchant Taylors' Hall, where for an hour and a half he addressed an audience of some 750 people, representing London and provincial Chambers of Commerce but including Lidderdale and high-ranking officials from the Bank and the Treasury.¹⁶ It was another impressive performance and Edward Hamilton of the Treasury, who from the start had admired Goschen's 'wonderful power of mastering financial puzzles', was pleased to see that he presented his scheme with some passion.¹⁷

On the whole the flow of argument followed the course of his speech at Leeds ten months before, but there had been refinements to promote elasticity in the fiduciary issue at times of emergency in place of the previous uncertain reliance on a temporary suspension of the Bank Charter Act.¹⁸ Again, there is no need for numismatists to concern themselves with every detail, but it is worth emphasising that the one-pound notes were now to be part of the Bank's normal note issue and could continue after the existing limits had been reached on the basis of four-fifths gold to one-fifth securities. There was no longer to be a separate reserve for use in emergency, but a single, larger reserve; and Goschen explicitly abandoned the introduction of ten-shilling notes backed by silver, arguably the least popular of the suggestions he had made in Leeds.

Even if there was nothing particularly novel about the individual elements of his scheme, Goschen could be deservedly complimented by *The Times* for combining them with remarkable ingenuity into a logical and interdependent whole.¹⁹ Yet the proposals, whether in their original or their revised form, were greeted by a marked lack of enthusiasm. The Baring crisis had not been forgotten, but in the calm after the storm the banking community had been able to persuade itself that, when disaster threatened, the system had worked, Barings had been saved and catastrophe had been averted. It was a view expressed by the respected banker Bertram Currie, who had himself played a creditable role during the crisis and who now argued that the Chancellor should leave well alone.²⁰ Gladstone, standing on a railway platform at Northampton, cruelly dismissed Goschen's scheme as a 'quack measure', words that he later professed to regret but a sentiment that he nevertheless echoed in private, describing the proposals as detestable and an encouragement to speculators.²¹ Hamilton at the Treasury, like Lidderdale at the Bank, remained faithful, complaining about the stupidity of people who made no effort to understand the scheme and trivialising the objections to one-pound notes by identifying the most serious as an inability to toss with them as one could with a sovereign.²²

¹⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 48,616, fols 95–96 (Goschen to Hamilton, 20 February 1891).

¹⁵ Reported in *The Times*, 7 May 1891.

¹⁶ Reported at length in *The Times*, 3 December 1891. This speech, too, was published as a sixpenny pamphlet: *Address to the London Chamber of Commerce by the Right Honourable G.J. Goschen on the Metallic Reserve. December 2nd, 1891*. (London, 1891). Though the date of publication is shown as 1891 the pamphlet includes Goschen's letter of 20 January 1892 to Samuel Montagu.

¹⁷ Hamilton's Diary: BL, Add. Ms. 48,646, fol. 26 (22 April 1887) and Add. Ms. 48,656, fol. 152 (2 December 1891).

¹⁸ Hamilton's Diary, *passim*. For the development of Goschen's scheme, and the individual views of the Governor and Directors of the Bank of England in October 1891, see also BLPES, Welby Collection, vol. 7.

¹⁹ *The Times*, 3 December 1891.

²⁰ The lack of enthusiasm is apparent in the report in *The Times* of 22 January 1892 of the inconclusive meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce to consider Goschen's proposals. Currie's desire that things should be left alone is recorded in Hamilton's Diary: BL, Add. Ms. 48,655, fol. 27 (11 February 1891). This view was shared by his colleague A.S. Harvey, who said 'if we want anything, it is rest' (*Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, XII, Part IX (December 1891), 620). For Currie's own account of his part in resolving the Baring crisis see Roger Fulford, *Glyn's 1753–1953: Six Generations in Lombard Street* (London, 1953), pp. 209–12.

²¹ *The Times*, 10 December 1891; Hamilton's Diary: BL, Add. Ms. 48,656, fols 164–66 (10 December 1891).

²² Hamilton's Diary: BL, Add. Ms. 48,657, fols 41–42 (24 January 1892).

But it needs to be recognised that Goschen appeared, rightly or wrongly, to be challenging certain fundamental features of the British currency as it had developed in the nineteenth century and in particular since the Bank Charter Act of 1844. In framing that Act it had been one of Sir Robert Peel's guiding principles that to have gold coins in general use for small payments was a most effectual means of promoting permanent confidence in paper. Whilst acknowledging that some expense would necessarily be incurred in the maintenance of a gold coinage, Peel had believed that no such cost could outweigh 'the advantage of having gold coin generally distributed throughout the country, accessible to all, and the foundation of paper credit and currency'.²³ Scotland and Ireland aside, this had become the received wisdom of practical financiers in England. The gold sovereign was now the icon of a great trading empire, the rock on which British prosperity was seemingly based; and the free use of gold was seen as a sign of wealth and strength, a feature of Britain's life that according to Goschen's immediate predecessor, Lord Randolph Churchill, looked to have become 'a deep-rooted and almost ineradicable habit'.²⁴ John Bull evidently liked the satisfying jingle of gold in his pocket and it was widely supposed that the excellence of the English currency system, the maintenance of absolute stability, was due to the fact that the actual circulating medium of the country was gold. A gold standard without a gold currency seemed 'an utter impossibility'.²⁵

Gold was not, however, an unmixed blessing. Gold coins wore away and needed to be replaced; the half-sovereign was well known to be an expensive coin; newly-minted sovereigns were an instant prey for bullion dealers or foreign melting pots; jewellers and dentists also raided the coinage. More than this, Britain's centuries-old attachment to the free coinage of gold bullion, described by Gladstone as 'indefensible',²⁶ encouraged greater demands on the Mint than might otherwise have been made, and Samuel Montagu, echoing Gladstone, must have wearied his listeners with his frequent complaints that it was 'absurdly generous' to coin gold for the whole world without charge.²⁷ Such burdens had long been generally accepted in the belief that a sound circulating medium was good for British trade and prestige, yet Gladstone and Montagu were not on their own. Robert Lowe, as Chancellor in 1869, described the use of gold for coinage as a luxury,²⁸ just as twentieth-century voices were to claim a circulating gold coinage as a sign of 'almost mediaeval decadence',²⁹ and now Goschen, a City man to his fingertips, seemed to want to reduce the active circulation of gold coins. His predecessor Randolph Churchill, in a paper circulated to the Cabinet in December 1886, had likewise cast covetous eyes on the public reservoir of gold, making precisely the point that Goschen made publicly, namely that gold in people's pockets formed a reserve that even on the blackest of Fridays was not immediately available to support commerce.³⁰ The economist John Maynard Keynes was more emphatic still in 1913, dismissing such gold as 'absolutely useless' for the purposes for which a currency reserve was held.³¹

Goschen, though perhaps placing at risk the internal consistency of his proposals, tried hard to demonstrate his desire to preserve the role of gold, insisting that there would be no attempt to stint the use of the sovereign, that it would be left entirely up to the British public whether they chose to use the new notes or to retain the sovereign. In both his major speeches Goschen

²³ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 74, col. 732 (6 May 1844).

²⁴ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 309, cols 104–06 (10 September 1886).

²⁵ Alfred de Rothschild in *Indian Currency Committee, 1898: Minutes of Evidence*, Part II (London, 1899), p. 185.

²⁶ Hamilton's Diary: BL, Add. Ms. 48,649, fol. 84 (18 October 1888).

²⁷ *The Times*, 22 January 1892. For other clear statements of Montagu's opposition to the free coinage of gold see *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 313, col. 1482 (21 April

1887), 3rd ser. 351, cols 1174–76 (16 March 1891) and 3rd ser. 356, cols 1196–99 (3 August 1891).

²⁸ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 198, cols 1412–13 (6 August 1869).

²⁹ Sir Otto Niemeyer, 'How to economize gold' in *The International Gold Problem* (London, 1932), p. 86.

³⁰ PRO, Cab 37/18, memorandum by Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1 December 1886.

³¹ John Maynard Keynes, *Indian Currency and Finance* (London, 1913), p. 72.

sought to allay conservative fears by emphasising that he was not trying to economise the use of gold, and he told Samuel Montagu that he hailed 'with satisfaction the expression of orthodox opinion which objects to my displacing any gold at all'.³² To cheers and laughter in Leeds he said that he himself preferred sovereigns to one-pound notes, at the Mansion House he gallantly supposed that ladies would prefer the glitter of the Sovereign's image to the signature of a Bank of England cashier, while to his large audience in December he confided that he was not an enthusiast for one-pound notes and never had been. For Goschen they were but a means to an end. His concern, first and last, was to strengthen the gold reserve so that in an emergency the Bank would not be dependent on immediate supplies of gold from overseas, where countries might not always be as obliging as France and Russia had been during the Baring crisis. If such a great national object could only be achieved by the use of one-pound notes then he would promote the one-pound note.

But by thus interfering with the circulation of gold coins Goschen was perceived as challenging, however tentatively, one of the abiding principles of 1844, and by proposing the issue of one-pound notes he was at the same time running counter to another. The Act had been intended to restrict and control the issue of notes and it had largely succeeded in preventing any increase in the circulation of notes in England and Wales. In relation to coins, the quantity of notes had in fact diminished (Table 2) and *The Times*, in its immediate response to Goschen's speech of 2 December, drew attention to a situation where 'almost everywhere else bank-notes, large and small, are a more important element in business and in daily life than they are with us'.³³ The gap that this had left had been filled not so much by gold as by a prolific use of cheques, so that Britain, strongly wedded to the gold standard as she might be, already practised economy of gold in her internal transactions.³⁴ 'The English system for many years', wrote the President of the Institute of Bankers in 1892, 'has been to carry on large commercial and financial transactions with the most remarkable economy in the use of gold'.³⁵ A similar observation was made in the House of Commons by Sir William Harcourt, who asserted that coins formed an 'infinitesimally small' part of people's transactions.³⁶

TABLE 2. Estimated amount of notes and coins in circulation in the United Kingdom, 1845-1913

YEAR	TOTAL		NOTES		COINS	
	£	£	%	£	%	
1845	74,600,000	38,600,000	51.7	36,000,000	48.3	
1865	107,300,000	37,300,000	34.8	70,000,000	65.2	
1885	127,100,000	39,400,000	31.0	87,700,000	69.0	
1913	191,500,000	44,700,000	23.3	146,800,000	76.7	

Sources: B.R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 668-70; P. Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1914*, 2nd edition (London and New York, 1983), pp. 460-61.

This might seem, therefore, an unhelpful background against which to propose the resumption of one-pound notes, yet Goschen could claim with justice that their issue was 'in the air' and that high financial authorities were in favour.³⁷ From Churchill he had inherited a full-blown scheme, apparently blessed by the Cabinet in December 1886, for a gradual issue

³² Goschen to Montagu, 20 January 1892. Reproduced in *The Times*, 21 January 1892.

³³ *The Times*, 3 December 1891.

³⁴ Keynes, *Indian Currency and Finance*, p. 16, suggested that the remarkable development of cheques following the Act of 1844 had led to a monetary organisation more perfectly adapted for the economy of gold than any which existed elsewhere in the world.

³⁵ Thomas Salt, reported in the *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, XIII, Part IX (December 1892), 590.

³⁶ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 355, cols 686-91 (8 July 1891).

³⁷ Viscount Goschen, *Essays and Addresses on Economic Questions (1865-1893) with Introductory Notes (1905)* (London, 1905), p. 103.

of £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 in one-pound notes in partial replacement of the half-sovereign,³⁸ and since 1887 he had been stonewalling suggestions for their issue from Members of Parliament such as Samuel Montagu, a long-time advocate of such notes.³⁹ It was evident that a degree of support existed, support that was perhaps greater in the provinces than in the City of London and became stronger the further north one moved. Lidderdale at the Bank was ready to back their issue,⁴⁰ while at the Treasury two senior officials, Sir Reginald Welby and Edward Hamilton, were keen on an idea whose time, they thought, had come.⁴¹ Gladstone and the Opposition were not hostile in principle,⁴² and in October 1888 the issue of small notes, though backed by silver rather than gold, had been recommended by nearly all the members of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver.

What had not changed, as Goschen now discovered, was the traditional dislike of English bankers for one-pound notes. Whatever might be their convenience for making remittances, whatever might be the experience north of the Border or in Ireland, a deeply held belief survived that the unwise circulation of one-pound notes had contributed to the financial panic of 1825, that such notes would again be extensively counterfeited as they had been at the beginning of the century, that they would be expensive to produce and maintain, and that it would be inconvenient to have a mixed circulation of gold and paper.⁴³ These arguments were duly revisited in the discussion that followed Goschen's speeches⁴⁴ and were supplemented by *The Lancet* which, laudably concerned about the transmission of disease by dirty notes, raised doubts about the 'sanitary credit' of paper currency, to be countered by Goschen's statement that he knew of no statistics to show that the one-pound note had rendered the Scots less healthy than the English.⁴⁵ But debating points apart, it was plain that there was no enthusiasm and even Lidderdale acknowledged that 'no one cares much about £1. notes'.⁴⁶

There was, of course, more to it than this. By seeking to extend the range of paper currency, by introducing greater flexibility in the amount of the fiduciary issue, and by appearing to challenge the circulation of gold coins, Goschen's scheme seemed to threaten the principles of the settlement of 1844.⁴⁷ In vain Goschen argued that he was leaving the Act practically intact and that he had been, and still was, 'a Bank Charter Act man'.⁴⁸ but by allowing his scheme to lapse Goschen became, in the words of Professor Pressnell, the most conspicuous victim of

³⁸ Churchill's proposal is discussed in G.P. Dyer, 'Gold, silver and the double-florin', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 114–25.

³⁹ See, for instance, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 313, cols 1483–84 (21 April 1887) and 3rd ser. 356, cols 1196–99 (3 August 1891).

⁴⁰ Hamilton's Diary for 8 January 1891 reports that the Governor 'was prepared to try the experiment of £1 notes on a really sound basis' (BL, Add. Ms. 48,654, fols 124–26).

⁴¹ Hamilton's advocacy of one-pound notes is clear from several entries in his Diary but see in particular BL, Add. Ms. 48,649, fol. 87 (23 October 1888) and fol. 103 (8 November 1888), and also Add. Ms. 48,651, fols 133–34 (23 November 1889). Welby's support is evident from his letter of 16 December 1891 to Gladstone (BLPES, Welby Collection, vol. 7, no. 163).

⁴² Though they had no time for Goschen's scheme, neither Gladstone nor Harcourt was opposed in principle to the issue of one-pound notes. For Gladstone's view see Horace G. Hutchinson, *Life of Sir John Lubbock, Lord Avebury* (London, 1914), I, pp. 309–10 and Hamilton's Diary: BL, Add. Ms. 48,649, fol. 84 (18 October 1888). Harcourt had suggested their issue in the House of Commons on 21 April 1887 (*Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 313, cols 1469–70) and was still a supporter in September 1892 (BLPES, Welby Collection, vol. 9, no. 53).

⁴³ For a good account of English hostility to one-pound notes see William Graham, *The One Pound Note in the History of Banking in Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 376–88. The analogy between one-pound notes to be issued by the Bank of England and those circulated in 1825 by 'any chance grocer or cheese-monger' seemed, as well it might, somewhat unreasonable to Professor Andréadès (*History of the Bank of England*, pp. 378–79).

⁴⁴ The views of Fellows of the Institute of Bankers are conveniently summarised in the *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, XIII, Part III (March 1892), 150–52.

⁴⁵ The reference to *The Lancet* is taken from *The Bankers' Magazine*, 51, March 1891, 486 while Goschen's riposte, made in his Mansion House speech, can be found in *The Times*, 7 May 1891.

⁴⁶ Bank of England Letter Book 21 (Lidderdale to Goschen, 4 February 1891).

⁴⁷ This, for instance, was the view of Henry Grenfell, a Director of the Bank of England (BLPES, Welby Collection, vol. 7, no. 136).

⁴⁸ *The Times*, 3 December 1891. H.S. Foxwell, in 'Mr. Goschen's currency proposals', suggested that Goschen had been led to complicate his proposals by an 'unnecessary tenderness' for Peel's Act (*The Economic Journal*, II, March 1892, 153).

the ultimate awe which continued to protect Peel's Act.⁴⁹ The bankers, after all, were not the most adventurous of people – by Lidderdale's familiar description⁵⁰ a 'stiff-necked & rebellious race each caring only for his own corporation' – and they certainly had no wish to tie up their money in larger reserves. Aware of their increasing financial muscle and suspicious of centralised monetary management, they saw no need to be deferential to the Bank, and Lidderdale, whose stock had fallen as quickly as it had risen, was suspected of 'jobbing' for the Bank at the expense of the bankers. They feared, too, that the increased stock of gold might be subject to speculative raids and might find its way overseas, if, that is, an extra stock of gold could be built up in the first place. And of this they were not sure, for with England attached to gold and more wedded to cheques than to notes it was quite possible that the new one-pound notes might merely replace existing five-pound notes or the recently introduced postal orders. And this, as *The Times* pointed out, was the crux of Goschen's scheme: for it to work, for it to produce additional gold for the central reserve, one-pound notes had to drive out sovereigns, and there was no confidence that this would happen.⁵¹

Other difficulties also intruded themselves. Despite the apparent detail, the plan left crucial elements vague or unspecified, and Goschen himself had been characteristically ambivalent. Ever cautious, sensitive to criticism, he had been slow to take up the proposal and Hamilton, who knew his man well, feared that he would succumb at the first sign of opposition.⁵² It was for this reason that Hamilton would have preferred Goschen simply to announce and implement the scheme in short order, as he had with the conversion of the national debt. Instead, to launch a public debate, however worthy that might be, was to give every 'crotchety-monger' the chance to criticise elements of the scheme and thereby destroy the whole edifice.⁵³ Goschen's financial orthodoxy might allay fears of revolutionary and dangerous change, but more was needed because unless he 'fights with a high hand he certainly won't carry it'.⁵⁴ And this, as events soon proved, was to expect too much of a man of 'fatal irresoluteness'.⁵⁵

In the Commons in February 1892 a 'fumbling' Goschen was rebuked by Harcourt for raising fear and alarm about the stability of the currency, and the Chancellor was reminded that Peel had not found it necessary to hawk his 1844 proposals about at City meetings or in after-dinner speeches.⁵⁶ With the Government approaching the end of its term of office, it was no surprise that Goschen yielded and, as he admitted, without any very great regret.⁵⁷ In fairness to him, however, it needs to be added that the gold coinage was indeed safe in his hands, for the continuous recoinage which he instituted in March 1892, under the provisions of the Coinage Act of 1891, quickly matched replacement to the rate of wear and restored the gold coinage to a condition of which the nation could be proud. But his grander scheme of 1891, though it failed, deserves to be more than a footnote in economic and banking histories. By the issues it raised, and the criticism it provoked, it illuminates contemporary attitudes to gold and paper currency at the end of the nineteenth century and provides, I hope, a helpful supplement to what I said last year about the silver currency.⁵⁸

⁴⁹ Pressnell, p. 216. Peel's Act had been accepted by the public, and by the City of London in particular, as 'a final measure which closed all debate' according to Donald Read, *Peel and the Victorians* (Oxford, 1987), p. 131. Professor Andréadès (*History of the Bank of England*, p. 373) likewise refers to the Act as an institution that was venerated.

⁵⁰ Bank of England Letter Book 21 (Lidderdale to Goschen, 22 January 1891).

⁵¹ Pressnell, *passim*; *The Times*, 3 and 17 December 1891.

⁵² Hamilton's Diary; BL, Add. Ms. 48,655, fols 13–15 (30 January 1891).

⁵³ Hamilton's Diary; BL, Add. Ms. 48,656, fols 142–43 (19

November 1891).

⁵⁴ Hamilton's Diary; BL, Add. Ms. 48,655, fols 18–19 (1 February 1891) and Add. Ms. 48,656, fol. 142 (19 November 1891) and fol. 151 (1 December 1891). The *Financial Times* of 3 December 1891 took much the same view as Hamilton, fearing that what it perceived as a half-hearted appeal for support was more likely to encourage hostility than to disarm it.

⁵⁵ Pressnell, p. 173.

⁵⁶ *Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser. 1, cols 59–62 (9 February 1892).

⁵⁷ Goschen, *Essays and Addresses*, p. 130.

⁵⁸ Dyer, *BNJ* 64 (1994), 114–25.

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THE HOWARD LINECAR LECTURE 1995

ARS HERALDICA IN METALLO

SIR CONRAD SWAN, KCVO, PHD, FSA

GARTER PRINCIPAL KING OF ARMS, 1992–95

THE word *heraldry* can be used in two ways. On the one hand it means the activities and functions of heralds, be they armorial, genealogical or ceremonial. On the other hand, it can signify armory itself, and it is in this sense that I propose to use the term *heraldry* in the course of this paper. Heraldry, with such a meaning, has been defined as: 'the art and science of symbolic identification usually associated with defensive armour'.

Identification is the key word. The essential function, purpose, *raison d'être* of heraldry is *identification* of a person – whether a real person, yourself or myself, or of a *persona ficta*. In other words, of an entity which, at law, is treated as a person. Examples would be universities, banks, cities and so on, each of which is a fictitious person, a *persona ficta* being, as it is, a body corporate and as such can buy and sell, sue and be sued, make agreements and so forth – in other words it can do everything a natural person can do, except what it obviously cannot do.

Thus Arms – the main expression of heraldry – identify a *persona*. This can be through a person as a member of a particular family. Yet again, it can be through a *persona ficta* as a body corporate (and not, as some erroneously think, an acreage, a pile of bricks, a loose association of persons). Finally, Arms can identify authority through a person, as with the spiritual authority of a bishop, or the sovereign authority of a head of state, be it a monarchy or a republic.

Origins

The origin of Arms, of heraldry, was an answer to the need of mediaeval warriors for identification. That military formation which possibly carried the greatest clout in warfare of the time, that is to say the cavalry, was covering itself with more and more defensive armour. This was to such an extent that even the face of the warrior was covered. The result was that one could not know who to support and who to despatch from the field of conflict unless some means of identification was devised.

As a result, we find in the second quarter of the twelfth century simple devices – a blue lion on a gold background, a plain red cross on a silver background, for example – being painted or embroidered onto the surcoat that covered the body armour of the warrior, hence the literal term 'Coat of Arms'. Arms are the combination of such devices as the blue lion, the red cross and so forth with a particular background colour (or *field* as it is called) of each Coat of Arms. Gradually, the same design came to be repeated on a warrior's shield, lance pennon, horse bardings and so on (pl. 13, 1). In this way identification was achieved and the persons concerned frequently carried over this means of identification from war to peace. Being men of affairs, they wished to be able to indicate their assent to decisions expressed in documents, and as literacy was not considered a necessary attribute of a gentleman – such was left to the clerks – just as many of us leave computer literacy to others – so the mediaeval warrior, in peacetime, *identified* himself on seals and the like by means of the heraldic devices, the Arms,

by which he had become known in war. His children and other descendants followed suit with the same Arms. Thus Arms became hereditary as well as being the insignia of a particular group of society and so became *tesserae gentilitatis*.

With the rise of the concept of *persona ficta*, a corporation, in the thirteenth century especially with the rise of cities, universities and the like, such entities quickly identified themselves with Arms which they used, in particular, upon their corporation seal, that essential instrument for the solemn expression of the will of a body corporate. Indeed, the peace-time development of heraldry was much greater than its war-time origins.

Starting in Western Europe, heraldry has spread throughout almost the entire world, and it has served practically every type of society and political regime. Indeed, there is only one other hereditary system of symbolic identification, other than European heraldry, and that is the Japanese *Mon*. The Chrysanthemum of the Emperor and its variations for the imperial family are well-known examples. They are simple devices, reproduced in monochrome, and in our terms they would be described as a Badge, as with a Regimental Badge. It is somewhat amusing to recall that the extremely effective device of JAL (Japanese Air Lines) – the Crane's head and neck between two wings, all within a circular presentation – is in fact a *Mon* purloined from a noble family.

The Elements of an Armorial Achievement

Possibly it would be helpful if we drew out of the recesses of our memory the constituent elements of a complete armorial achievement.

The Shield of Arms is basic, as seen in pl. 13, 2, the Armorial Bearings inherited by William Shakespeare. Above the shield is a *Helm*. In this case it is steel, with the visor closed which identifies the bearer as an untitled, armigerous gentleman. We shall come to the helms of Peers and or Royal personages later. On top of the helm, and so constituting the uppermost part of the total device, one has the *Crest* – a particular and *not* a generic term as some imagine.

A certain sense of humour appeals to the Heralds with the result that puns – cants – often occur in heraldry. Thus we have the spear-like object (a lance) in the Arms as an echo of the family name. Whether the Crest eagle is 'shaking that spear' I am not in a position to assert but knowing the heraldic mind as I do I have my suspicions! Crests came somewhat later than Shields of Arms. They were modelled in the round either in wood or boiled leather. They were not used so much in battle, but were certainly prominent in Tournaments. Indeed, there were even exhibitions devoted to Crests arranged alongside Tournaments, and such were great attractions.

Beneath the Crest is the *Crest-Wreath*: a piece of silk twisted and placed at the foot of the Crest in order to disguise the rivets or other mechanisms which secured the Crest to the Helm. The colours of such *Crest-Wreaths* comprise the *Livery Colours* of the person concerned. Such are usually made up of the principal metal and colour occurring on the Shield of Arms.

The material which flows down from beneath the Crest and on either side of the Helm is called the *Mantling*. It protected the back of the head and neck of the warrior from the elements, rather like the flaps of a Foreign Legion *kepis*, or of a fur hat worn in northern climes in winter. In battle the Mantling would become slashed, and such is but an invitation to an artist to arrange it in an elegant manner. The variations as to the shape and flow are almost infinite; but, once again, they usually bear the Livery Colours: metal on the inside, colour on the outside.

Finally, there is frequently a *Motto* placed on a scroll beneath the Shield – or if you are a Scot above the Crest. This contains a war cry, an aspiration, a sentiment and so on. Although frequently expressed in Latin, they do occur in almost any language. Thus the Queen has hers in French: DIEU ET MON DROIT; The Prince of Wales in German: ICH DIEN; the Churchills in

Spanish: FIEL PERO DESDICHEO.¹ There are even examples of bilingual Mottoes as in: ADVANCE OTTAWA EN AVANT; or a play upon the name of the bearer, as for the family of Holebrook: BROOK NOT THE HOLLOW – and so on.

If the armiger is a Knight then the helm will be open, and if a Baronet there will be a similar Helm with, on the shield, a silver inescutcheon charged with a left hand coloured red and known, in heraldry, as the ‘Bloody Hand of Ulster’ (pl. 13, 3). The now rare Baronets of Nova Scotia have a somewhat different augmentation to their Arms.

The Sovereign, members of the Royal Family, Peers, Knights Grand Cross – and their equivalents – and certain other categories of eminently distinguished persons – such as Governors-General – have the privilege of *Supporters* to their Arms, and so for The Queen the well-known lion and unicorn. The Helm for such Royal personages is gold throughout. An example of Supporters for a Peer are to be seen in the Order of the Bath Stall Plate design for the then Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum (pl. 13, 4). The Camel and the Gnu (Wildebeest) reflect his career in the Sudan and South Africa. As a Knight Grand Cross, Admiral Sir Henry Moore, Commander Home Fleet, 1945–46, whose Order of the Bath Stall Plate is shown in pl. 14, 5 has Supporters for life. Supporters are also permitted for important corporations, as with the celebrated dragons supporting the Arms of the Corporation of London.

Selection of Elements in an Exemplification

A point to be borne in mind is the fact that it is *not* necessary to have the complete Armorial Achievement shown upon all occasions. At times the shield can be used alone, at others the Crest alone, yet again the Shield and Supporters alone and so on. Such selections are completely legitimate and indeed appropriate, desirable and convenient, bearing in mind the location and area available for the exemplification.

Fashion

Almost everything in life is subject to fashion, and heraldry is no exception. As a result, while keeping all the essentials of the required constituent elements, such as position, attitude, colour and so on with regard to the charges, field and so on of particular Arms, the artistic manner of interpretation can vary greatly. Take for example the Supporters of the Royal Arms as interpreted for James I (pl. 14, 6); Queen Victoria upon her accession (pl. 14, 7) and of George V and so Her present Majesty (pl. 14, 8). All are equally legitimate from the heraldic point of view, but very different artistically.

Heralds always encourage individual interpretations, though they frequently encounter the mistaken idea that the artistic rendering of Arms must be a facsimile of the painting as shown on the original Patent. One can readily imagine the excruciating result when such a principle is applied upon a contemporary glass, brick and chromium plate edifice of the local council whose Arms were granted in 1890.

Some Examples of Heraldry in Metal

When considering a design which involves heraldry and metal, especially with numismatics and sphragistics, one needs to keep clearly in mind the basic, fundamental purpose of Arms: *identification*. The exemplification needs to be of such size as to fulfil this purpose, and not be so small and complicated as to be reduced to a series of almost meaningless dots and scratches. Again, a slavish adherence to the artistic form of previous exemplifications is to be

¹ ‘Faithful though unfortunate’.

shunned, especially when it is necessary to fit the Arms within a particular shape – almost always circular – which is not necessarily an easy one with which to deal. While preserving rigorously the essential details, the Arms are best reinterpreted so as to fit clearly and comfortably within the given shape available for display. One must avoid a procrustian battle in which scissors and paste are used as weapons in substitution for artistic skill combined with a knowledge of the Laws of Arms. The end production must always fulfil its functional purpose of identification.

Most of the examples I shall invite you to consider are drawn from this century although I have, from time to time, gone further back to make a point. All opinions expressed are, obviously, my own and you may feel you cannot agree. However, the opinions laid before you are the reactions of one who has worked as a herald for some 33 years, and who ultimately headed the heraldic department of the Royal Household.

The design of the 1983 £1 coin by William Gardiner (**pl. 15, 9**) is an example for me of trying to include too much on the surface available, though finely drawn with an interesting Jacobean rendering of the Mantling. If it is essential to have on this small surface the complete armorial achievement of the Arms of Dominion and Sovereignty of General Purpose of Her Majesty The Queen in right of the United Kingdom.² then the design of Eric Sewell (**pl. 15, 10**) is more satisfactory. On the other hand, given the area available, I would submit that the basic concept behind the 'Shield Sovereign' of Victoria (**pl. 15, 11**) is preferable. Here the ensigns have been stripped, so to speak, to their bare essentials and comprise simply the shield of the post – 1837 Royal Arms ensigned by the Royal Crown in that form generally favoured by Victoria prior to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By adopting this approach, one is able to identify the details with great clarity. The wreath of laurel on either side of the broadly-based Shield helps to fill in the spaces between the Shield and the Legend. Obviously, the style is *à l'époque* and we would do things differently nowadays, but the basic notion of producing an armorial design which fulfils its essential purpose of identification has been well achieved on this Victorian coin.

The 1884 Penny of Jamaica (**pl. 15, 12**) is inspired by the same desire to achieve clarity. Here the Indian Supporters have, quite legitimately, been left off and only the shield and crocodile Crest employed. The broad-based shield with pinched upper corners – much favoured in the time of the Regency – sets off the Arms with its Cross of St. George charged with Pineapples: a suitable allusion to an English West Indian colony. These Arms were the last assigned for a colony (1661)³ until Queensland received hers in 1893, prior to the plethora of Arms assigned for dependent territories which occurred in the 20th century.

However, the internal circle between the legend and the heraldic elements of the 1884 Penny cramps, somewhat, the crocodile Crest and also confines the wispy scroll which makes it difficult to read the motto thereon. (INDUS UTERQUE SERVIET UNI). By removing the internal circle on the 1961 Penny (**pl. 15, 13**) room is provided for the reptilian Crest as well as for a more adequate Motto scroll. The use of the date provides satisfactory stops.

The art of heraldic selection is well illustrated in the following examples in the use of the Royal Crest alone, that is to say: a royally crowned lion statant guardant upon a Royal Crown. F. Derwent-Wood attempted this good idea for a small surface with this 1926 pattern for a Shilling (**pl. 15, 14**) which was, in fact, not approved. The concept for such a coin was brought to a masterly expression in the 1925 design (approved in 1927) by Kruger Gray (**pl. 15, 15**). Here the artist has taken full advantage of the form of the Royal Crown, favoured

² For the codification of the Laws of Arms concerning Arms of Dominion and Sovereignty see C. Swan, *York Herald of Arms, Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty*, University of Toronto Press 1977, Chapter 1.

³ College of Arms Records, herein after referred to as CA-CA; Walker 11.5 dated 3 February 1661.

by George V, known as an Imperial Crown. Its name has nothing to do with the Empire and was in existence long before we had one. It simply refers to the *form* and *construction* of a crown where the arches rise in a dome-like manner and where the central orb and cross form the highest point. Such is in contrast to what is termed a St. Edward's Crown, where the arches rise and are then depressed at that point where they intersect – the form favoured by Her present Majesty. In Gray's 1927 Shilling the Crest almost thrusts itself at you, and there is no doubt as to its clarity and dignity. The crown on the lion's head and the end of that beast's tail – one can almost hear it swish(!) – form an effective stop in the legend. Heraldry to be really effective must almost knock you between the eyes, so to speak, and this design does just that.

Ten years later, Kruger Gray's 1937 Half Crown for Edward VIII was a most interesting experiment (pl. 15, 16). Here one finds the Royal Arms in banner form expressed in that very early manner where the hoist is longer than the fly. The spaces on either side are filled with elongated crowned Cyphers of double Es. Here the attempt has been made to fit an essentially upturned parallelogram design onto a circular surface and, master designer though Gray was, I would not rate this as one of his better designs – fascinating though it is.

Following the abdication of Edward VIII the same artist achieved what I consider to be a triumph with his George VI 1937 Half Crown (pl. 15, 17). By curving the upper and lower edges of the Shield, and by cusping its dexter and sinister sides – thus allowing room for much more rounded Royal Cyphers than the Edward VIII design – Gray achieved a beautifully balanced, clear and elegant reverse for this, at the time, most useful coin.

The Crown piece of the same year by Gray (pl. 15, 18) was also a selective design where the Shield, Crown, Supporters and Motto could be displayed to advantage on the larger surface available. By curving the lower edge of the *Compartment* – the grassy mound upon which the Supporters stand – by utilizing the tails of the lion and the unicorn Supporters to fill up the potentially awkward spaces on either side of an essentially vertical composition, and by allowing the orb and cross atop the Imperial Crown to supply an added stop to the legend band, one has a clear design of real strength and majesty.

The 1932 Half Crown piece for Southern Rhodesia by Kruger Gray is of particular interest (pl. 15, 19). Here the Arms of Dominion and Sovereignty of *particular purpose* of George V in right of this Southern African colony are displayed. The shield is ensigned by a Royal Crown in the Imperial form. Its cross and orb make a division within the date shown in the circular inscription. As these Arms had no Supporters, a Royal and Imperial cypher is arranged on either side within elegant scroll designs, all of which help to fill up the otherwise difficult spaces on either side of the shield. The treatment of the field of the shield is unique, in my experience, in numismatics. The blazon, the technical description, in the 1924 Royal Warrant⁴ laying down the Arms, stipulates that the field is to be argent – absolutely plain silver, which combined with the pick-axe could look rather stark. Accordingly – and I would say cunningly – Gray remembered the use of diaper in heraldry. That is to say, the use of two tones of one colour or metal – as with damask – so as to provide a rich effect. Thus the design called for a delicate, almost floral diaper treatment of the field. The chief – broad band at the top of the shield – includes the lion and thistles to be found in the Arms of Cecil Rhodes.⁵ This is one of those very rare instances where the Arms of a Subject have inspired the Arms of a Sovereign.

The 1913 Canadian Ten Dollar piece is something of a curiosity (pl. 15, 20). *Qua heraldica* it is most satisfactory. The broad-based shield shows off clearly the Arms of the four Provinces which in 1867 came together to found the new state – often at the time called Dominion – of Canada. These are arranged: Ontario, upper left; Quebec, upper right; Nova Scotia, lower left, and New Brunswick, lower right – all as laid down by Queen Victoria by

⁴ CA: I 79/71 dated 11 August 1924.

⁵ CA: Norfolk 43/29 and Grants 82/27.

Royal Warrant in 1868.⁶ The wreath of Maple leaves about the shield helps, along with the inscription, to cover – but not overcrowd – the surface available. The general impression given is, ‘These are the Arms of His Majesty King George V in Right of Canada’. However, in point of fact at that date Canada had no Arms. What is more, the 1868 Royal Warrant, already referred to, assigned the Arms to the Provinces severally, and went on to state specifically that when combined in this manner such was to be the design of the ‘Great Seal of Canada’ – and nothing else. So here one finds a case of *arma ambigua* – not an unknown phenomenon at this time – which generally came about mainly as the result of enthusiastic and well motivated Civil Servants who, though most knowledgeable in their own fields of work, were, alas, untutored in the Laws of Arms.⁷

Within a decade of this *faux pas heraldique*, Arms of Dominion and Sovereignty for Canada were laid down by a Royal Proclamation.⁸ These were displayed in 1952 by Kruger Gray in his design for a 50 cent piece with the greatest clarity and elegance (pl. 15, 21). The overall effect is completely worthy of a coin of, physically speaking, the largest state in all the Americas. It is interesting to note that *France Modern* returns to the Royal Ensigns, in the Fourth Quartering and also on the sinister banner, for the first time since 1801.⁹ Once again, the upper curve of an Imperial Crown follows, with advantage, the curve of the coin.

Among the most satisfactory coins in the last decade, I would single out the Scottish £1 piece of 1994 designed by a Herald-Painter at the College of Arms, Henry Gray (pl. 15, 22). Here one has one of the only five examples of nomenclatural Arms in British heraldry, that is to say a design of Arms identified by a *name*, thus eliminating the necessity of description by blazon upon each occasion.¹⁰ ‘Scotland’, that is to say a Lion rampant within a double Tressure flory counter-flory, appears on this coin. As a Tressure always follows the outline of the available space of display, so on this coin it is shown in a completely circular fashion. The rampant lion fills out, but does not overcrowd, the area within the double Tressure. The result is a clear, simple and direct identification of the northern part of Great Britain.

May we now pass on to consider some heraldic seals, both their impressions as well as their matrices. The work of the celebrated seal engravers, the Wyons, is well displayed in the 1911 Great Seal Depute for British Columbia (pl. 16, 23), where the Supporters – a Wapiti to the dexter and an *Ovis Montana* ram to the sinister – are used with great effect by Allan Wyon, where he has them spill over, so to speak, onto the legend band, which gives a vigorous three-dimensional character to the total design.¹¹ Oddly enough, whilst the Shield of Arms was completely legitimate – having been laid down by Edward VII in 1906 – the Supporters, highly suitable though they were from the heraldic point of view, were nevertheless completely unauthorized, as was the Crest. As will be seen, the latter is the Royal Crest of Dominion and Sovereignty of *general purpose* for the United Kingdom. Notwithstanding – though I am sure for the most loyal of motives – it was used as the Crest of Dominion and Sovereignty of *particular purpose*, and so a solecism of the first order. These additions were the result of the interest of the Reverend Arthur John Beanlands, Rector and Canon Residentiary of Christchurch Cathedral, Victoria, a local heraldic enthusiast. In fact, it was not for another eighty or so years that matters were put right by a Royal Warrant of Her present

⁶ CA: I 63/125.

⁷ For a discussion upon *arma ambigua*, see C. Swan, York Herald of Arms, ‘Arms from deputed great seals: an Imperial phenomenon’, *The Coat of Arms N.S.* Vol. IX, no. 153 (Spring 1991), p. 23 ff.

⁸ CA: I, 78, 285–6 Proclamation dated 21 November, 1921.

⁹ CA: I 36, 73–5, Proclamation dated 1 January 1801.

¹⁰ By way of complete contrast consider Polish heraldry,

which is almost entirely nomenclatural. For further details of this matter see Sir Conrad Swan, KCVO, Garter Principal King of Arms ‘English heraldic art in the 20th century – some thoughts by Garter’, lecture delivered at the Royal Castle, Warsaw 27 September 1995 and to be published in the journal of the Polskie Towarzystwo Heraldyczne (The Polish Heraldry Society).

¹¹ For a full discussion concerning the Arms and Seals of British Columbia see Swan, as in n. 2, pp. 179–89.

Majesty which assigned these Supporters.¹² The same Crest was added, but suitably differenced with a wreath of Dogwood – the Provincial flower – about the lion's neck, thus rendering it particular to British Columbia and removing the solecism.

As the penultimate seal example, may I draw to your attention one which I feel sure you will agree merits special attention (pl. 16, 24). This is the Great Seal of the Commonwealth of Australia of Her Majesty as Queen of Australia – a seal brought into use upon the advice of Her Australian Ministers. It has been engraved in an extremely clear manner both as to the armorial as well as its literal details. However, when viewed from strictly heraldic and constitutional points of view it is indeed an enigma.

In the centre one notes the Arms of Dominion and Sovereignty of general purpose of Her Majesty in right of the United Kingdom, ensigned by a Royal Crown in its Imperial form (incidentally, not favoured as a matter of personal choice by the present Queen). Such Arms are borne not only in respect of the United Kingdom, but also of all *dependent territories* which do not have Arms of their own. This inclusion is despite the fact, on the one hand, of the Statute of Westminster, 1931¹³ which recognised Australia (among others) as a sovereign, independent state, and on the other hand the existence of Arms for the Commonwealth of Australia since 1912.¹⁴ Possibly the central Arms on the seal were advised upon the affectionate and loyal, yet mistaken, assumption that such are the hereditary, familial and so *personal* Arms of the Sovereign, whereas they are, in point of fact, essentially Arms *ex officio*.

Yet again, the six shields, representing the six States and placed behind the central Royal Arms, are somewhat confusing. Starting at 1 o'clock, so to speak, they are: New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, respectively. The Shield of Arms of New South Wales is absolutely correct as laid down by Royal Warrant.¹⁵ That for Queensland (at '2 o'clock') ignores the historic Arms of this State¹⁶ and has placed part of its Crest onto a shield which is an excruciating solecism. Indeed, it is analogous to showing a head and labelling it 'the torso'. Western Australia, represented by shield number 3 at '5 o'clock', had *no* authorized Arms at this time, although the use of the *Cygnus atratus*, the Black Swan, was a long-used device representative of this area. In point of fact Arms for this State were not established until much later (1969).¹⁷ Shield number 4 at '7 o'clock' for Tasmania is devoid of the Arms already officially assigned of that State,¹⁸ and the design shown on the seal comprises an unauthorized extraction of *one* of the charges from the official flag of the Governor. South Australia, at '9 o'clock', does have its Arms¹⁹ displayed, but in a most curious manner: the shield of Arms upon a roundel and this in turn upon another shield. The normal way would have been to display the Arms throughout the larger shield available, as in the design for New South Wales at '1 o'clock'. Victoria, at '11 o'clock', fares little better. Its duly authorized Arms,²⁰ ensigned by a Crown, are cramped within a second shield. Once again, the treatment should have followed that employed for New South Wales. So one can only say about this great Seal, one is surprised, and that if cataloguing it would be tempted to place it in the section marked, *collectanea heraldica et curiosa* (!)

Finally, it occurred to me that you might care to see the original design for my own official seal as Garter Principal King of Arms, designed in 1992 by John Bainbridge, one of the senior herald-painters retained by Officers at the College of Arms (pl. 16, 25). To the dexter are the Arms of Office marshalled, to the sinister, with my family Arms. The shield is ensigned by the

¹² Royal Warrant was signed by H.M. The Queen at the Law Courts, Vancouver, 15 October 1987, with Dr. Conrad Swan, York Herald of Arms, in attendance.

¹³ 22 Geo. V. c. 4.

¹⁴ CA: I 76.270 dated 19 September 1912.

¹⁵ CA: I 75.61 dated 11 October 1906.

¹⁶ CA: I 71.62 dated 29 April 1893.

¹⁷ CA: I 83.172 dated 17 March 1969.

¹⁸ CA: I 77/293 dated 21 May 1917.

¹⁹ CA: I 80/232 dated 20 November 1936.

²⁰ CA: I 76.30 dated 10 June 1910.

crown of a King of Arms traditionally composed, it is thought, of Acanthus leaves. The crown is actually worn at the Coronation of a Sovereign – however, just to keep the Kings of Arms humble the rim is inscribed: MISERERE MEI DEUS SECUNDUM MAGNAM MISERECORDIAM TUAM (!) In order to fill up what might otherwise have been awkward spaces on either side of the shield, Bainbridge proposed my own Crest which, as a Sparrowhawk, displays itself easily to dexter and sinister. The artist has added a simple, straightforward legend. John Bainbridge started life in the Department of Inland Revenue, but then discovered that he had a soul, and proceeded to become, slowly but surely, a first-class heraldic artist. The matrix (illustrated in reverse, **pl. 16, 26**) shows how this heraldic design was realised in metal – the touch of wax remaining in the wing of the hawk gives, you may agree, being the devotees of the sphragistic that you are, the sting of the existential, as Jean Paul Sartre would say, to this final illustration.

There then Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen are a few thoughts on ARS HERALDICA IN METALLO, especially with regard to numismatics and sphragistics; of the requirements of heraldry, and of how best these may be met if the functional purposes of heraldry, that is to say *identification*, is to be met – noting some disasters on the way – in various cases, mostly of the 20th century.

KEY TO THE PLATES

1. The Brittany Seal of Edward III (1360).
2. The complete armorial achievement of an untitled, armigerous gentleman, comprising: Shield of Arms, Crest, Helm, Mantling and Motto (Author's Collection).
3. The Armorial Bearings of a Baronet with the augmentation of the 'Bloody Hand of Ulster' on an inescutcheon, and with the visor of the helm open (Author's Collection).
4. The Arms of a Peer, showing Supporters to which such are entitled – a design for a Stall Plate.
5. The Arms of a Knight Grand Cross with the entitlement of Supporters for life – an Order of the Bath Stall Plate.
6. James VI and I (College of Arms Record M7 folio 46v).
7. Victoria upon Her accession (College of Arms Record: I 51, 131).
8. George V (Order of the Bath Stall Plate).
9. 1983 £1 coin design by William Gardiner (Royal Mint).
10. 1983 £1 coin designed by Eric Sewell (Royal Mint).
11. Victoria 'Shield Sovereign' (Royal Mint).
12. Jamaica 1884 Penny (Royal Mint).
13. Jamaica 1961 Penny (Royal Mint).
14. Pattern Shilling 1926 by F. Derwent-Wood.
15. Pattern Shilling 1925, approved 1927 by Kruger Gray (Royal Mint).
16. Edward VIII Half Crown, 1937 by Kruger Gray (Royal Mint).
17. George VI Half Crown, 1937 by Kruger Gray (Royal Mint).
18. George VI Crown, 1937 by Kruger Gray (Royal Mint).
19. Southern Rhodesia 1932 Half Crown by Kruger Gray (Royal Mint).
20. Canada 1913 Ten Dollar piece (Royal Mint).
21. Canada 1952 50 cent piece by Kruger Gray (Royal Mint).
22. 1994 Scottish £1 (Royal Mint).
23. 1911 Great Seal Depute for British Columbia (Author's Collection).
24. Elizabeth II Great Seal of the Commonwealth of Australia (Royal Mint).
25. Design by John Bainbridge for the seal *ex officio* of Sir Conrad Swan, KCVO, as Garter Principal King of Arms (Author's Collection).
26. The Matrix (shown in reverse) of the seal *ex officio* of Sir Conrad Swan, KCVO, as Garter Principal King of Arms (Author's Collection).

Acknowledgements

Permission to reproduce the following is gratefully acknowledged: **Pl. 1** From *The Royal Heraldry of England* by J.H. and R.V. Pinches, Heraldry Today, Ramsbury, Wiltshire, **Pl. 6** and **7** The Corporation of the Kings, Herald and Pursuivants of Arms, **Pls. 9 to 22** Royal Mint. **Pls. 4, 5** and **8** by the Author when Genealogist of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath. The remainder of the illustrations are in the Author's Collection.



1



William Shakespere

2



The Armorial Bearings of
SIR ELLIS CUNLIFFE
of Saighton Hall co-pal: Chester, Baronet,
as recorded at the College of Arms London
16 May 1760

Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms

3



HORATIO HERBERT
VICOMTE KITCHENER DE KIARTOUN
MDCCCXVIII

4



5



Knights of the Bath made at St James on Sunday the 24 of July An. 1603 being the Day before the Coronation of our Sovereign Lord King James of England Scotland France, & Ireland King &c.
Hachert, S^r Thomas — Burley, S^r William — Evers, S^r George —

6

real Britain and Ireland, and the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and Man.

G. G. Dreville.



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



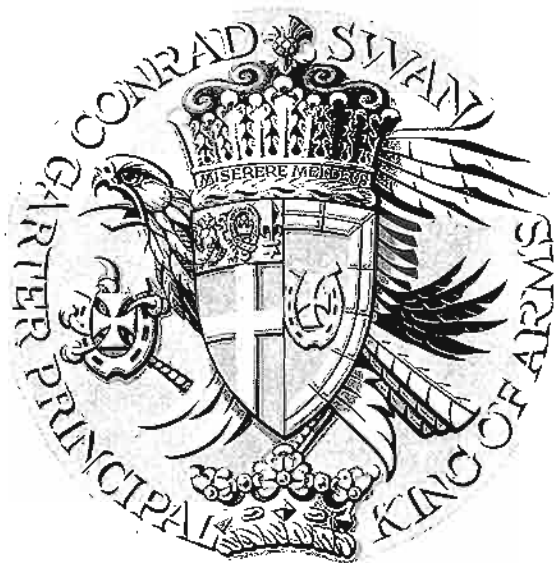
22



23



24



25



26

ROBERT B.K. STEVENSON, 1913–1992, A NUMISMATIC APPRECIATION

LORD STEWARTBY

NUMISMATICS, too often an esoteric subject, occasionally enjoys the attention of an antiquarian polymath who can bring the benefit of related techniques and broad experience of historical artefacts to the study of coins. Robert Stevenson was such a one. In an earlier age, before the intensive specialisation of modern research, such scholars were less rare. The great Sir John Evans was the classic example in the nineteenth century. More recently, there have been few who could command so wide a field. Perhaps the most familiar figure of the kind to members of our Society in the post-war era was Stuart Rigold, our late President, whose role as Inspector of Ancient Monuments had given him an encyclopaedic knowledge of England's physical past and enabled him to comment pertinently, with an historical nuance or a cultural parallel, on almost any paper read to the Royal or the British Numismatic Society, whatever its period or subject matter. Robert Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland from 1945 to 1978, and President in 1975–8 of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to which the National Museum owed its origins, was, in the Scottish context, a universal scholar of similarly unlimited range. Flint axes, Pictish metalwork, medieval weapons, Renaissance wood-carvings, Edinburgh silverware, highland dress – these and countless other topics all claimed his expert attention as curator or student, and the festschrift presented to him after his retiral in 1978 was fittingly entitled *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five*.

I do not need to include here more than a few of the biographical details that can be found in the festschrift tribute by Alastair Kennedy, then Chairman of the Trustees of the National Museum, and in an obituary by his museum colleague Stuart Maxwell in the Antiquaries' *Proceedings*.¹ He was introduced to academic and historical thought at an early age since his father, who had an interest in sundials and merchants' marks, was President of the Glasgow Archaeological Society and Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in Glasgow University.² Robert read Classics at Edinburgh, where he was up to Gordon Childe for archaeology, and continued his studies at Bonn and at the Institute of Archaeology in London. Subsequently he excavated not only in Scotland but also at Constantinople, where he became an expert on Byzantine glazed pottery, at Maiden Castle under Mortimer Wheeler and at Wroxeter under Kathleen Kenyon. Having joined the staff of the National Museum as Assistant Keeper in 1938, he moved to the Department of Health at the beginning of the war, after packing up the contents of the museum for safe storage. Then into the army and, after taking part in the landings on Sicily, he characteristically found time to study neolithic pottery in Italy before demobilisation in the rank of major in the Intelligence Corps.

Although barely thirty-two when appointed Acting Keeper of the museum in 1945, Stevenson had already made something of an international mark as a scholar, and with practical administrative experience gained from the Civil Service and the army he was well equipped to assume responsibility for a national museum and to plan for its future.

¹ *PSAS* 122, 1992, 1–4.

² During the seventies and eighties Edward Burns lived at no. 3, London Street, Edinburgh, and Stevenson observed (with regret that he had learnt this too late to ask about him)

that his father, Professor W.B. Stevenson (1869–1954), must for a time have been a neighbour, living at no. 4 between the ages of seven and seventeen.

My first meeting with Robert Stevenson was on a visit to Edinburgh at the beginning of the fifties, when I was writing *The Scottish Coinage*. I had come to check a number of points with the national collection and to select coins for illustration. Though I was only a schoolboy, the head of the National Museum received me with the greatest kindness and consideration, and treated me entirely without condescension. As a result, to my great delight, we were able to discuss problems and ideas relating to Scottish coins as one student with another, and so began a dialogue which, though with sometimes lengthy intervals, was to continue for the remaining forty years of his life.

A year or two later I had occasion to contact Stevenson on a most curious matter, which, after due passage of time, I think deserves to be placed on record. One day in 1953, when I was talking with Mr. Douglas Liddell at Spink's, a large man with a white beard arrived, who wanted to sell him a silver penny of Carlisle in the name of Stephen. Since this was a rare item that I knew only from illustrations, I asked to see it, and a conversation about Scottish coins developed. The customer turned out to be called Philip Thorburn, son of the ornithological artist, Archibald Thorburn, and a well-informed collector of Scottish coins who was then switching his interest to the Islamic series. In the course of our conversation he asked me where I was at school and what coins I collected. Soon after I returned to Haileybury the following term I received a price list of Thorburn's Scottish coins from which he invited me to select any that I wanted. They included a number of very rare and desirable things, not highly priced, and which, as a schoolboy collector, I had hardly dared hope to possess. I asked for as many as I could afford, and on receipt eagerly checked them against *The Coinage of Scotland*. I was concerned to find that one of them was not only illustrated in the book, but stated by Burns in the 1880s to have been at that time in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. So I wrote to Stevenson to ask him about it and he replied, to my surprise, that although Burns had been in error in describing that particular coin as belonging to the Antiquaries, certain Scottish and other coins had indeed been found to have gone missing after a recent visit by Thorburn to the museum. He let me have a note of these, and I was duly able to recover some of them from Thorburn's list, among a further group that I ordered for myself. Word had it that Thorburn, when in acquisitive mood, would put his left arm in a sling, line up desirable coins on the edge of the table, raise his arm slightly, and then quickly flick them into the sling while a dealer's or curator's head was turned: a technique which attracted suspicion after it was noticed on occasions that his left arm appeared in perfect order in between sightings of the sling. His resignation from the Royal Numismatic Society followed some time later, after he had been confronted with the evidence, and the Trustees of the National Museum took an appropriately sympathetic view of the problems facing Stevenson and his tiny staff in their guardianship of such a store of historical objects, many of them both small and valuable.

Curatorial duties extended not only to care of the magnificent collection of Scottish coins, but also to the sorting and recording of newly found coin hoards, with an eye to the selection of suitable additions to the National Museum's holdings. This process was to be responsible for most of Robert Stevenson's published work on coins;³ but not for his first, which was a classic example of the value of combining numismatics with wider historical knowledge and observation. In 1919 a large number of copper pennies of the fifteenth century, of a type hitherto rare, had been found in a drain at the Cluniac abbey of Crosraguel in Ayrshire, leading George Macdonald to propose, against earlier views that they originated in Sicily or Naples, that the James named on them was king of Scotland, and that they had been struck at a mint in the abbey itself. It was left to Robert Stevenson a generation later to draw attention to the fact that their obverse type, an orb surmounted by a cross, was the device of Bishop James

³ Mr. Robert Thompson has kindly assisted me in the preparation of the bibliography printed hereafter. I am also

grateful to Mrs. Murray and Mr. Pagan for comments on the text.

Kennedy of St. Andrews, as still to be seen there in St. Salvator's College. Bishop Kennedy, to whom minting rights had been confirmed by James II, was a leading figure in the realm from the 1450s and Stevenson surmised that these pennies had been struck on his authority. Mrs. Murray has subsequently argued that their issue was too large to have been undertaken other than on royal authority, and that they were more likely to be the black money that contributed to complaints against the king in 1482;⁴ but there is no record of them in government documents or the accounts of the royal mint, and Stevenson maintained to the end that they were Kennedy's.⁵

Most of Stevenson's subsequent numismatic work arose directly from museum acquisitions or the discovery of hoards. He added to the collection systematically from the great Lockett sales of 1957 and 1960, with particular emphasis on the long voided-cross sterlings of Alexander III (1249–86) from the Brussels hoard of 1908, a series not well known in the time of Burns; and in retirement he advised the museum on its needs at Col. Murray's sale in 1986. He would also acquire coins from dealers when working on a particular series, or if unusual material appeared. The purchase of a new Alexander short-cross sterling in 1959 prompted him, in a brief note, to make the important observation that this coin, and a few others, had an unbearded face and should be attributed not to Alexander II but to the first year of the reign of the young Alexander III, before the long-cross was introduced in 1250. He had clear views about the care and enhancement of a national coin collection, and he took the opportunity to express these in a lecture to a meeting sponsored by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1978. This is of such general interest that it has been reproduced hereafter, as an appendix, from a typescript found amongst his papers.⁶

Relatively few important hoards of Scottish coins were found in the first half of this century, and in one sense that was fortunate since there was no one then at the Museum qualified to deal with them. That is why it fell to Macdonald, chiefly distinguished as a classicist, to record not only the hoards of English Edwardian sterlings found early in the century,⁷ but also the fifteenth-century material from Perth (1920) and Whitburn (1921), as well as Crosraguel.⁸ Stevenson was not the only later student to regret the lost opportunity for the National Museum to acquire runs of coins of James I, II and III from these critical finds – much of the Perth hoard ended up in Perth Museum and many of the most important Scottish coins from Whitburn went to the British Museum instead.

During Stevenson's keepership the incidence of discoveries increased. Beside a number of lesser finds, there were the usual Edwardian hoards from southern Scotland (Renfrew, 1963, and Loch Doon, 1966), a run of hoards unusually rich in base metal coins from James III to Charles I, and a remarkable find of English tenth-century coins on the island of Iona. This last was to raise in one step the National Museum's previously modest Anglo-Saxon holdings to a new level of importance, and not only introduced Stevenson to the series with markedly beneficial effect but also led to his production in due course of the sixth volume of the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, devoted to the pre-Conquest English coins in Edinburgh. This broke new ground in including an excellent introduction on the evidence for coin use in Scotland during the Viking Age. He was also, a few years later, to return to this series in a pioneering joint paper with a metallurgist on the tenth-century debasement. In the same year that the Iona hoard was found, 1950, another major hoard of similar period was discovered in Chester, and the two together served to provide a new stimulus to Anglo-Saxon numismatics.

⁴ J.E.L. Murray, 'The black money of James III', *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100–1600)* (= BAR British Series 45), edited by D.M. Metcalf, Oxford 1977, pp. 115–30.

⁵ V. Smart, *The Coins of St. Andrews*, St. Andrews, 1991, pp. 32–5: 'In a recent letter, Mr. Stevenson stated that his opinion is still very strongly in favour of a Kennedy connection for these pennies, though he concedes that the

issue may have been long-lived and have continued to be struck after Kennedy's death.'

⁶ Despite the flattering references to myself, I hope it will be understood that, with advice, I have felt it best to reproduce Stevenson's words wherever possible as they stood.

⁷ NC 1905, 1913 and 1923.

⁸ NC 1919 and 1921; PSAS 1921–2.

Stevenson's prompt and concise publication of the Iona hoard in the *Chronicle* for 1951 was distinguished by acute observation of stylistic groups. This greatly impressed Christopher Blunt to whom, with R.H.(M.) Dolley, fell the task of dealing with the Chester hoard. Indeed, the two hoards raised so many new questions about the neglected English coinage of the tenth century that this was to become one of the main areas of Blunt's research for the rest of his life. On several occasions, when working on coins of that period in his later years, he remarked how much he had learned from Stevenson's approach to the Iona coins.

By training and taste Stevenson was a typologist. The common strand in his wide involvement with archaeology was the classification and arrangement of artefacts, by their technology, the development of forms, the evolution of ornament and the identification of parallels. Such an approach was ideally suited to the detailed analysis of early coin series. Like all those who have used the work of Edward Burns, he was introduced to modern methods of medieval numismatics through the writing of their earliest, and still one of their supreme exponents. The study of punches and letter-forms, dies and die-linking, was to Stevenson simply an applied, and exceptionally detailed, form of the archaeological typology in which he specialised. His attitude to coins was an ambivalent one: partly fascination with the material and the challenge of subjecting it to his particular skills; partly the horror of contemplating the enormous amount of time, effort and eyestrain required to ensure that it submitted.

Of three further important hoards turned up in Scotland in the next few years, two were from the second half of the fifteenth century, from Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire (1956), and Rhoneston, Nithsdale, Dumfriesshire (1961), and the third a large find of tiny copper coins of Charles I from Pow, Orkney (1955). The Glenluce hoard was discovered by Dr. and Mrs. E.M. Jope, professional archaeologists, who referred it via J.D.A. Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum to Robert Stevenson in Edinburgh. Four years before the discovery of the Glenluce hoard I had contributed my first paper to the *Journal*,⁹ reviving the Burns attribution to James III of (right-facing) portrait groats which Grueber and Macdonald had later put to James V. Since the Glenluce hoard, by including these portrait groats with other coins no later than the 1490s, provided the missing hoard evidence to confirm the reattribution, it was gratifying as an undergraduate to be invited by Stevenson to undertake the publication of this hoard on behalf of the National Museum. But as a curator Stevenson was never jealous of his material, nor did he regard amateurs with the suspicion that is harboured by some professionals. He was only too happy to share with others the labour of sorting hoards and recording them.

After Glenluce I could hardly have hoped that a second hoard of the period would soon appear, to corroborate another attempt that I had lately made to vindicate an original attribution by Burns.¹⁰ But the contents of the Rhoneston hoard served to confirm that the left-facing portrait groats, commonly assigned to James IV in the first half of the twentieth century, should be restored to James III, and Stevenson generously invited me to join with him in the publication. This led us into much discussion of the make-up of Scottish currency at the end of the middle ages, and for Stevenson greatly enhanced the interest of three new hoards found in 1962–3 which took the story into the sixteenth century.

Stevenson's readiness to enlist the help of student-collectors resulted in the timely publication of two important Edwardian hoards, from Renfrew (1963) and Loch Doon, Ayrshire (1966), through the agency of Mr. Woodhead and Dr. Tatler. It is a practice that has happily been continued, since Stevenson's retirement, by Dr. David Caldwell in inviting Messrs. Woodhead and Wood to collaborate in publication of the fourteenth-century finds from Aberdour, Fife (1978 and 1981), and Mrs. Murray and Mrs. Delmé-Radcliffe, experts respectively in the Scottish and English groats of the fifteenth century, in that of the late medieval find at Innerwick, East Lothian (1979).

⁹ *BNJ* XXVII, 66–72.

¹⁰ *BNJ* XXVII, 182–94.

But to return now to Stevenson's own work on Scottish coins from new Scottish hoards: in each case this was undertaken primarily in order to select specimens for the museum, and the need for this arose first in the case of the Pow hoard in 1955. No-one had done any serious work on the unprepossessing little copper turners of the 1630s since Burns, and Stevenson set out to check them in greater detail than Burns had attempted. This resulted in a much more minute classification of the series, revealing unexpected patterns in the use of crown and letter punches. The only complaint I could make about this remarkable paper is that the listing of varieties is so detailed that it is often not possible to classify individual specimens exactly by the Stevenson numbers unless (which is by no means invariable in this series) they are well-struck and in good condition. But the Pow hoard report is by any standards a paper of great numismatic distinction, not least for the penetrating treatment of the historical and documentary evidence which occupies more than half the introduction.

Further important post-medieval hoards appeared in the early sixties, three of them spanning the sixteenth century: from Linlithgow (1963), c. 1530; Rigghead, Collin, Dumfriesshire (1963), c. 1555; and Noranside, Tannadice, Angus (1962), c. 1587. These hoards are of particular value in containing large runs of petty currency in relatively good condition, offering an opportunity for the study of series which were not normally chosen by hoarders and of which surviving specimens are often worn or corroded. Originally Stevenson planned to publish an omnibus report on the three hoards, incorporating new discussion of the billon placks of James IV and V, abundantly represented at Linlithgow, of the silver groats of James V in the light of those from Linlithgow and Rigghead, and of the billon bawbees of James V and Mary from Rigghead and Noranside. In due course it became evident that each of these series deserved a thorough reassessment going beyond the coins in the hoards, a tremendous undertaking that Stevenson not surprisingly had to defer until retirement. Starting with the most difficult, and working backwards, he completed his study of the bawbees in 1988, followed three years later by the groats, which were in the press at the time of his death. He was already hard at work on the placks but had not reached the point where his lists were in publishable form. Finally, he planned a general survey of Scottish currency of the sixteenth century in the light of these three and other hoards, along the lines of a joint paper that he had written with Mr. Porteous in 1972 on the hoards and currency of the seventeenth century.

The bawbee paper must rank as one of the most remarkable examples of modern numismatics to have appeared in our *Journal*. Although not a die study as such, it goes into the greatest detail, clarifying sequence at many points and presenting a convincing arrangement of the whole coinage, phase by phase. Many of the specimens are poorly struck and difficult to decipher, quite apart from the effects of wear. It is a series as complicated and intricate as any in the British field, and Stevenson's work represents as much of an advance on Burns as, for example, does Mr. North's *Sylloge* on the essentially correct but much less detailed work of the Foxes on Edwardian sterlings; but with the bawbees the credit is all the greater for there having been no progressive study of the series by others in the interval. Like the bawbees, the James V groats offered inviting material for Stevenson the typologist, and the results are no less impressive. Here, with a smaller coinage, he was able to record the obverse die of every specimen known to him, and his resultant classification represents the first satisfactory arrangement of one of the few parts of the Scottish coinage where Burns fell into material error over sequence.

Mindful of the importance of the Coats collection to Edward Burns, Robert Stevenson believed that private collections had a key role to play in numismatic research. Several times he told me that he would never have been able to carry out his work on the placks, groats and bawbees of James IV, James V and Mary without the extended loan of those parts of my collection. Although he worked extensively from photographs, he needed actual coins to study at home, and these could only come from a private collection. Over a period of years, boxes of coins would travel up and down to Scotland, sometimes on holiday journeys, sometimes by

ministerial boxes. Fortunately, a cousin of my wife's is a minister in the Scottish Office, and members of his private office have been most helpful in arranging the safe transport of this irreplaceable material on some of their regular journeys between Edinburgh and London. One of the problems was that, every time Stevenson produced another draft of one of his papers, I would need my coins back to check the text. Doing so was a difficult but absorbing task, partly because of the complexity of the material, partly because Stevenson's extreme economy of expression resulted in a text of Tacitean density. One needed a stretch of uninterrupted hours to tackle one of his typescripts properly, but the effort was well rewarded. I remember, in particular, the admiration I felt for his work one weekend in 1988 when I had to be on duty as Security Minister in Northern Ireland. I was confined to Hillsborough Castle, with the drums beating all day outside for the parades to mark the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, and concentration would have been impossible without a real challenge. So I was thankful to have the final draft of the bawbee paper to go through and check against my coins, a task that I completed just as the drums at last fell silent. I cannot now remember how many stages I saw of the bawbees and groats, but the orderly catalogues and (relatively) simple texts, as they finally emerged, belie the long travail of gestation and the immense attention that Stevenson applied to detail in resolving the problems that arose.

My last discussion with Robert Stevenson took place over lunch at the New Club in Edinburgh in April 1992. James V groats were in the press and we talked of plans to complete his work on the placks of James IV and V, which he had been pursuing intermittently since the Linlithgow find of 1963. He had devised a new system of classification, based on the punches for crowns and cross-ends, which broadly confirmed the general arrangement set out by Burns a century before, but going into much greater detail. Fortunately, he had marked his classification on the envelopes of my placks, and I hope that from this I may in due course be able to reconstruct his work at least in summary form, using the professional drawings that he had commissioned of the various cross-ends and crowns. One of the greatest problems I shall face will be in deciphering the handwriting of his notes. I know that I shall not cause offence to his family if I say that his writing is the most incomprehensible I have ever encountered. I have spent hours with a magnifying glass trying to work out how some of these strange marks were made on the coin envelopes, and what their author can have intended them to convey. Whether I shall be successful I cannot with confidence yet say, but I have no doubt that it is worth making the attempt. The same applies to his unfinished work on Scottish currency in the light of the sixteenth-century hoards, although being less technical this should present somewhat lesser problems of decipherment.

One other item in Stevenson's bibliography, though not primarily numismatic, must be mentioned here. In 1981 the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, founded in 1780, published a volume to mark its bicentenary, and this included a monumental account by Stevenson of the history of the museum which, until the 1850s, had belonged to the Society. This article, which runs to 125 pages, includes a great deal of information about coins, finds and numismatists. Throughout his adult life Stevenson was devoted to the Museum and to the Society,¹¹ and it was a matter of sadness to him in his retirement that the future of the museum as he knew it was at risk. In his last few years as Keeper, much of his time had been taken up with proposals for a new building to house the Museum, travelling abroad to see comparable institutions, and developing plans for a new museum physically more suited to the needs of an archaeological and historical museum than the elaborate Victorian gothic structure in Queen Street. In 1974 these plans came close to being implemented, but at the critical moment the funds were not forthcoming and the scheme was shelved. Official suggestions that the National Museum should be amalgamated with the Royal Scottish Museum were robustly resisted. Stevenson

¹¹ The council of the Society is proposing to use a bequest annually to the author of the most outstanding article accepted from him to initiate the R.B.K. Stevenson Prize, to be awarded for publication in the *Proceedings*, starting with vol. 124.

felt it inappropriate to combine two museums with such divergent style and purpose; that a general museum such as the Royal Scottish, with its emphasis on natural history, ethnology, geology and so on, should not be merged with a museum dedicated specifically to national history; and that such a merger would not only be for the inconvenience of visitors wanting to see the memorials of Scottish history in Scotland, but would diminish the priority accorded to the pursuit of the archaeological and historical record in Scotland which had been the foundation of the National Museum with its origins in the Society of Antiquaries. But, much to Stevenson's distress, the pass was sold by his successor, and the creation of a combined museum by development of the site adjacent to the Royal in Chambers Street is now proceeding. One would like to think that the decision of the new keeper (himself a numismatist) that the National Museum should have its separate entrance, is a step in the direction of Stevenson's instincts and at least a partial recognition of the force of the arguments that he had deployed.

For most of the time I knew them, Robert and Elizabeth Stevenson lived in a spacious house in Cobden Crescent, where we had a number of working sessions on bawbees and groats and placks over the years. In 1990 they moved to a newly built flat in Mortonhall, but I never visited him there and indeed I doubt whether it would have been possible for two of us to work together in his tiny study. Sadly he was not to enjoy it for long, for he suffered a fatal heart attack on holiday with Elizabeth in the Pyrenees, in July 1992. As always, he was combining a holiday with visits to places of historical interest. Elizabeth tells me she cannot recall a holiday in Britain or on the Continent that was purely recreational; and that Robert was particularly pleased with the motor caravan they used in the 1970s because the high cabin enabled him to see over walls that had previously hidden places of interest to him.

Robert Stevenson was an indefatigable antiquary of the most civilized kind. He was a person of modesty, charm and complete integrity. Although immensely learned, he carried his scholarship easily and with an engaging humour. Though persistent and resolute in his aims, he was invariably courteous and patient. He did not allow disappointment about the future of his museum to deter him from continuing to work there for its benefit after he retired. He achieved a great deal on his own as a scholar but his contribution and encouragement to the work of others was incalculable. We are fortunate indeed that with the many claims on his interest he found as much time as he did for coins. The Royal Numismatic Society recognized this by electing him to honorary fellowship in 1979, and we can only regret that he did not live long enough for three of the most accomplished studies that have ever appeared in our *Journal*, on the turners, bawbees and groats, to bring him the Sanford Saltus medal of our own Society which they undoubtedly merited.

PUBLISHED NUMISMATIC WORKS OF R.B.K. STEVENSON

(This list does not include reviews – see *BNJ*, *NCirc*, and *Arch.J.* – or minor entries in *Coin Hoards I–III* or *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*)

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|------|--|
| 1950 | 'Crossraguel' pennies – reattribution to Bishop Kennedy. <i>PSAS</i> LXXXIV, 1949–50, 109–12. |
| 1951 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: flex-start;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> (a)
(b)
(c) </div> <div> The Iona hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins, <i>NC</i> 1951, 68–90.
 A hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins found at Iona Abbey, <i>PSAS</i> LXXXV, 1950–51, 170–75.
 Coin hoard, Castle Maol, Skye, <i>PSAS</i> LXXXV, 1950–51, 158–59. (Includes note on Scottish half-merks, 1572–80; hoard contained silver to 1601 and billon placks and hardheads of James VI.) </div> </div> |
| 1956 | (With R. Kerr) Coin hoards in Scotland 1955, <i>PSAS</i> LXXXIX, 1955–56, 107–17.

1. Balligormorie, Barr, Ayrshire (James III–V billon), R.K. (Mostly James IV pennies.)
2. Braeside, Greenock, Renfrewshire (James V–VI), R.B.K.S. (Bawbees of James V and Mary, testoons, nonsunts and quarter-merks to 1573.) |

3. Ardmaddy, Kilbrandon, Argyll, R.B.K.S. and R.K. (Real of Ferdinand and Isabella, English silver of Elizabeth and James I to 1605, Scots 1601–2 and post-Union.)
4. Pow, Stromness, Orkney, R.B.K.S. (124 Charles I turners plus 3 forgeries, 4 English farthings.)

- 1958 Scottish coin notes, *PSAS* XCI, 1957–58, 195–99.
1. Coins from the Lockett collection, pp. 195–6 (272 coins from sale part 1, 1957).
 2. Scottish Coin Hoards 1958, pp. 196–7.
 - (i) Sandaig, Glenelg, Inverness-shire (?1621, no Scots, Mary Tudor to Frederic Ulric of Brunswick).
 - (ii) Mossend Farm, Beith, Ayrshire (1570s, Mary–James VI, nonsunts, 1565 1/3 ryal, half- and quarter-merks 1572–4).
 3. The Recent Growth of the Museum's Coin and Medal Cabinet, pp. 198–9 (Numbers of post-war additions of coins, medals and tokens).
- 1959 The Stirling turners of Charles I 1632–39, *BNJ* XXIX, 1958–59, 128–51.
- 1960 Coins purchased for the Museum, 1959–60, *PSAS* XCIII, 1959–60, 245–46. (Alexander III short-cross; Alexander III single-cross, no sceptre, from Whittonstall hoard; James VI and Charles I six-shillings dates.)
- 1961 Further coins from the Lockett collection, *PSAS* XCIV, 1960–61, 325–26. (301 coins from sale part 2, 1960.)
- 1965 (With B.H.I.H. Stewart) The Rhoneston hoard 1961, *BNJ* XXXIV, 1965, 109–17.
- 1966 *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, 1, Anglo-Saxon and associated coins*. Oxford 1966.
- 1967 Treasure Trove at Loch Doon, *Kelvin* [S.S.E.B. house mag], March 1967.
- 1968 (With E.F.D. Roberts) A mint account, 1632–33, *Scot Hist Rev* XLVII, 1968, 199–202.
- 1969 Treasure Trove in Scotland, *Canobelin* 1969, 26–28.
- 1972 (a) (With H. McKerrell) Some analyses of Anglo-Saxon and associated Oriental silver coinage, in *Methods of chemical and metallurgical investigation of ancient coinage*, edited by E.T. Hall and D.M. Metcalf, London 1972, pp. 195–209. [= RNS Special Publ. 8, 1972].
- (b) (With J. Porteous) Two Scottish seventeenth-century coin hoards, *BNJ* XLI, 1972, 136–46.
- (c) The Lochgelly find, *BNJ* XLI, 1972, 183–84.
- (d) Two medieval jettons from Buittle Castle, Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbrightshire, *Trans Dumfries Gall Natur Hist Antiq Soc* 49, 1972, 118.
- 1975 'Arabella Stewart' medals, *PSAS* 106, 1974–75, 221–23.
- 1976 The Faculty [of Advocates]'s coin collection, *Journal of the Law Society of Scotland* 21 (5), May 1976, 166.
- 1979 A counterfeit revenue stamp on Scottish banknotes about 1825, *NCirc* LXXXVII, 1979, 285.
- 1981 The Museum, its beginnings and its development, *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*, edited by A.S. Bell, Edinburgh, 1981, pp. 31–85 and 142–211.
- 1986 (a) The Anglo-Saxon silver penny and its context, *PSAS* 116, 1986, 339–41.
- (b) Votive coins deposited between 1600 and 1800 in Orkney and elsewhere, *PSAS* 116, 1986, 343–45.
- 1988 Holy wells and coins, *Trans Dumfries Gall Natur Hist Antiq Soc* 63, 1988, 92.
- 1990 The bawbee issues of James V and Mary, *BNJ* 59, 1989, 120–56.
- 1991 The groat coinage of James V, 1526–38, *BNJ* 61, 1991, 37–56.

APPENDIX

Interpreting a Coin Collection

(The text of a lecture given by R.B.K.S. on 29 April 1978
to a meeting arranged by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
at the National Museum, Queen Street on the theme
‘The Past and the Present: The Role of the National Museum’)

It has been a fundamental belief of mine that objects are kept in museums to be used; if they are to occupy perpetually premises rentable at so much a square foot, this has to be justified. But also I do not believe that because no one uses them they are unjustifiably kept. We preserve for the future, which is longer than the present, and we hope longer and more propitious than the past for our museums.

The one coin collection of which I have had experience, as a conscript, has had long periods of disuse, and languishes largely unseen. The founders of our Society began collecting coins for our Museum in 1781 – about 450 of them in that year, as we know from the printed accession lists which establish the pedigree of so many of our present-day possessions. Of those over 200 were Scottish, half of them gifted by Dr. William Hunter. Of the 166 Roman, probably a quarter came from two named finds of coin hoards, one in Fife and the other at Linlithgow; some of the other coins were indeed also specified as from hoards. Later on a consolidated list of the Scottish coins was made in 1831 and published in *Archaeologia Scotica*. Like other bodies and museums we benefited in the first half of the nineteenth century from small samples from coin hoards distributed by the Barons of Exchequer, but after the Museum was nationalised in 1851 it became the preferred recipient, later allowed in effect to select what it wanted from hoards or other strays, as far that is to say as they all got to the Exchequer. I shall come back to the changing policies of successive generations as shown by their choices. At any rate much of the character of the collection, and much of its importance, is due to runs and rarities selected from hoards from all parts of Scotland. These comprise Roman, Anglo-Saxon and English coins in some quantity as well as Scottish, and some Continentals, even central Asian, and come, so far, to the early nineteenth century.

Another of my beliefs is that, because staffs of museums are small and can rarely be single-mindedly devoted to any specialisation, their collections grow best when they collect collections. Hoards are a special case of this. But we owe very much to two collectors in particular. The first, James Sutherland, professor of Botany in Edinburgh at the end of the seventeenth century, was gathering Roman coins, but was also studying Scotland's own coinage at a time when he could select a fine typological series and some unique gold pieces. In 1705 he sold his collection, with the carefully detailed catalogue in his own hand, to the Faculty of Advocates, in whose keeping it was used as a source, for example for the lists and illustrations of Scottish coins and medals, in Anderson's *Dipomata Scotica* published in 1739 – its full title included the words *numismatum Scotiae thesaurus*. From the Advocates Sutherland's collection was bought by the Antiquaries in 1872 for the Museum.

In the 1870s also Thomas Coats over in Paisley was employing Edward Burns to form a first class collection of Scottish coins, bought from far and wide – some doubtless from the premature sales of duplicates from the now combined Antiquaries and Advocates collection. Burns was a genius, and his interpretation of the Coats collection added immeasurably to the understanding of our coinage. Thanks to his patron he was able to integrate in the great catalogue of the Coats collection the many varieties he found by close study of our collection – plainly the duplicates sales would have been much reduced if he had been able to do this sooner. He also included additional varieties in the British Museum and in the Pollexfen collection; and as a result we bought from the Pollexfen collection about 300 coins in 1900. This was financed by the sale of the miscellaneous foreign collection – which unfortunately included many from hoards that were therefore part of the history of currency in Scotland.

Neither Coats nor Burns lived to see their catalogue published, the three volume *Coinage of Scotland* in 1887. No further study of any section of our coinage appears to have taken place till 1922, when the discovery of a fifteenth-century hoard in Perth diverted George Macdonald's studies from classical times. And there was very little for long after that, despite the gift by the Coats family of their Scottish collection in 1921 to the National Museum of Antiquities, where it is kept separate as the standard reference collection. It continued to rest in its safe almost unused till a stimulating book was written in 1953 by a schoolboy, now Ian Stewart MP. For even more than with Romilly Allen's catalogue of the *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Burns' work was so complete, that his subject was knocked stone cold for decades.

While Burns does overshadow everyone else (and I have not mentioned his work on English coins, much of it lying in our trays in his untouched and unconsulted arrangement of the English coins from the Montrave hoard), a fair picture of the past requires some other figures to be named. The Revd Dr John Jamieson was in effect honorary curator of coins around 1830 (as were other members of the Society officially up to 1954, and in practice Robert Kerr up to his death in 1967). Dr Jamieson and W.H. Scott, doctor of medicine, studied coins from Viking hoards, Anglo-Saxon and remoter coins, some of which were given to the Museum. Scott published a hoard in full in the second volume of the Antiquaries' *Proceedings* in 1852; and at about the same time J.H. Smith, the Society's secretary, published a hundred Roman coins, about a sixth of those that had been found at Portmoak in Kinross-shire. Though there is a great deal of numismatics recorded in later volumes, for many years more detailed

accounts have also been published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* and the *British Numismatic Journal* by the Royal and the British Numismatic Societies. Then there was George Sim, who published much, from a summary of the notable Scottish and English coins in the Museum in 1860 to the basic sorting of 12,000 Edwardian coins from Aberdeen in 1887 (the survivors in Aberdeen have at last been done in detail in the last few years by Mr. Mayhew in Oxford). Sim built up our collection from hoards, and negotiated the Advocates' purchase. Perhaps because of his death we have no record of what we got from the Aberdeen hoard. His successor Adam Richardson published in 1901 a one-volume catalogue of the Scottish coins in the Museum – most useful, and still selling slowly, it is without any originality, and his efforts to follow Burns were sometimes made impossible by not having the Coats collection at hand to consult, as we now have.

In the case of any collection, policy and interpretation are, if I may use the expression, two sides of the same coin. The acquisition policy and the policy on how physically the collection is organised and recorded, determine what there is for the next comer to interpret. Equally what one wants to interpret determines one's policy. We must be enormously grateful to the successive honorary curators who encouraged Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancers to let them have here runs of coins, however sketchily they were able to publish them. But there was an unfortunate distinction for a long time between what I would call the archaeological approach, and the numismatic one. The keepers of the archaeological and miscellaneous collections always thought of the find-spot and pedigree as important attributes of their specimens, long before the days of distribution maps. But throughout the latter part, at any rate, of the nineteenth century the honorary curators treated the coins as if they had no significance except in relation to other coins. They were just coins, although Burns had used hoard associations wherever possible in the Scottish series, and not only most cogently in his brilliant elucidation of the sequence of Edwardian sterling. Yet he too only recorded a limited number of provenances in his catalogue.

Fortunately some of our coins were kept apart as archaeological specimens, particularly Roman coins like the hundred coins from Portmoak, grouped together and labelled; or the coins found with hoards of Viking silver ornaments, which remained exhibited along with them. Again when it came to duplicates, no one here ever sold off bronze axes as duplicates, and the completely broken up bronze weapons and bronze scrap from the large Duddingston hoard that was the Museum's very first accession, survive almost completely. But the unique Bute hoard of David I's coins with coins of Stephen, which for a while was kept intact along with the gold objects found with them in 1874, was pillaged for the disastrous sales of duplicates ten years later. Then, or sooner, the Anglo-Saxon coins were arranged and carefully labelled, without any indication of their provenances. Nor was there any manuscript catalogue of them or summary. This is so still for the thousands of English coins, and none of their hoard groups found before 1900 have been kept together or labelled as such, with the important exception of Burns' Montrave hoard, and the odd one of Dumfries 1878, too corroded into a lump with brooches for it to have been separable then.

Now I think that there are good reasons for only occasionally retaining the whole of a coin hoard claimed as Treasure Trove, allowing a large part, or all, to be returned to the finder, quite apart from the cumulative problems of storage and retrieval with the chronic ones of lack of space and staff. This has been, and probably still is, a field of considerable controversy in England, between archaeologists and numismatists. Since the institution of rewards for Treasure Trove a century ago, changed later from bullion value to full market value, expense is important – especially as it is the recipient museum that has to pay, and now that value can be astronomical for rare gold. Fortunately in that sense, there has been no gold find for a long time in Scotland. A second reason is the real importance of collectors to numismatics. Not those who put the prices up, but initially the specialist dealers who discover and list rare coins and give museums a chance to buy them, and then the collectors in the Coats, and Hunter, tradition, on however small a scale. They pursue their subject single-mindedly, and can in the case of people like Ian Stewart be their own Burns and enlarge the range of their subject. I believe the balance of advantage is to allow the collector to have what is left of a hoard that has been studied and recorded in full (I shall come back to that), after perhaps several museums have had the opportunity of selecting what they can usefully pay for (I shall come back to that too).

As in the detailed studies of any complicated series, a reasonably large sample is necessary before the patterns can be observed properly, and the existence of the Coats and Antiquaries' collections gave Burns his chance, for the proportion of Scottish coins in most hoards is not very large. English and other foreign coins circulated preponderantly in value, except from the late fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. The difference between Burns and those who had a few years before sold off more than half the coins of William the Lion that had been in the Museum for ninety years, was that he was interested in the distinction between dies, as well as between types and lettering. Roman and Anglo-Saxon coinages have a great many coins that are distinguishable by variations in the devices and legends which can be brought out in a printed description. That way one can get less far beyond broad typological distinctions in the case of medieval coins that are not dated, even by the king's numeral, and to which there are few references in the historical records. Unstandardised portrait punches, variations in minor details and privy marks introduced by the Mint, accidental breakages of letter punches, required not only Burns' close observation but also his wealth of illustration, made possibly by photography. It is interesting that William Hunter with his gift a century earlier had specified that three of the gold unicorns of James III were from differing dies. Perhaps he was interested in dies for the good reason that they were differences that could be collected if one

wanted a collection more complete than other people's. Burns however used these varieties to link coins which shared dies, into proven chronological sequences, and to link mints in different towns. His catalogue provided a reference system so that new varieties and dies could be recognised and collected in a way impossible before.

It would seem obvious that once your interpretation has become more detailed your policy will be to collect more, to choose a larger proportion out of the hoards offered, but this happened more slowly than one might expect. Though the purchases from the Pollexfen collection represented a good influx of minor varieties, George Macdonald only selected one per cent of the coins of the time of James III from the 1920 Perth hoard which he had studied and published in considerable detail: it contained about 850 Scottish and 250 English. So, many dies unrepresented in our national collection are to be found among what was bought from the finders by Perth Museum. At that time the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer would not allocate treasure trove beyond the National Museum of Antiquities and the Royal Scottish Museum. There was also a failure of communication within our museum, because no note was made of what the particular varieties of the selected coins were, or to show why they had been selected. It is at least evident that the policy did not aim at making the national collection in any way a complete series of dies of Scottish silver coins. The Perth billon placks were not in good enough a state for any effort of the kind to be made with them: this as well as the probable quantity of dies tends to keep base metal in a different policy category. Runs of them are however a feature of our collection not found, I think, in other museums and due to our first choice on hoards. At the other end gold is too scarce, and now too expensive, to do more than think of collecting photographs.¹²

Two hoards of a type rarely recorded anywhere were sufficiently interesting for Macdonald to publish them in the *Proceedings* in 1916. Both buried about 1800 they consisted mostly of William of Orange silver rubbed smooth or nearly so with coppers of the Georges in nearly as bad a state. Their interest lay in their demonstration of the actual state of the currency. Some of the coins were countermarked with the initials presumably of tradesmen or the like, but these were not recorded, and only a few trade tokens and the better halfpennies were kept. Perhaps it is rather a hopeless field of study, but when one silver hoard from Lochgelly was being published recently it coincided with a good historical and documented study of others from the Midlands of England.

Hoards came up perhaps relatively infrequently between 1900 and 1950, sometimes at quite long intervals. But the unambitious policy of the period can be seen in the purchase of only six coins from the distinguished Cochran-Patrick coin collection in 1936, though of course very rare ones. The two notable exceptions were due more to archaeology and museology than to numismatics. The late fifteenth-century Bridge of Don hoard, almost all badly clipped English coins, was kept complete to be exhibited as a heap of silver. The nearly two thousand Roman coins found at Falkirk in 1933 were also all kept, so that the majority could after publication be exhibited as an even more spectacular heap. What to do about this is a still unsolved problem – probably a cast of the heap should be made and then the coins filed properly. A poor young man had to search through the heap recently for coins of some particularly type of *denarii* of Domitian known to be in the hoard and of which he was trying to do a die study. Those he found and those we had from other sources accessible in the cabinet's trays came in all to twenty or so, and he remarked with some surprise that this was more than he had found in the British Museum. However, as you all know, the constant hard work of following Macdonald in the task of trying to keep track of single finds of Roman coins in Scotland, the probably recent as well as the ancient losses, has been taken up by Anne Robertson, as part of the studies that have earned her a professorship. It was she who published the major find, the hoard found near Rumbling Bridge, Kinross-shire, some thirty years ago, which has quite recently come to the Museum complete.

This was the period when the find of 300 Anglo-Saxon coins at Iona in 1950 forced me into the coin world. I hoped that John Allan would publish them, after I had tried to sort them for him. But I had to carry on with his encouragement and the help by correspondence of the already distinguished C.E. Blunt and a new boy at the British Museum as green as myself. It became an interesting task, and an example of the occasional advantage of someone bringing to a subject a different background, in my case archaeological. This led to a glimpse of the obvious, which had I think been beneath the notice of the pundits, but which led Michael Dolley at the British Museum to sort out the regional die-cutting centres indicated by their styles of lettering, and so provided one of the strands of his studies which have added so much to the knowledge of tenth-century coinage in particular.

The inclusion of our Anglo-Saxon and associated coins in the *Sylloge* of British coins which Dolley, and Blunt particularly, have brought about, led me to a great deal of work before it was published in 1966, before, that is to say, building plans and growth of staff made such concentrated work by the Keeper too difficult. One of the time-consuming features was the attempt to identify somehow the provenances of those coins that had lost them, by evaluating old records, and – the archaeological factor again – little differences in corrosion and patina. Something of this kind needs attempting for our Scottish coins, though I fear it will be successful only to a much smaller extent.

One offshoot of the *Sylloge* will I hope be the first of many studies involving our research laboratory and the micro-analysis of coins. It showed marked distinctions between the quality of the silver of several types of Anglo-

¹² This was written at a time of high inflation and heavy taxation when Scottish gold coins, seen as a medium for investment, were fetching inflated prices (as in the Hird, 1974, and 'Dundee', 1976, sales), well above those current today.

Saxon coins, notably within one mint, at Chester. It is clear that the penny which Dolley had noted as being produced for export to the Norse traders,¹³ was of a poorer standard.

Neither the Anglo-Saxon *Sylloge* nor the purchase around 1960 of some 600 coins from the Scottish part of the Lockett collection would have been possible without the great amount of work done by Robert Kerr after he had retired from the Royal Scottish Museum. He listed and card-indexed coins, compared Lockett photographs with Burns illustrations, and sorted out and published the several hundred horrid little billon pennies of James IV from Ayrshire. But it was fortunate that the considerably more interesting James II and III pennies from an extraordinary couple of hoards from Glenluce and Nithsdale (Rhoneston) should have come up when Ian Stewart was prepared to arrange and publish them. His series of papers too on the early Scottish coins, particularly Alexander III, coincided with and helped our decision to make as complete a series of thirteenth-century coins as possible from what was being sold from the Lockett collection. Though we were very successful in this, we have not even after twenty years managed to arrange and check the collection according to his new arrangements or to check it with the detailed die-linked series which he has constructed with the help of photographs from us, but most of all from his own collection for which he has drawn from the same fabulous source, the Brussels hoard, and other parts of Messrs. Baldwin's stock.

The new school of spare time numismatists with highly professional standards, following Burns' leads to their logical conclusions, have also been working on the Edwardian coins of which Scotland has again been providing new examples, and both Stewart and Woodhead have done the National Museum's work for it by cataloguing and publishing, with many new insights, the hoards from Renfrew and Loch Doon. The coins from the first of these have been made a study collection in Glasgow University except for the rare halfpennies and farthings which we have, along with a small type series of properly classified sterlings from Loch Doon. The Alexander III late coins remain a mystery which even Stewart has not made much of,¹⁴ but we accumulate die-varieties.

¹³ This theory is not now favoured: see Blunt, Stewart and Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*, pp. 164 and 254.

¹⁴ R.B.K.S. did tell me that he felt the paper by Mr. North and myself on this series in *BNJ* 60 had found the solution.

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

STATERS OF CUNOBELIN FROM SHOTLEY, SUFFOLK

PHILIP DE JERSEY AND JOHN NEWMAN

BETWEEN 1980 and 1984 six gold staters of Cunobelin were found in a field in the parish of Shotley, Suffolk, by five metal-detector users operating with the permission of the landowner.¹ The staters were scattered over an area of approximately one hectare. The positions of two coins (nos. 1 and 2 in the list below) are not recorded; three staters (nos. 4–6) were found within 20 m of each other, while one coin (no. 3) was about 125 m distant from this group, up a moderately steep slope. It is likely that the six coins represent all or part of a scattered hoard, although no clear point of origin or any container has been identified.

Further metal-detecting in the field, which lies on a north-facing slope overlooking the river Orwell, has revealed several other finds of late Iron Age or early Roman date. These include a denarius of Mark Antony and two denarii of Augustus, a bronze coin of Claudius I, and a copper alloy terret ring. There are also a few late Roman coins. No obvious settlement area can be identified in the field, and a fieldwalking survey in 1989 failed to locate any concentrations of pottery sherds of either Iron Age or Roman date.

Details of the six gold staters are as follows:

1. 5.35 g, wild B series,² dies Dh: Van Arsdell³ 1933-1. Found 1980; believed to have been sold abroad.
2. 5.26 g, classic A series, dies Gh: Van Arsdell 2027-1. Found 1980; in possession of landowner (pl. 17, 1).
3. 5.42 g, plastic A series, dies Ig: Van Arsdell 2010-3. Found 1984; in possession of landowner (pl. 17, 2).
4. 5.39 g, classic A series, obverse die K, reverse die previously unrecorded; Van Arsdell 2027-1. Found 1984; in possession of landowner (pl. 17, 3).
5. No details of type. Found 1984; believed to have been sold.
6. No details of type. Found 1984; believed to have been sold.

The staters of Cunobelin occur only relatively rarely in hoards. A poorly recorded discovery from Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, which apparently contained five plastic A staters – in poor condition, one of them pierced – also included at least 41 gold and silver Roman coins.⁴ Eight wild A staters formed part of a scattered hoard found in Epping Forest in the early 1970s, which also included four staters of Tasciovanus.⁵ More recently, the Somerton (Suffolk) find comprised 31 staters of linear, wild, plastic and classic types.⁶ Aside from these three finds, coins of Cunobelin occur only in ones or twos: two in the Lakenheath (Suffolk) hoard, with Roman coins down to 37–41 AD;⁷ two from Tunstall, Kent, with an aureus of Claudius;⁸ and – very uncertainly – a quarter stater from the problematic Watlington or Wallingford find of c. 1890.⁹ Modern unpublished finds show no significant deviation from this pattern, for example the South Worcestershire hoard, composed predominately of Dobunnic silver, which also contained one stater of Cunobelin.

The Somerton and Shotley hoards, seemingly composed entirely of staters of Cunobelin, are further distinguished from the other finds by the presence of different types of stater within the same deposit; previously there appear to have been no examples of any of the five series identified by Allen occurring in combination. In the case of Shotley the three series believed to be the latest – wild B, plastic and classic – are all represented. The absolute chronology of these issues remains uncertain, but presumably they belong to the later part, perhaps the last couple of decades, of Cunobelin's reign; though, as Burnett has suggested, the production of this coinage may be much more complicated than we have previously believed.¹⁰

¹ We are grateful to the landowner for allowing us to record the three staters in his possession.

² Classification according to D.F. Allen, 'Cunobelin's gold', *Britannia* 6 (1975), 1–19.

³ R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989).

⁴ C.C. Haselgrove, *Iron Age Coinage in south-east England: the archaeological context* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 271–2.

⁵ D.F. Allen, 'Cunobelin's gold', p. 5.

⁶ A. Burnett, 'Somerton, Suffolk, treasure trove', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 127–28.

⁷ G. Briscoe, R.A.G. Carson and R.H.M. Dolley, 'An

Icenian coin hoard from Lakenheath, Suffolk', *BNJ* 29 (1958), 215–19.

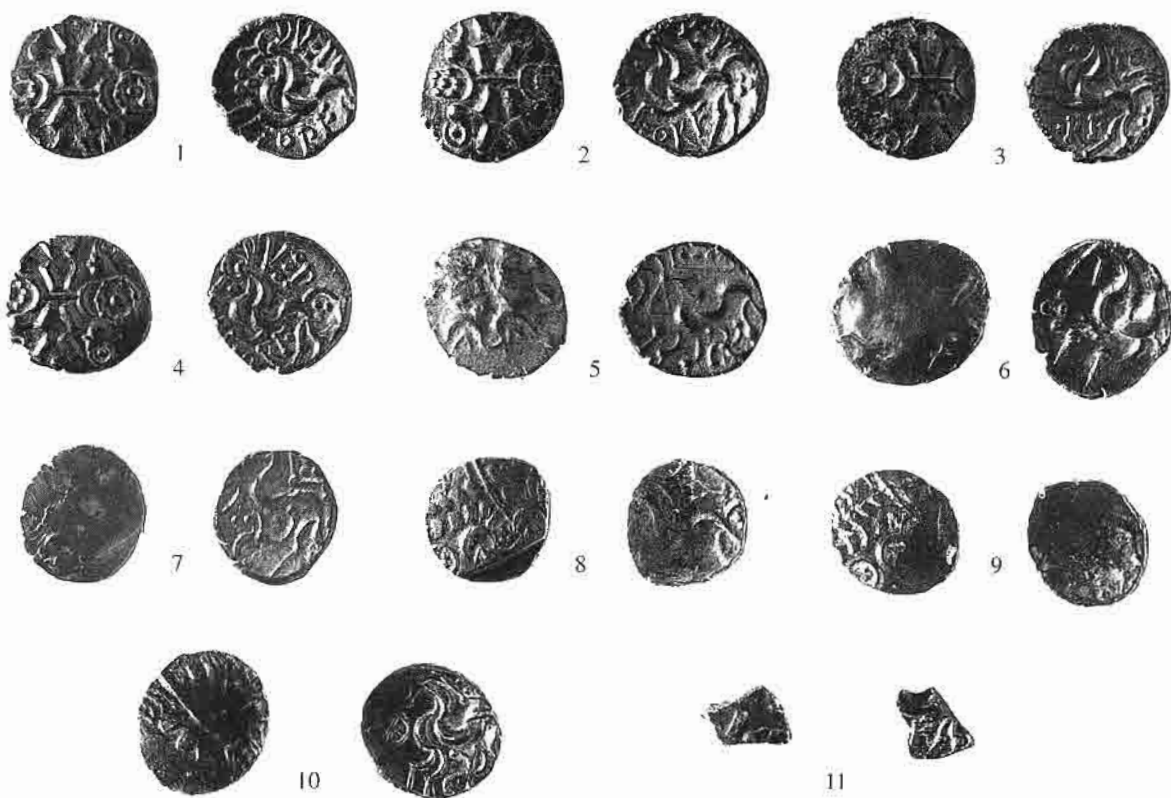
⁸ D.F. Allen, 'The origins of coinage in Britain: a reappraisal', in *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, edited by S.S. Frere (London, 1960), p. 292. A third coin of Cunobelin, described by Allen ('Cunobelin's gold', p. 5) as from Borden, was found in 1968 in the garden adjoining the site of the earlier discovery (*Archaeologia Cantiana* 84 (1969), 259).

⁹ D.F. Allen, 'Origins...', p. 290.

¹⁰ A. Burnett, 'Somerton, Suffolk, treasure trove', p. 128.



DE JERSEY AND NEWMAN: STATERS OF CUNOBELIN



WISE: BEDWORTH HOARD



MAYHEW: WILLIAM THE LION

Allen commented that 'economic or political circumstances favourable to hoarding did not frequently occur during [Cunobelin's reign]';¹¹ more recent discoveries have done little to change this view. The Shotley coins – if the find as it stands is complete – are probably best regarded as a small savings hoard, perhaps collected over a period of several years and deposited at some point during the latter stages of Cunobelin's reign, or shortly thereafter.

¹¹ D.F. Allen, 'Cunobelin's gold', p. 5.

THE BEDWORTH HOARD OF CELTIC COINS

PHILIP J. WISE

A savings hoard of staters was found near Bedworth in north Warwickshire by David Morris, a metal-detectorist, in August 1994. Eleven coins were recovered from a ploughed field, all issued by the Corieltauvi. The types represented are the 'Kite' (4), the 'Domino' (1), South Ferriby (1) and VEP CORF (5) and range in date from about 50 BC – AD 20.

Corieltauvian coin hoards are very rare finds in Britain, with only five previously known.¹ These are from Lightcliffe, Honley and Dewsbury, all in Yorkshire, and South Ferriby and Grimsby in Lincolnshire. Of these the South Ferriby hoard found between 1904 and 1908 is by far the largest with 135 coins recorded, while the Dewsbury Hoard is believed to have contained 30–40, although it was not properly recorded at the time of its discovery in 1950. The remaining three hoards are all comparable in size with the latest find from Bedworth.

The Bedworth Hoard is of considerable interest for two reasons. Firstly, and most importantly, it is the only known Corieltauvian stater hoard to contain both early uninscribed issues and later inscribed issues. It shows therefore that both types of coinage were in use at the same time during the early first century AD. Secondly the hoard was found in an area far to the south of the previous discoveries and, combined with thirteen single coins recorded from Warwickshire, indicates the spread of Corieltauvian influence away from the tribal heartland (see Appendix).

The hoard was the subject of a Treasure Trove inquest held at Atherstone on 24 November 1994. The verdict of the jury was that the hoard was not Treasure Trove because there was insufficient evidence for burial with the intention of recovery. The coins were subsequently purchased jointly from the finder and landowner by the Warwickshire Museum, with grant aid from the Museums and Galleries Commission / Victoria and Albert Museum Purchase Grant Fund. The Warwickshire Museum Catalogue Numbers are N6400–N6410.

The Catalogue

(All coins are illustrated, on **pl. 17**).

1. AV Stater, VEP CORF, VA 960–1 (Corieltauvi N), Mack 459.

obv. 'Apollo' wreath crossed by a line with crescent-shaped ends enclosing beaded circles with pellets in the centre.

rev. Celticized horse left, VEP (ligated) above horse. CORF below horse, three pellets beneath head as on DUMNOR TIGIR SENO issue.

Wt. 4.93gm Diam. 20 mm Die-Axis 0°

Note: Difficult to distinguish between VA 940–1 and VA 960–1 in this case as tail off-flan and hence impossible to see pellet-in-ring or three pellets below tail. Overall the *rev.* does seem closer to VA 960–1 however, especially the hunched form of the horse's back, and the presence of the three pellets beneath the head surely indicates a late variety for this type.

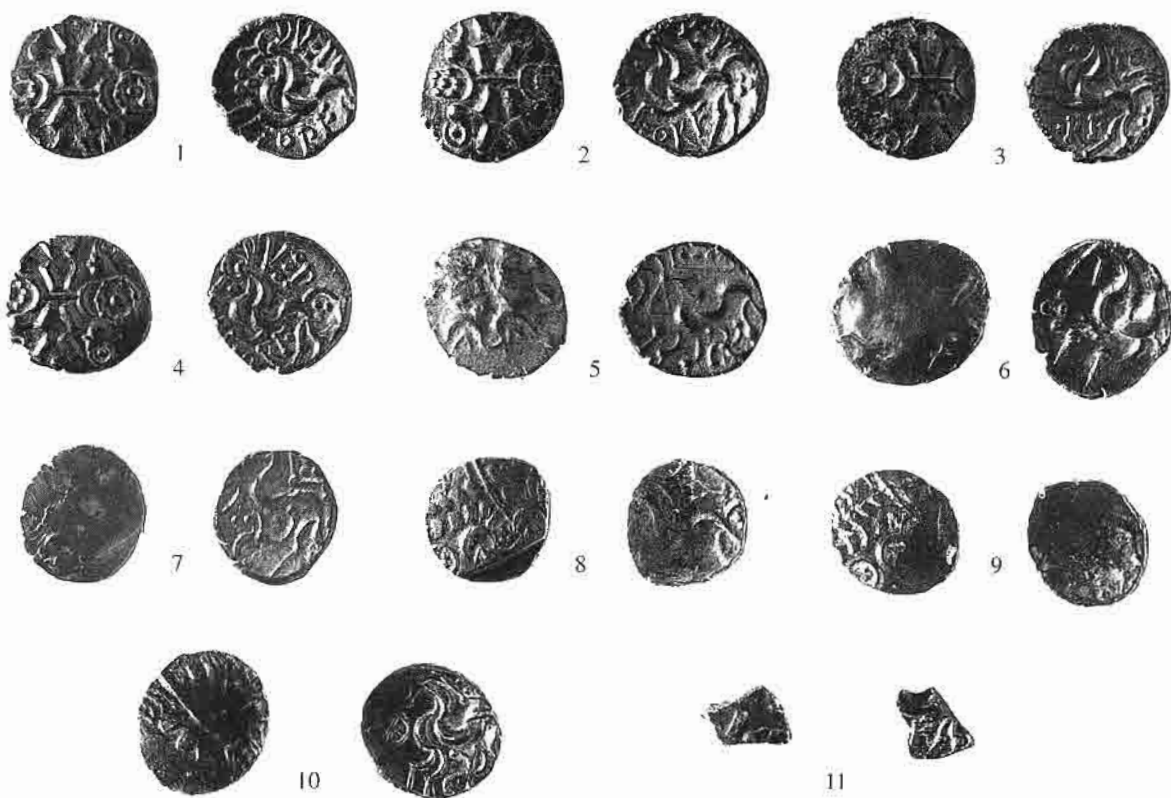
2. AV Stater, VEP CORF, VA 960–1 (Corieltauvi N), Mack 459.

obv. as No. 1.

¹ R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989), p. 524, Table 7.



DE JERSEY AND NEWMAN: STATERS OF CUNOBELIN



WISE: BEDWORTH HOARD



MAYHEW: WILLIAM THE LION

rev. as No. 1 (but with pellet beneath head and triangle of pellets beneath the tail).
Wt. 5.17gm Diam. 21 mm Die-Axis 0°

3. AV Stater, VEP CORF, VA 960-1 (Corieltauvi N), Mack 459.

obv. as No. 1 (though slightly off-flan).

rev. as No. 2 (although upper part of design worn and V not visible)

Wt. 5.30gm Diam. 20 mm Die-Axis 40°

4. AV Stater, VEP CORF, VA 960-1 (Corieltauvi N), Mack 459.

obv. as No. 1.

rev. as No. 2.

Wt. 4.99gm Diam. 20 mm Die-Axis 315°

5. AV Stater, 'Domino Type', VA 829-3 (Corieltauvi H) Mack 448, class L (Allen), British K: South Ferriby type.

obv. Portion of crude laureate bust to the right (partially obliterated die).

rev. Disjointed horse to the left, with rectangular compartment above enclosing four pellets, multi-armed spiral below horse.

Wt. 4.56gm Diam. 21 mm Die-Axis not determined

Die-duplicate: Cleethorpes, Lincolnshire (Lincoln Museum), *SCBI Coritani*, 242.

6. AV Stater, South Ferriby Type, VA 811-23 (Corieltauvi D), Mack 450.

obv. Portion of crude laureate bust to the right (almost obliterated die).

rev. Celticized horse left, head made up of a pellet with a triangle for nose, four pellets below nose.

Wt. 5.37gm Diam. 21 mm Die-Axis not determined

Die-duplicate: South Ferriby, Lincolnshire (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: ex. W.S. Lincoln Coll.), *SCBI Fitzwilliam Museum*, 213.

7. AV Stater, 'Kite Type', VA 825-1 (Corieltauvi G), Mack 447, class M (Allen), British K: South Ferriby Type.

obv. Portions of crude laureate bust to the right, diagonal linear depression to right of curls (rather worn).

rev. Disjointed horse to the left, diamond-shaped object enclosing three pellets above and tribrach with three groups of three pellets below.

Wt. 5.12gm Diam. 18 mm Die-Axis 45°

Die duplicate: North Ferriby, Yorkshire (private possession) unpublished.

8. AV Stater, 'Kite Type', VA 825-9 (Corieltauvi G), Mack 447, Class M (Allen), British K: South Ferriby type.

obv. as No. 7 (although much better condition).

rev. as No. 7 (although lower part of design worn).

Wt. 5.44gm Diam. 18 mm Die-Axis 0°

Die duplicate: South Ferriby, Lincolnshire (Leeds University, ex. Lockett Coll.) *SCBI Coritani*, 245.

9. AV Stater, 'Kite Type', VA 825-9 (Corieltauvi G), Mack 447, Class M (Allen), British K: South Ferriby Type.

obv. as No. 7.

rev. as No. 7 (although upper part of design worn).

Wt. 5.39gm Diam. 19 mm Die-Axis 315°

Die duplicate: as No. 8.

10. AV Stater, 'Kite Type', VA 825-1 (Corieltauvi G), Mack 447, Class M (Allen), British K: South Ferriby type.

obv. Portions of crude laureate bust to the right.

rev. Disjointed horse to the left, diamond-shaped object enclosing two pellets above, cross-in-circle motif below head, and four armed spiral, but no pellets, below horse.

Wt. 5.38gm Diam. 20 mm Die Axis 220°

Die duplicate: Stretton-on-Fosse, Warwickshire (private possession) *BNJ* 58, Coin Register no. 91.

11. AV Stater, VEP CORF, fragment only.

obv. Portion of 'Apollo' wreath.

rev. Portion of celticized horse left and letter F.

Wt. 1.11gm

Note: From style of letter F probably VA 960-1 (?).

Appendix: Corieltauvian Coins From Warwickshire

1. Alcester c. 1920, unknown type, unpublished.
2. Castle Bromwich unknown date, VA 811-1 ff. (Corieltauvian D?), Mack 447-50, British K: South Ferriby type, *SCBI Coritani*, 284.
3. Dordon 1986, VA 811-3 (rev.) (Corieltauvian D), Mack 450, British KB: South Ferriby type, *BNJ* 58, Coin Register 92.
4. Haselor c. 1973, VA 809-1 ff, Mack 447-450A, British K: South Ferriby type, *BNJ* 61, Coin Register 84.
5. Kenilworth 1890, VA 804-1 (Corieltauvian B), Mack 52 (nearest), British I, Type C, *SCBI Coritani* 212.
6. Lapworth 1987, VA 877-1 (Corieltauvian D), Mack 410b, British U: South Ferriby type, *BNJ* 58, Coin Register 94.
7. Mancetter 1992, VA 960-1 (Corieltauvian N), Mack 459, unpublished.
8. Solihull c. 1981, VA 805-9 (obv.) VA 804-3/-5 (rev.) (Corieltauvian B), Mack 53 (nearest), British I, Type C, *BNJ* 58, Coin Register 90.
9. Stoneleigh 1993, VA 811-7 (Corieltauvian D), Mack 450, British K: South Ferriby type, unpublished.
10. Stratford-Upon-Avon 1925, VA 811-2 (obv.) (Corieltauvian D), Mack 449, British K: South Ferriby type, *SCBI Coritani*, 271A.
11. Stratford-Upon-Avon 1938, VA 811-2 (Corieltauvian D), Mack 449, British K: South Ferriby type, *SCBI Coritani*, 271.
12. Stretton-under-Fosse 1983, VA 825-1 (Corieltauvian G), Mack 447 (var), British K: South Ferriby type, *BNJ* 58, Coin Register 91.
13. Welford 1990, VA 877-3 (nearest) (Corieltauvian D), Mack 453 (nearest), British W: South Ferriby type, *BNJ* 61, Coin Register 66.

Source: Warwickshire Museum Numismatic Records.

Acknowledgements I am grateful for the help and advice of Dr Stanley Ireland, Dr Philip de Jersey and Mr John Sills in the preparation of this report.

THE TRUE PROVENANCE OF THE WOODBRIDGE SCEATTA 'HOARD'

J.A. NEWMAN

THE four sceattas that make up the Woodbridge 'hoard' were initially listed by Sutherland,¹ who used evidence collected from a Glendining's sale catalogue of 1934, where lot 44 is described as 'Anglo-Saxon sceattas (600-800 AD) found at Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1914, four varied types'. These sceattas being listed as a possible hoard by Thompson² and as BMC types 2b (Runic), two: type 29b, one; type 37, one. That these four sceattas are unlikely to have been a single deposit is apparent.³ It should also be noted that there is some confusion over the identification of the four coins, as one may have been switched by mistake while in the Lawrence collection,⁴ and Rigold records them as being from his series B, C, R and J ('plated').⁵ However their provenance is also uncertain, as pointed out

¹ C.H.V. Sutherland, 'Anglo-Saxon sceattas in England: their origin, chronology and distribution' in *NC*, sixth series, Vol. II (1942), 42-70.

² J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD600-1500*, Royal Numismatic Soc. Special Publication No. 1 (1956), 148, No. 380.

³ D.M. Metcalf pers. comm.

⁴ As noted by S.E. Rigold and D.M. Metcalf in 'A revised check-list of English finds of sceattas' in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, edited by David Hill and D.M. Metcalf, BAR British Series 128, (1984), p. 266.

⁵ Rigold and Metcalf, as in n. 4, p. 266.

by Metcalf,⁶ who suggested that they may simply have been purchased in Woodbridge. This note supports Metcalf's view and uses strong circumstantial evidence collected in the Suffolk Record Office to suggest that they were in fact found near the former site of Walton Castle at Felixstowe on the Suffolk coast.

In the Suffolk Record Office a manuscript history of the Saxon period in the county⁷ notes that 'Upon Felixstowe beach in the vicinity of Walton Castle, Major Moore of Walton found after 1909, three fragments of bronze fibulae (probably Roman) and four rare silver or bronze-tinned Saxon Sceattas with inscriptions in runes'. The county journal also notes this discovery.⁸ That four sceattas, some of which were runic, should have been found at Felixstowe and Woodbridge around 1910 would be a rare coincidence. Therefore a further search was made in the local record office for information relating to Major Moore (1853–1940), the finder of the Felixstowe coins. In *Who's Who in Suffolk*,⁹ Moore's recreations are described as geology, archaeology and natural history, which accounts for his interest in finds from Felixstowe beach found near the site of the Roman fort known as Walton Castle. By examining various editions of Kelly's Directory of Suffolk, Moore's whereabouts can also be traced between 1908 and 1936. In the 1908 and 1912 editions, Major Moore is listed as a resident of Felixstowe and Walton respectively. However the 1916 and later editions indicate that he had moved to Woodbridge. From this evidence it would appear that Major Moore found four sceattas on Felixstowe beach between 1909 and 1914, as the antiquarian sources and the local journal both note. However by 1916 Moore had moved to Woodbridge, and it was in 1934 that four sceattas were sold at Glendinings with a supposed Woodbridge provenance as outlined above. Therefore we have good circumstantial evidence that the Woodbridge sceatta 'hoard' was found at Felixstowe, probably as stray finds on the beach near the former site of Walton Castle.

The findspot for the four sceattas at Felixstowe is particularly interesting, as Rigold argued persuasively that Walton Castle, not Dunwich, was the site of DOMMOC, the first seat of the bishops of East Anglia in the early to mid seventh century.¹⁰ As the probable site of an Anglo-Saxon minster, or monastery, Walton Castle would be expected to be prolific in high status finds, as noted by Blair for the well known sites at Hartlepool and Whitby.¹¹ In addition Rigold, when reviewing the Saxon Shore forts as Middle Saxon mission stations,¹² commented on the high number of seventh to ninth century coins from similar sites at Burgh Castle, Reculver and Richborough. The Roman shore fort at Walton Castle, Felixstowe, has been destroyed by marine erosion over the last few hundred years,¹³ and our knowledge of the site is restricted to antiquarian references and stray finds from the beach and cliff edge. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the Suffolk county sites and monuments record lists various Early Anglo-Saxon finds indicative of a pagan cemetery site, and Middle Saxon finds including a spiral-headed pin and two strapends, the latter finds being artefacts which would not be out of place at known minsters and monasteries such as Whitby. Similarly the Merovingian tremissis of mid seventh-century date from the Myers collection, which Rigold suggested is from Felixstowe,¹⁴ would be typical of a high status find from an Anglo-Saxon minster site, and the four sceattas which are the subject of this short piece would also fit into the accepted pattern of such sites being artefact and coin rich in finds. Whether Walton Castle was DOMMOC and the site given to St Felix in the early to mid seventh century may be impossible to answer, as the North Sea has removed the relevant evidence at both Dunwich and Felixstowe. However Walton Castle is accepted as part of the late Roman maritime defence system known as the Saxon Shore,¹⁵ and the majority of these forts have clear archaeological or historical evidence for Anglo-Saxon re-use as minster or monastic sites.¹⁶ Therefore it would be exceptional if Walton Castle at Felixstowe had not been re-used in the Middle Saxon period as an important ecclesiastical site, with the consequent residue of high status artefacts lost or deposited in the immediate vicinity, some of these artefacts being the four sceattas found by Major Moore on the beach between 1910 and 1914 and previously ascribed to Woodbridge.

Acknowledgements The author of this short note would like to thank Marion Archibald of The British Museum, Steve Doolan of The Fitzwilliam Museum and Gilian Ridley of The British Library for their help in searching for references. Staff at Glendinings also gave advice on where to look for information. Finally encouragement and valuable comment was given by Dr D.M. Metcalf of The Ashmolean Museum.

⁶ D.M. Metcalf in Hill and Metcalf (editors), as in n. 4, p. 58.

⁷ C. Morley, *Saxon History of Suffolk*, MS in Suffolk Record Office, n.d.

⁸ N.F. Layard, 'Discoveries in Ipswich and the neighbourhood', in *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, Vol. 15 (1915), 84–86.

⁹ Anon., *Who's Who in Suffolk* (Worcester, 1935), p. 154.

¹⁰ S.E. Rigold, 'The Supposed See of Dunwich' in *JBAA*, Vol. 24 (1961), 55–59; and 'Further evidence about the site of DOMMOC', in Vol. 37 (1974), 97–102.

¹¹ J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review' in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, edited by J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 226–66.

¹² S.E. Rigold, 'Litus Romanum – The shore forts as mission stations' in *The Saxon Shore*, edited by D.E. Johnston, CBA Res. Rep. 18, 1977, 70–75.

¹³ B. Cunliffe, 'The Saxon Shore – some problems and misconceptions' in D.E. Johnston (editor), as in n. 12.

¹⁴ S.E. Rigold, 1974, as in n. 10, p. 101.

¹⁵ B. Cunliffe, 1977, as in n. 13, p. 1.

¹⁶ S.E. Rigold, 1977, as in n. 13, p. 70.

AN EARLY COIN OF WILLIAM THE LION

N.J. MAYHEW

THE Ashmolean Museum has recently acquired an example of the first coinage of William the Lion. This coinage consists of a small but somewhat miscellaneous group of coins of rather varied types. Burns grouped them rather loosely as 'Coinages prior to the crescent and pellet type', fairly reflecting the fact that the earliest coinage of William the Lion seems to have been not one coinage, but a mixture of types, none of the them now common.¹ Stewart observed that, until the introduction of William's crescent and pellet type, the Scottish coinage varied a good deal from mint to mint, and only once in David's reign was a standard type in production on a national basis.²

The new Oxford acquisition is illustrated here (pl. 17). The only published coin of even similar type is Burns illustration 26, to which Lord Stewartby kindly directed my earliest puzzled enquiries. He also generously informs me that he possesses a closer parallel with a more exactly corresponding reverse type. The Ashmolean coin was found by metal-detector near Wallingford. It was badly buckled, and has now been successfully straightened.³ An initial cross is now just visible at about 7 o'clock, followed by several strokes which irritatingly might equally be read as M or W, though we may be confident that the reading should be William. The legend seems to end REX. The bust, however, is very good. The king has a good moustache, but no beard unless a goatee. The crown has much the look of those noted by Burns as associated with Hugo at Roxburgh for David I. The crescent behind the head (which Burns notes for his illustration 26) and the potent sceptre head, are associated with William. The reverse is close to Burns illustration 26, though with four pellets in the angles rather than five. The legend, of which only three letters are visible, reads .GO:D, which may probably be interpreted as Hugo de Roxburgh, although the form *de* Roxburgh is only known for Raul later under William I. Hugo is the only known moneyer for this period whose name could fit the available letters. He struck only at Roxburgh, chiefly under David I, but there are some rarer coins struck by Hugo under Malcolm IV and William the Lion. Nicholas Holmes has kindly informed me of a Malcolm penny in the National Museums of Scotland which might read OGD, perhaps a garbled attempt at Hugo de. However, the vital coin for the interpretation of the new find is the closely parallel coin in the collection of Lord Stewartby. The obverse and reverse dies of the Stewartby and Ashmolean coins differ, yet both obverses have the square cross pattée sceptre head. The reverse of the Stewartby coin reads +hV()ROCAS, which probably supplies the missing letters from the Ashmolean piece, although positioning of the letters is not identical.

It is tempting to speculate about the identity of this Hugh of Roxburgh, but the name is too common to permit any worthwhile conclusions. The most famous Hugh of Roxburgh was parson of Tullibody, William the Lion's chancellor from 1189 to 1199, and bishop elect of Glasgow in 1199, the year of his death. This Hugh is extremely unlikely to have been our moneyer. He appears to have worked his way up in the royal service from his first appearance at the beginning of William's reign. If the moneyer Hugh also struck in David's reign, (as opposed to striking in his name⁴), he would have been improbably old by the time of Chancellor Hugh's election to Glasgow. A surviving eulogy for Chancellor Hugh makes no mention of an early career as moneyer.⁵ We know also of Hugh de Camera, the Chamberlain, and Hugh de Sigillo, a royal clerk who no doubt took charge of the seal, as opposed to making it. Professor Barrow very kindly informs me that the moneyers of William the Lion seem never to have appeared in royal charters: their status was evidently judged too lowly for them to witness royal acts, though they may be searched for as witnesses to the documents of burghesses and the early burghs.

We are on slightly firmer ground in dating this coin to the period 1165 to 1174, when minting was mainly confined to Berwick and Roxburgh. Thereafter, with the English occupation of the Lothian strongholds, minting shifts to Perth. To sum up, we may describe this piece as an early coin of William I, struck by Hugo at Roxburgh before 1174.

¹ E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1887), p. 47.

² Ian Stewart, 'Scottish mints' in *Mints, Dies, and Currency: Essays dedicated to the memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R.A.G. Carson, (London, 1971), p. 191. Section III of Stewart's long essay is entitled 'The early sterling' (1136-95), and remains the essential work on the subject.

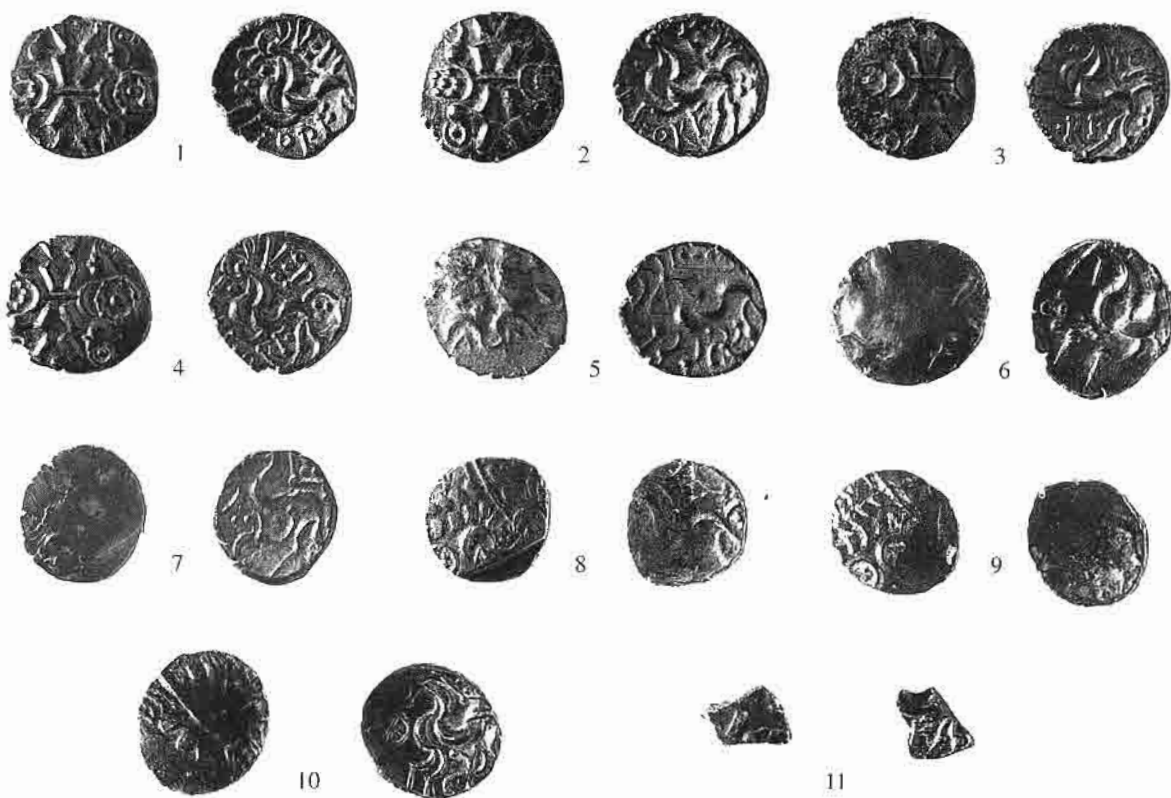
³ A scientific report on the metallic structure of the coin before straightening appears below.

⁴ Stewart, p. 197.

⁵ *Regesta Regum Scottorum I. The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots 1153-1165*, edited by G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960), p. 30n; *Regesta Regum Scottorum II. The Acts of William I, King of Scots 1165-1214*, edited by G.W.S. Barrow with the collaboration of W.W. Scott (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 30.



DE JERSEY AND NEWMAN: STATERS OF CUNOBELIN



WISE: BEDWORTH HOARD



MAYHEW: WILLIAM THE LION

Metallurgical Analysis of the Coin

PETER NORTHOVER

A deformed silver penny of William the Lion was submitted for metallurgical study, and to determine whether the coin was in a condition to be straightened. The coin, protected by lead foil, was clamped on edge in a hollow block so that the exposed area of the edge could be ground and polished to a 1µm diamond finish. Analysis was by electron probe microanalysis with wavelength dispersive spectrometry. Operating conditions were an accelerating voltage of 25kV, an absorbed specimen current of 30nA, and an X-ray take-off angle of 62°. The detection limits for most elements was 100–200ppm, but were 300ppm for gold and 0.20% for arsenic. This last is due to the compromises made in selecting lines in the X-ray spectra that avoid the well-known interference between the strongest lines in the lead and arsenic spectra, the lead $L\alpha$ and arsenic $K\alpha$ while analysing all desired elements in a single pass. The relatively strong lead $M\alpha$ line could be used, but for arsenic the most suitable line was the rather weak $K\beta$ line, hence the degradation in performance. A more sensitive routine is available for arsenic as a separate operation but was not thought necessary here. Another interference, between the silver and tin spectra, means that the detection limit of tin in silver is of the order of 400ppm. Again this was not thought significant in the present context.

Three areas, each 50×30µm were analysed on the coin. The individual analyses and the mean compositions of the two silver samples are shown in the table. All concentrations are in percentage weight. After analysis the samples were examined metallographically in both as polished and etched states. The etch used was ammoniacal hydrogen peroxide.

		Fe	Co	Ni	Cu	Zn	As	Sb	Sn	Ag	Bi	Pb	Au	S
wlfa	William the Lion, penny	0.00	0.00	0.02	2.53	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.00	96.60	0.00	0.38	0.33	0.01
wlfb		0.01	0.04	0.00	4.17	0.00	0.53	0.00	0.00	93.78	0.00	1.14	0.32	0.01
wlfc		0.00	0.00	0.02	3.83	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	94.80	0.04	0.84	0.40	0.02
wlfd		0.01	0.00	0.01	4.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	94.60	0.00	1.06	0.29	0.00
wl/Mean	William the Lion, penny	0.00	0.01	0.01	3.64	0.03	0.13	0.02	0.00	94.94	0.01	0.86	0.33	0.01

The alloy used in the manufacture of the coin of high fineness, containing a mean of only 3.64% copper. The principal impurities are 0.86% lead and 0.33% gold, both of which entered the metal with the 94.94% silver. Apart from 0.13% arsenic all other elements were at or below their limits of detection. Both alloy and impurities are entirely typical of medieval production.

Under the optical microscope the analysed area was found to be in sound condition with no penetrating intergranular corrosion. After etching a fully recrystallised equiaxed grain structure with annealing twins was observed with no significant cold work. The grain boundaries now have an irregular, beaded appearance due to the discontinuous precipitation of copper from solid solution in the silver over several centuries. When silver alloyed with moderate amounts of copper is cast and worked at high temperature and then either quenched or air-cooled, the copper is retained in a metastable solid solution, said to be supersaturated. Over long periods at ambient temperature this copper precipitates and grows at nuclei on the grain boundaries, usually giving a sinuous, beaded structure in the grain boundaries, although other morphologies are possible. The observation of this phenomenon has been developed into a test for the antiquity of silver.⁶ It can exhibit a range of morphologies and its presence can be taken as a good indicator of age; however its absence does not necessarily condemn a piece because there are circumstances in which it will not occur be easily visible, for example when the silver has been left heavily deformed, or when the copper content is so high that the copper-rich phase is always present to provide a nucleus for copper precipitation. Here the correct conditions did apply and a typical structure was observed.

⁶ F. Schweizer and P. Meyers: Authenticity of ancient silver objects, a new approach. *Musica Journal* 1978, 9–10. F. Schweizer and P. Meyers: A new approach to the authenticity of ancient silver objects: the discontinuous precipitation of

copper from a silver-copper alloy, in *Archaeophysika 10*, Proceedings of the 18th International Symposium on Archaeometry and Archaeological Prospection, Bonn, April, 1978, pp. 287–98.

DIE LINKS FOR THE LONDON MINT IN SHORT CROSS CLASSES IVC AND VA1

JEFFREY P. MASS

IN 1989 Martin Allen published his ground-breaking study of the dies of Short Cross Class V.¹ Among the many points that he made, probably the most significant had to do with the Recoinage of 1204/05: though marked by a shift of style from classes IV to V on the coins, the Recoinage, as Allen explained, was not the total break that students had long assumed. Specifically, he identified separate links involving two moneyers of Canterbury, in which observes of IVC and Va1 were paired, respectively, with an identical reverse. In other words, the moneyers G/COLDWINE and ROBERD used dies that linked the two halves of the Short Cross series (pl. 18, 1–4).²

Of course logic itself might have suggested the possibility of such connections. Since G/COLDWINE and ROBERD were active in classes IV and V, the chance of continuity in the usage of dies was always present. However, complicating such a conjecture was a misunderstanding that stemmed from Lawrence's original arrangement of the classes. In his conception, the reverses of Class Va, with their pommée-style initial cross, preceded those of Class Va/Vb, with their cross-pattée design.³ In other words, Lawrence interpreted the pattée style as something 'new', which then became the basis of his Class Va/Vb. But in fact the pattée design looked backward, not forward; it derived from the standard pattern in classes I–IV and thus marked a continuation, not an interruption, of style. As a consequence, the mules of Class Va/Vb were not mules at all but simply the opening phase of Short Cross Class V proper. Allen labelled these coins as belonging to Class Va1, in contradistinction to those with cross-pommée reverses, which he called Class Va2.⁴

Having targeted the right group of reverses to search for links, Allen now found his first examples in the aforementioned coins of G/COLDWINE and ROBERD. But that, in the late 1980s, was unfortunately all; he was unable to identify other moneyers that were similarly linked, and the mint of London was still, frustratingly, extrinsic to the equation. Though the suspicion was strong that such links ought to exist, the evidence – in the form of coins – was not yet available.

In the spring of 1995, I obtained a coin of WILLEM of London with a clear IVC obverse, but the reverse of which was the same as that of a Va1 in Allen's Plates, coin no. 11. The two coins, which read WILLEM.ONLV, appear here as pl. 18, 5 and 6, and they prove, beyond question, that the pattern for Canterbury was duplicated for London. In short, the two mints that produced coins in the Class Va1 style can now both be die-linked with coins of Class IVC.

The links in the case of London, in fact, may be even more extensive, since the obverse of the new coin of Class IVC was also used by two other moneyers, RICARD and HENRI (pl. 18, 7–9), and then again by WILLELM with a different reverse (pl. 18, 10). In other words, these coins, and two additional moneyers, may be part of the complex of mules involving Class Va1, though the actual linkings themselves (if we can assume that they exist) have not yet been found.⁵ However, we do have a clue of a different kind. As it happens, the letter A on the coin of RICARD (no. 7) is cross-barred, a feature that Lawrence himself noted as part of the adjusted design beginning in Class V.⁶ And, indeed, five of the six known reverses on coins of Va1 that have the letter A, use it in this new format (no. 18 below, plus nos. 4, 10, 15, and 16 in Allen's Plates).⁷ We are thus able to draw an important inference: that along with the coin of WILLEM, that of RICARD (no. 7), with its cross-barred A, is probably a IVC/Va1 mule. The matter is less clear with regard to nos. 8–10, however, which have reverses containing no As or any other tell-tale letters.

We need to take a closer look at the chronology and actual designs of these cross-barred As. Though they are not unknown on coins that appeared earlier in the Short Cross series,⁸ cross-barred As make their first semi-regular appearance in class IVC; we see them on single reverses of RICARD of London (no. 11), and of IOHAN and HVE of Canterbury (nos. 12–13), and on three reverse dies of DAVI of York (nos. 14–16). But with the exception of one of the dies of DAVI, none exhibits the letter A with a bar that is *straight*; instead, the barring is uneven, with the IOHAN (no. 12) and one of the DAVIS (no. 14) exhibiting sharply defined chevrons, the RICARD (no. 11) a slightly less pronounced chevron, and the HVE (no. 13) and another of the DAVI reverses (no. 15) a small hook. Only the final DAVI (no. 16) employs a crossbar that is virtually straight, though it is not as straight as on the earlier-

¹ Martin R. Allen, 'The provision and use of Short Cross class V dies', *BNJ* 59 (1989), 46–76.

² As in n. 1, pp. 47–48. It has been necessary to replicate here the first four coins that appeared in Allen's Plates, nos. 1–4. The significance of the G or C in GOLDWINE's name is discussed below.

³ L.A. Lawrence, 'The Short Cross coinage, 1180–1247', *BNJ* 11 (1915), at pp. 64–65, 78–79, 93, 95.

⁴ Allen, as in n. 1, p. 48.

⁵ That is, we have no obverses of Class Va1 that use these particular reverses.

⁶ Lawrence, as in n. 3, p. 78.

⁷ The only reverse without it, that of SAMVEL (no. 19), is treated at the end of this paper.

⁸ See, e.g., a coin of RANDVI, of London in Class Ia4, in Jeffrey P. Mass, 'Of dies, design changes, and square lettering in the opening phase of the Short Cross coinage', *BNJ* 63 (1993), no. 124 in the Plates.

mentioned coin of RICARD (no. 7). And thus the coin of RICARD would appear, once again, to be classifiable as a IVc/Va1 mule, meaning that two coins of London (the WILLEM and the RICARD) were probably produced from dies designed for use in what we now understand to be sequential sub-classes.

The case for muling can be strengthened by citing the die-linked coins of ROBERD and COLDWINE, first identified by Allen. Taking the ROBERD first (no. 3), it is a mule of Class IVc/Va1 because, like the RICARD, it has a straight-barred A; it is also, of course, die-linked with no. 4, which is of Class Va1 proper. But what about the coin of COLDWINE (no. 1) whose reverse, lacking any mint signature, did not use an A (thus COLDWINE.ON)? In this case it was not a change of format but a change of letter: the moneyer's name was made to start with a C, not a G. That is, the name was GOLDWINE on all coins prior to Class V, and COLDWINE beginning at that juncture.⁹ In the present instance, no. 1 is thus a IVc/Va1 mule, and its die-linked partner (no. 2) a Va1. By contrast, however, another coin is a class IVc proper (no. 17), since its moneyer's name is GOLDWINE not COLDWINE.

Both the shape and the selection of letters thus help us to distinguish the reverses of classes IV and V. Yet our knowledge remains far from being complete. For example, the best that we can say about the reverse of the DAVI with the nearly straight-barred A (no. 16) is that it might have been one of the final dies produced in the Class IVc phase. It cannot be considered as belonging to Class Va1, since no coins of the mint of York have been found with a Va1 obverse.¹⁰ Moreover, concerning the other coins that share the IVc obverse with the mules of WILLEM and RICARD, we have no basis as yet for classifying their reverses. They are either Class IVc's proper or IVc/Va1 mules (nos. 8–10).

It remains to consider a further coin that has recently turned up (no. 18). Bearing an obverse of Class Va1, its reverse reads IOHAN.ON.CAN, the first known specimen of that moneyer for the sub-class.¹¹ As it happens, the letter A appears twice on this reverse, in both the straight-barred and the unbarred versions! The barred A can be posited as the more important one, helping us to situate the die in Class Va1. Moreover, this reverse can be usefully contrasted with that of the above-noted coin of IOHAN that we called a IVc, the one with the sharply defined chevrons on its two letter As (no. 12). That is, no. 12 is unambiguously a coin of Class IVc, and no. 18 seems just as clearly to be a coin of Class Va1. Neither is a mule because of their respective obverses.

On the related question, finally, of whether mules can be identified in the *other direction* (i.e., are there coins that we might call Class Va1/IVc?), we need to examine the last of the six reverses, cited earlier, that have a letter A. Of moneyer SAMVEL, it is no. 5 in Allen's Plates, and appears here, in a new specimen, as no. 19. The point of significance is that the cross bar is missing on both the As (SAMVEL.ON.CAN), making it theoretically possible that the coin is a Va1/IVc mule. However, in the absence of an actual die link with a coin that bears a Class IVc obverse, the case for a mule cannot even begin to be made. If the As on this coin of SAMVEL (no. 19) had exhibited chevrons, we could be confident in classifying it as a mule. But As without bars are insufficient, especially since reverse dies in *later* sub-classes can occasionally be found to exhibit similar unbarred As. A case in point is a coin that reads COLDWINE.ON.CA (no. 20), which has a pommée-style initial cross and is thus a Va2.

To conclude, L.A. Lawrence stated as follows eighty years ago: 'Mules are frequent between most of the consecutive classes, except between IV and V.'¹² In fact, mules that connect the main classes remain decidedly rare,¹³ with the links between IV and V little different in that regard. Yet the mint of London can now be added to that of Canterbury in having utilized dies that linked classes IV and V. That is, the new coins of WILLEM and (probably) RICARD (nos. 5 and 7) show us that obverses that were first used at the time of Class IVc continued to be employed across the 'great divide' of the Recoinage. Specifically, the IVc-style obverse that we know to have been shared by these two moneyers was combined with reverses that were likely produced in the phase of Class Va1.

Even beyond that, some thirteen of the fourteen known moneyers who issued coins in Class IVc continued to be active in classes Va1 or Va2 (the only exception being RANDVL of Norwich/Northampton). Moreover, of that total of thirteen moneyers, *all* eleven from Canterbury and London have had coins bearing their names attributed explicitly to Class Va1. When Allen published his paper on Class V in 1989, he included only nine of those eleven in his lists,¹⁴ but now, only a few years later, the remaining two, resulting in comprehensiveness, can be added.

⁹ Allen, as in n. 1, p. 47, note 13. For additional comments, see Allen, 'Short Cross class Va: mules and mysteries', *NCirc* 1991, 337–38.

¹⁰ Allen, as in n. 1, pp. 74, 76. Just to remind ourselves, *all* of the other known reverses in Class IVc that contain the letter A have them unbarred or with a chevron or a hook.

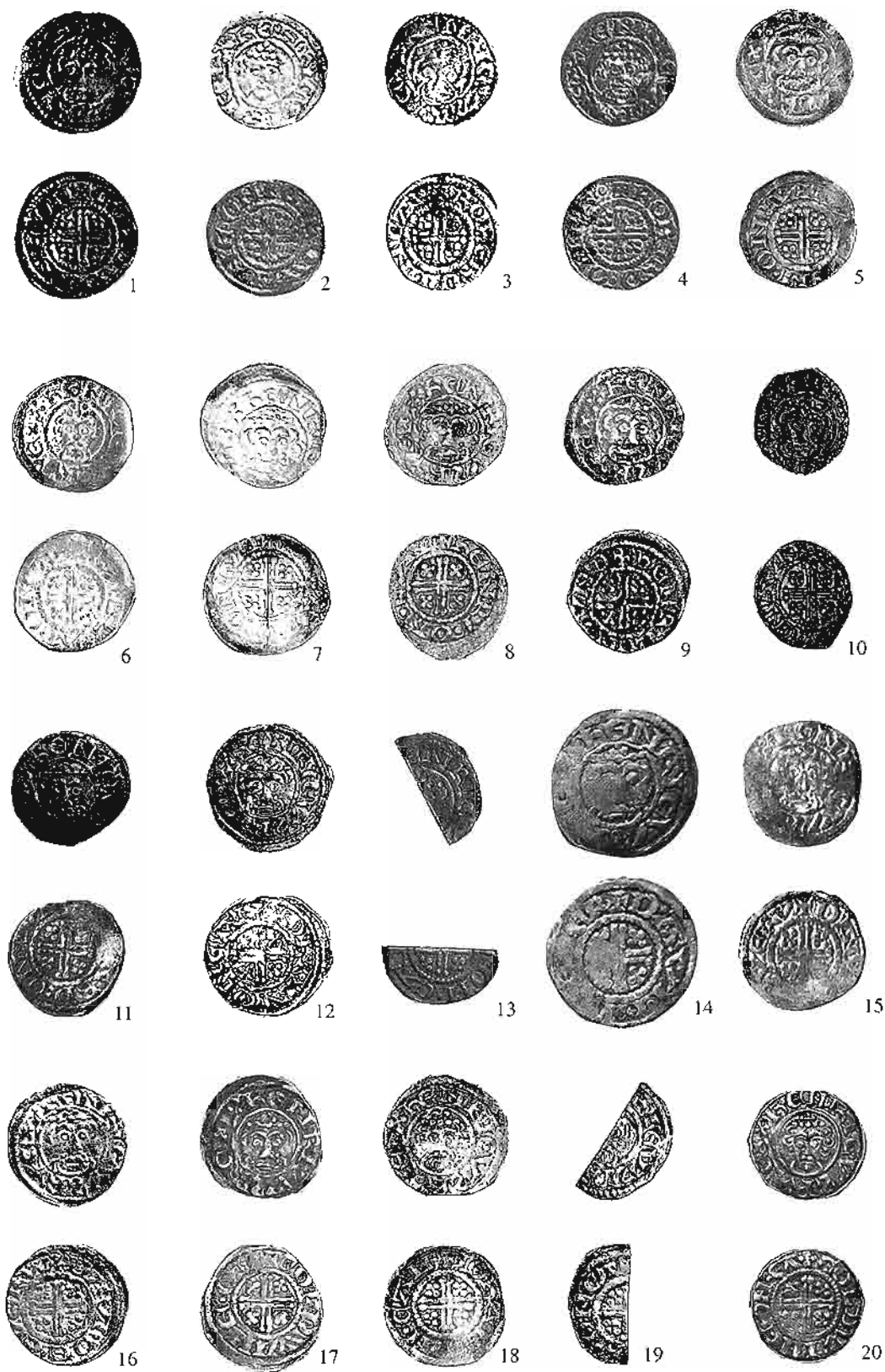
¹¹ I have also found a cut farthing of the same dies.

¹² L.A. Lawrence, 'More chronology of the Short Cross period', *NC* XVI (1916), 361.

¹³ The mules that are best known are *within* the main classes, that is, those involving coins in closely situated sub-

classes. For example, there is extensive muling among the coins of classes Ia1 to Ia5, and among those of VIc1 to VIc3; see Mass, 'Of dies, design changes, and square lettering', and I. Stewart, 'English coinage in the later years of John and the minority of Henry III', *BNJ* 49 (1979) and 51 (1981). Of course the best known mules are those involving the coins of classes Vb and Va, i.e. those built around the existence or non-existence of both the reversed letter S and the cross pommée and cross pattée. See Allen, 'Short Cross class Va: mules and mysteries', as in n. 9.

¹⁴ Allen, as in n. 1, p. 62.



That is, we now have specimens of IOHAN and SIMON of Canterbury that exhibited obverses of class Val (see no. 18 for the IOHAN).¹⁵

At any rate, the country's two leading mints not only had their moneyers producing coins on both sides of the 'divide'; they also had them, or at least some of them, constructing a 'bridge' upon which they might carry certain older dies with them. It is a point that Lawrence, the great pioneering scholar of this series, would have been only too happy to acknowledge.

Sources of coins and their accompanying plate numbers:

1.	IVc/Va1	COLDWINE.ON	JJN
2.	Va1	COLDWINE.ON (same rev. as no. 1)	BM
3.	IVc/Va1	ROBERD.ON.CA.	JJN
4.	Va1	ROBERD.ON.CA. (same rev. as no. 3)	BM
5.	IVc/Va1	WILLEM.ONLV	JPM
6.	Va1	WILLEM.ONLV (same rev. as no. 5)	BM
7.	IVc/Va1	RICARD.ON.LVN (same obv. as no. 5)	JPM
8.	IVc or IVc/Va1	HENRI.ON.LVN (same obv. as no. 5)	JPM
9.	IVc or IVc/Va1	HENRI.ON.LVND (same obv. as no. 5)	JPM
10.	IVc or IVc/Va1	WILLELM.ON.LV (same obv. as no. 5)	MRA
11.	IVc	RICARD.ON.LVN (small chevron A)	JPM
12.	IVc	IOHAN.ON.CAN (large chevron As)	MRA
13.	IVc	[]E.ON.CAN[] (hooked A)	JPM
14.	IVc	DAVI.ON.EVER (large chevron A)	IS
15.	IVc	DAVI.ON.EVERV (hooked A)	CM
16.	IVc	DAVI.ON.EVERW (straight-barred A)	BM
17.	IVc	GOLDWINE.ON	JPM
18.	Va1	IOHAN.ON.CAN	JPM
19.	Va1 or Va1/IVc	[]L.ONCA	JPM
20.	Va2	GOLDWINE.ON.CA	JPM

Acknowledgements The attributions in the list of sources are to the British Museum (BM), the Colchester and Essex Museum (CM), Lord Stewartby (IS), Martin Allen (MRA), Jeffrey North (JJN), and to the author (JPM). I am grateful to Martin Allen for reading and commenting on the several drafts of this paper.

¹⁵ A photograph of the SIMON appears in the plates (no. 62) of John D. Brand, *The English Coinage, 1180-1247: Money, Mints and Exchanges* (British Num. Soc. Special Publication 1, 1994).

THE DATE OF KING JOHN'S CONFERENCE OF MONEYERS

MARTIN ALLEN

IN 1711 Thomas Madox published letters patent, of 7 October in the ninth year of King John's reign, which summoned to Westminster moneyers, assayers, die-keepers, mint workers, and others able to give advice about the making of coinage.¹ Mark Noble, and Ruding, dated these letters to 1208.² In 1910 George Brooke corrected the date to 1207 (the ninth year of John was from 31 May 1207 to 14 May 1208).³

Brooke stated that the date of the meeting at Westminster was 10 January 1208, and this has never been challenged. However, the transcript of the letters quoted in full by Brooke,⁴ and Madox's slightly different

¹ T. Madox, *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* (1st edn., London, 1711), p. 198, n. zz.

² M. Noble, *Two Dissertations Upon the Mint and Coins of the Episcopal-Palatines of Durham*, (Birmingham, 1780), p. 83; R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and*

its Dependencies (3 vols., 3rd edn., London 1840), II, p. 159.

³ G.C. Brooke, 'Chronology in the Short-Cross period', *NC* 4th ser. 10 (1910), 291-324 (at pp. 306 and 315).

⁴ Brooke, p. 315, citing *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, 1201-1216*, edited by T.D. Hardy (London, 1835), p. 76, col. 1.

transcript, do not support Brooke's dating of the meeting. The date specified in letters is the quindene of the morrow of St. Dionysius' day (*a crastino Sancti Dionisii in xv dies*),⁵ which is fifteen days from the morrow of 9 October, both the morrow and the day of the meeting being included in the fifteen days.⁶ Thus the meeting was to be held on 24 October 1207, not on 10 January 1208 (the quindene of St. John the evangelist's day, 27 December, 1207).⁷ The letters ordered the sealing-up of dies 'immediately' (*statim*), and the decision to hold the meeting only seventeen days after the date of the letters may have been influenced by a need to resume completely suspended minting as soon as possible. The Canterbury, Durham, and London mints reopened after this interruption, but the other thirteen mints receiving the summons almost certainly remained closed.⁸

⁵ Hardy, as in n. 4, transcribed the date as *a crastino Sancti Dionisii in quindecim dies*, but examination of Public Record Office C 66/7 [patent roll 9 John], m. 5 has confirmed Madox's reading of the date.

⁶ C.R. Cheney (editor), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London, 1945), pp. 40–64, provides an authoritative list of saints' days and festivals commonly used in dating.

⁷ W.H.D. Longstaffe, 'Northern evidence on the Short-Cross question', *NC* 2nd ser. 3 (1863), 162–88 (at p. 177), correctly stated that the letters of 7 October commanded the people summoned 'to appear the same month at Westminster'.

⁸ I. Stewart, 'King John's recoinage and the conference of moneyers in 1208', *BNJ* 59 (1989), 39–45 (at pp. 42–4).

TWO EDWARDIAN NOTES

J.J. NORTH

1. *Early Irish Pence of Edward I – a Correction*

IN my recent note on the classification of the early issues of Irish pence by Edward I in his own name (*BNJ* 61 (1991), 23–30), I included in Group A(2) a coin with the hair of A(1) and reverse 3 (Gothic N and thick-waisted S). This was not illustrated, being recorded belatedly from a corroded and stained specimen which is now illustrated (pl. 19, 1). Subsequent cleaning has revealed that the obverse belongs to Group D, which I had previously recorded of Dublin mint only as a mule with a reverse of the issue of c. 1292.

In the light of this, my classification should now be amended as follows:

- p. 27. line 3. Delete Hair 1.
Delete line 5.
Group D. Dublin mint. Add Reverse 3.
- p. 28. Chart 1. Column 2. Delete Hair 1.
Chart 2. Column 2. Delete Reverse 3.

2. *A New Variety of Farthing of Edward III*

The publication in 1985 of a Reading farthing of Edward III's Florin coinage similar to those of the London mint appeared to complete the list of varieties of that issue struck at the abbatial mint, as pence of class 4 and halfpence with both types of obverse reading had been known for many years. However, a recently published penny reading EDWARDUS:REX ANG,¹ having affinities with the REX AN coins of Durham mint, provided evidence that Reading also was striking pence differing from the general issues probably during the final years of the Florin coinage. The Reading farthing illustrated (pl. 19, 2) reads EDWARDUS REX AN, a new reading for this denomination since all others omit the English title. The reverse legend appears to resemble that on most other coins of the mint, reading VIL/LAR/ADI/NGY and, although unclear, there is probably a rudimentary scallop shell in the VIL quarter. Its portrait appears crude in comparison with that on most Florin coins, but its general appearance has some resemblance to that on many REX AN halfpence.² The lettering, where visible, is neat and of typical 'Florin' style.

Unfortunately the date of the change to REX AN on the halfpence of this coinage is uncertain. Shirley-Fox convincingly placed such coins after those with the REX termination,³ and it has even been suggested that some

¹ *NCirc* Dec. 1993, 347.

² cf. *SCBI* 39, nos. 1112 and 1115.

³ J. Shirley-Fox, 'The pennies and halfpennies of 1344–51', *NC* 1928, 16–46 (at p. 40).



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SHARP: UNITES AND SHILLINGS

with pellet or saltire marks may belong to the Pre-Treaty coinage.⁴ The fact that obverse legends ending in REX ANG do not appear on any Florin pence of London or Canterbury may be explained by the reduced emissions of that denomination from the former after 1348 and the closure of the latter in 1346. However, one cannot dismiss the possibility that it is not known for London because of the non-survival of examples from the very small amount struck in 1349/50 (£47), but it is equally likely that old dies continued to be used for this. This reduction in the striking of pence coincided with an upsurge in the production of halfpence during the period 2 June 1349 to 24 June 1351 when £15,048 5s. 6d. (over 7 million) of this denomination were issued from London compared with only £32 2s. 0d. (30,000 odd) in farthings.⁵ This small figure may also account for the absence of London farthings with the REX AN termination, although, as in the case of the pence, a specimen may turn up. In the light of the above a date of c. 1349 to 1351 appears probable for all denominations with REX AIN, ANG or AN legends. This vindicates Elmore Jones' suggestion that the REX AIN pence might conceivably be the Durham counterpart of the 'missing' London penny of June 1349–April 1350.⁶

Acknowledgments: I am grateful to Patrick Finn for advising me of this coin and especially to its owner, Roger Shuttlewood, for his kind permission to publish it in this Journal.

⁴ *SCBI* 39, n. 134 to pl. 41.

⁵ C.G. Crump and C. Johnson, 'Tables of bullion coined under Edward I, II and III', *NC* 1913, 200–45 (at p. 220).

⁶ F. Elmore Jones, "'EDWARDVS REX AIN" de Bury or Hatfield? – A new approach to an old problem', *BNJ* 29 (1959), 326–33 (at p. 331).

UNITES FROM SHILLING DIES AND UNRECORDED SHILLINGS OF CHARLES I

MICHAEL SHARP

A Tower unite, m.m.plumes, struck from the obverse die for a Group C2 shilling was in the Ryan Collection (Lot 446) but was not illustrated and it is thought appropriate to show it here (**Pl. 19, 1**). Its existence prompts the conclusion that the extremely rare Oxford unite with Declaration in straight lines (Morr. A1), was struck from a die intended as a shilling reverse. Morrieson remarked on the similarity of its reverse to that of a shilling, but it can also be said to be totally different from any of the accepted unite reverses, and one is mindful of the existence of the half-unite of 1642 struck from a sixpence reverse die (Morr. A1).

A Tower shilling, m.m.sun, with an unrecorded bust has turned up and, quite remarkably, its discovery was quickly followed by that of a die duplicate! Since they were struck on small flans and have weak areas, both are illustrated **Pl. 19, 2 and 3**). The somewhat narrow bust is similar in proportion to that of Group F6 but the crown is double arched and the truncation very different. As an aside, the O of CAROLUS looked punched over a D. The reverse is as that for Group G2. It seems fitting to record this discovery as G3/2 on the basis that G2/2 coins are known with m.m.s eye and sun. H1/1 coins are known with m.m.s sun and sceptre and this new piece is, as yet, known only with the sun mark. Less exciting is the discovery of an E1/3 shilling m.m.crown. The obverse mark is small and does not appear to be over bell (**Pl. 19, 3a**).

An Oxford shilling of 1643 which does not conform to any illustrated by Morrieson is also recorded here (**Pl. 19, 4**). Both obverse and reverse appear to be different, although one has to be mindful that Morrieson did not illustrate all die varieties.

Acknowledgements My grateful thanks are due to Messrs. G.S. Hopkins, A. Morris and R.A. Shuttlewood.



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SOME JACOBITE AND ANTI-JACOBITE PIECES

MICHAEL SHARP

WITH the occurrence of the 250th anniversary of the '45 this year, it seems appropriate to record various items which have come to light since the publication of *The Medalllic Record of the Jacobite Movement* by Noël Woolf. These are as follows:

1. Medal for the birth of Prince James, 10th June 1688 (**Pl. 20, 1**). Similar to but of cruder workmanship and smaller (49 mm.) than the medal by Jan Smeltzing (W.1:2), this medal is signed E.F. below the bust. The engraver is, as yet, unidentified. The exurgal legend is: OB FELICISS:M.BRIT:PRINC:NATIV:20.JUN:1688.IG:VITUS EQ.B.G.MARC. D'ALBYVILLE.ET SA:ROM:IMP:APUD.BAT:ABLEG:EXT.C.C.. It was exhibit no. 30 in the Scottish Exhibition held in Glasgow in 1911.¹

2. Uniface copper medal, 35 mm., of James III (**Pl. 20, 2**) by John O'Brisset and taken from the obverse of the medal by Norbert Roettier struck at the time of the negotiations at Gertruydenberg (W.23:1a). It was in the Woolf Collection (lot 87, part).

3. Copper gilt medal of James III (**Pl. 20, 3**) by John O'Brisset, 50 mm., after the medal by Norbert Roettier struck at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht (W.26:1a).

4. Uniface brass medallic portrait of Anne (**Pl. 20, 4**) by John O'Brisset, taken from the obverse by John Croker for the medal for the capture of Bouchain in 1711, field stippled, 43 mm.

5. Copper badge of Anne and Charles I (**Pl. 20, 5**) by John O'Brisset, 35 × 26 mm. The reverse is the same as that of W.28:5.¹

6. Uniface brass cliché of Anne (**Pl. 20, 6**) by John O'Brisset, 40 × 32 mm. This was in the Woolf Collection (lot 91, part).

7. Brass oval pendant of the Duke of Cumberland (**Pl. 20, 7**) by unknown artist and probably made after the Battle of Culloden, 28 × 24 mm.

8. Brass medal for the removal of the bell at Carlisle by the Duke of Cumberland, 1746 (**Pl. 20, 8**), cast and chased by unknown artist, 33 mm. This is similar to W.56:6, has no legend, the bust is of crude style, the bell more detailed and the date incuse.

9. A halfpenny of George II, the reverse of which has been smoothed and engraved to the memory of Captain Andrew Wood (**Pl. 20, 9**). He served in Colonel John Roy Stewart's Edinburgh Regiment and fought at Falkirk and Culloden, where he was taken. He was sentenced to death and hanged at Kennington Common on 28th November 1746.²

¹ In the collection formed by the late Denis Eyre Bower and illustrated with the kind permission of the Trustees of Chiddingstone Castle.

² Further information may be found in *The Jacobite*, No. 84, Spring 1994 (*The Jacobite* is the Journal of The 1745 Association).



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NORTH: EDWARDIAN NOTES



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SHARP: UNITES AND SHILLINGS

COIN REGISTER 1995

In recent times we have all been made increasingly aware of the significance of single coin finds, partly because such finds are relevant to the solution of historical problems such as the regional pattern of coin circulation, and partly because of the number of rare types or completely new varieties which come to light in this way. It is desirable that single finds should be recorded promptly, accurately and in an organised manner.

The Coin Register is an annual listing, to which anyone having single finds to report from Britain or Ireland may contribute. Any Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coin will be eligible down to and including the 'Tealby' type of Henry II, but entries for Roman coins and for later medieval and modern coins will be restricted to those coins which are of particular numismatic merit. The essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from excavation sites may be included, if it seems likely that there would otherwise be considerable delay in publication.

The listing of Celtic coins in the Coin Register is carried out in association with the Celtic Coin Index at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford. Celtic material should therefore be sent in the first instance to Cathy King, c/o the Institute of Archaeology, 36 Beaumont Street, Oxford OX1 2PG. Other material should be sent to: E.M. Besly, Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museum & Gallery Cardiff, Cathays Park, Cardiff CF1 3NP. Potential contributors should contact either of the editors of *BNJ* with any queries about how to submit and set out material.

E.M.B. and N.M.McQ.H.

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P.J.W.	Philip Wise

Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
CCI	Celtic Coin Index
M/d	Metal-detector
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record

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Celtic Coins

Note: During 1995, nearly 800 Celtic coin finds were reported to the Celtic Coin Index. For practical reasons, therefore, the list that follows is selective, concentrating on the publication and discussion of rare and new types.

1. Imitation of stater of Philip II of Macedon (CCI 95.3023).

Obv. head of Apollo r.

Rev. two horses r. pulling *biga*; charioteer above; stylized legend in exergue.

Weight: 8.3g.

Alkham, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

Large test cut on obverse, from centre to edge of flan; compare the imitation stater also from Kent and treated in the same way, published in *Coin Register* 1992, *BNJ* 62, no. 1.

D.H.

2. 'Ambiani', bronze unit, LT XXXIII 8416, Scheers series 59 (CCI 95.0181).

Weight: 2.4g.

Colchester area, Essex. M/d find, 1992.

D.H.

3. 'Carnutes', bronze unit, LT XIX 6108 (CCI 95.1402).

Weight: 2.89g.

West Ilsley, Bucks. M/d find, 1995; information from Paul Cannon.

P. de J.

4. 'Remi', cast bronze unit, LT XXXII 8124, Scheers series 191 (CCI 95.0938).

Weight: 5.8g.

Richborough, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

D.H.

5. Massilia, cast bronze unit, cf. LT IV 1476 (CCI 95.3475).

Rev. legend not visible.

Weight: 3.14g.

Hinton Waldrist, Oxon. M/d find by Mr M. Shott, 1995.

P. de J.

6. Imitation of Massiliot cast bronze unit, possibly southern Gaulish (CCI 95.2724).

Rev. MA.

Weight: 5.08g.

Worth, Kent. M/d find, 1980s.

D.H.

7. Gallo-Belgic, stater, class C, VA 44-1, Scheers series 9 class II (CCI 95.3529).

Weight: 6.84g.

Wendlebury, near, Oxon. M/d find, 1995.

C.E.K.

8. Gallo-Belgic or British, quarter stater (CCI 95.3530).

Obv. worn 'three men in a boat' design, cf. Gallo-Belgic DC (VA 69-1, Scheers series 13 class III).

Rev. simplification of 'oak tree' design from Gallo-Belgic DC.

Weight: 1.65g.

Wendlebury, near, Oxon. M/d find, 1995.

This coin seems likely to be an early local derivative of the imported Gallo-Belgic type; it is too heavy to be part of the regular British O series.

C.E.K./P. de J.

9. Gallo-Belgic or British, quarter stater, VA 147-5 (CCI 95.0262).

Weight: 1.4g.

Canterbury, Kent. M/d rally find, 1994.

This type was first published in *SCBI* 1 (Fitzwilliam Museum), pl. I.29. Van Arsdell classified it as 147-5 in *NCirc* 103 (February 1995), p. 3. More than a dozen examples have been recorded since 1990, the provenanced coins almost entirely from Kent, thus suggesting an insular rather than a continental origin.

D.H./P. de J.

10. British, quarter stater, class G, VA 1460-1 (CCI 95.1317).

Weight: 1.43g.

Caistor, near, Lincs. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bea.

The quadrilobate motif on the obverse does not appear on previously published examples.

P. de J.

11. British, quarter stater, similar to stater class G (CCI 95.3918).

Weight: 1.46g.

White Roding, Essex. M/d find.

More than twenty examples of this quarter stater are now recorded in the CCI. The type is discussed by P. de Jersey, 'A new quarter stater for British G?', *NCirc* 101 (September 1993), 236-237. It now seems likely that the face apparently present on the obverse of the first recorded examples is simply a product of wear on the coin. See also no. 12.

C.R./P. de J.

12. British, quarter stater, similar to stater class G (CCI 95.4031).

Weight: 1.31g.

Abbess Roding, Essex. M/d find, 1995.

See comments for no. 11. This coin is silver in appearance; a low gold content may support its association with the Clacton stater (British G), which can be very low in gold and correspondingly high in silver (M. Cowell, in M. Mays (ed.), *Celtic Coinage: Britain and beyond* (Oxford, 1992), p. 211).

R.W.B./P. de J.

13. British, stater, class JA, VA 610-1 (CCI 95.0749).

Weight: 6.10g.

Cromer, near, Norfolk. M/d find.

M.J.C.

14. British, plated stater, class LB, VA 1487-1 (CCI 95.0786).

Weight: 5.56g.

Wycombe Marsh, Bucks. M/d find, 1995.

C.E.K.

15. British, quarter stater, new type (CCI 95.3464).

Obv. stylized wreath, the lower part presented by conventional leaves and the upper by a bean-shaped arrangement of dashes; crossed by two plain lines with a row of pellets between them, with stylized locks of hair above and below; to the right, three crescents.

Rev. horse r., beaded mane; cogwheel below, waterspout motif above.

Weight not available.

Heybridge, Essex. M/d find.

The fifth example in the CCI, and the fourth provenanced to Essex; a coin of the same type was published by D. Symons, *NCirc* 98 (October 1990), p. 268 no. 16. The style suggests a clear association with the producers of the Whaddon Chase series.

C.R./P. de J.

16. British, plated quarter stater, new type (CCI 95.2903).

Obv. stylized wreath of small, near-rectangular leaves, crossed by 'spike' of similar rectangles; stylized locks of hair, above and below spike; crescents to r.

Rev. double-tailed horse r., corded mane, prominent ears and distinctive style of head; large six-spoked wheel below, multi-armed spiral above.

Weight: 1.15g.

Hinton Waldrist, Oxon. M/d find, 1995.

This coin appears to be associated with the Savernake stater type (British MB), which shares the same style of horse, the spiral decoration above it and the wheel beneath. A full discussion by P. de Jersey will appear in *NCirc* 104 (1996).

P. de J.

17. British, quarter stater, class LY 5, VA 163-1 (CCI 95.0075).

Weight: 1.35g.

Stoke, Kent. M/d find, 1989.

D.H.

18. 'Cantii', silver unit, new type of Dubnovellaunus (CCI 95.0233).

Obv. uncertain beast r., head turned back towards tail, rings in field.

Rev. DVBNO behind seated figure r., holding an uncertain object.

Weight: 0.9g.

Goodnestone, Kent. M/d find, 1994.

Cf. the seated figure on the reverse of another type of Dubnovellaunus, VA 178-1; the style of the obverse is akin to another silver unit of Dubnovellaunus, VA 171-1. The second example of this type in the CCI; both are from Kent.

D.H./P. de J.

19. 'Cantii', bronze unit of Amminus, VA 193-1 (CCI 95.0740).

Obv. AM.

Rev. DVNO.

Weight: 2.4g.

Broadstairs, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

D.H.

20. 'Cantii', bronze unit, new type (CCI 95.0903).

Obv. Romanized bust r., hair gathered at back of neck.

Rev. clumpy Pegasus l., large hooves, standing on plain exergual line, decoration of arcs below.

Weight: 2.3g.

Worth, Kent. M/d find, 1980s.

Five examples are recorded from Kent. The use of the bust suggests a date at the end of the first century BC or the early first century AD. See also no. 21.

D.H./P. de J.

21. 'Cantii', bronze unit, new type (CCI 95.0929).

Weight: 2.0g.

Wye, Kent. M/d find, 1994.

Same type as no. 20.

D.H./P. de J.

22. 'Cantii', bronze unit, new type (CCI 95.0209).

Obv. head l., hair in five or six rolls projecting from forehead and rear of cheek.

Rev. horse, probably Pegasus l., cross-hatched box below.

Weight: 1.1g.

Goodnestone, Kent, 1994.

Five examples are recorded in the CCI. One in better condition was published in *Coin Register* 1993 (*BNJ* 63), pl. 15.128. Same type as no. 23.

D.H./P. de J.

23. 'Cantii', bronze unit, new type (CCI 95.0259).

Weight 1.4g.

Canterbury, Kent. M/d find, 1994.

Same type as no. 22.

D.H./P. de J.

24. 'Cantii', bronze unit, new type (CCI 95.0135).

Obv. illegible (but see comments).

Rev. horse (?) l., with thick corded neck and raised tail of five strands; rings around.

Weight: 1.8g.

Sandwich, Kent. M/d find, 1986.

The second example from Kent, both from the same site in Sandwich. The obverse bears a thickset boar l., surrounded by rings and pellet in ring motifs, somewhat similar to VA 181-1 of Dubnovellaunus.

D.H./P. de J.

25. 'Atrebatas', silver unit of Eppillus, VA 442-1 (CCI 95.0264).

Obv. legend not visible.

Rev. EP.

Weight: 1.1g.

Canterbury, Kent. M/d find, 1994.

D.H.

26. 'Atrebatas', core of plated stater of Verica, VA 460-1 (CCI 95.0457).

Obv. COM F.

Rev. VI[R].

Weight: 3.12g.

Heddington, Wiltshire, M/d find, 1995.

C.E.K.

27. Silver unit, new type, possibly of 'Atrebatas' (CCI 95.3174).

Obv. head r. in Dobunnic style, with large loop forming forehead and running down behind face: simple dashes representing hair projecting from rear of loop. In front of the mouth is a small quadruped.

Rev. horse l., sunburst above, large pellet in ring below.

Weight not available.

Thatcham, Berkshire, M/d find, 1995; information from Paul Cannon.

The first examples of this type were published by D. Symons, *NCirc* 98 (October 1990), p. 268 no. 18, and in *SCBI* 42 (South-eastern Museums), pl. 11.347-348. A further nine have been recorded in the CCI, including the two shown here. The provenances are spread widely across Berkshire, Oxfordshire and West Sussex and the attribution is consequently rather uncertain. The style of the obverse bears some resemblance to the silver units attributed to Commius by Van Arsdell (eg VA 355). Same type as no. 28.

P. de J.

28. Silver unit, new type, possibly of 'Atrebatas' (CCI 95.4033).

Weight: 0.87g.

Catmore, Berkshire, M/d find, 1995; information from Paul Cannon.

Same type as no. 27.

P. de J.

29. 'Trinovantes', bronze unit, class LX 26, VA 1629-1 (CCI 95.0150).

Weight: 2.0g.

Worth, Kent, M/d find, 1985.

Six of the seven examples in the CCI have been found in Kent, casting some doubt on the traditional north Thames attribution.

D.H./P. de J.

30. 'Trinovantes' or 'Catuvellauni', silver half-unit, new type (CCI 95.2925).

Obv. stylized wreath of two plain lines enclosing zigzag line, crossed by three lines of closely-arranged pellets: uncertain decoration in quarters.

Rev. horse l., beaded mane; crescent above, possibly lower part of a lyre; pellet in ring below, feather-like decoration appended to lower edge of pellet in ring.

Weight not available.

Shalstone, Bucks, M/d find, 1995.

Two examples were published in *Coin Register* 1992 (*BNJ* 62), pl. 29.197-198. Provenances include one each in Norfolk, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire

and Essex (or Essex/Suffolk border), and attribution is consequently uncertain.

P. de J.

31. 'Catuvellauni', gold stater of Tasciovanus, new type (CCI 95.0183).

Obv. pair of plain back-to-back arcs separated by two pellets; pellet in ring motifs in hollows of arcs and in space where arcs diverge; the former attached to slightly curved stylized wreaths, the latter to straight sections of wreath. 'Hidden face' decoration in quarters.

Rev. horse r., beaded mane; pellet in ring surrounded by four small pellets above, above that to l. a bucranium and to r. a pellet in ring surrounded by a circle of pellets. Below horse TAS, in front CIO.

Weight: 5.4g.

Eastry, Kent, M/d find, 1994.

One other example of the same type is recorded, found in Cambridgeshire in 1976 and now in a private collection. The type seems to represent an intermediate stage between the coins with a bucranium (eg VA 1680-1684) and those with a mounted warrior (VA 1730-1736).

D.H./P. de J.

32. 'Catuvellauni', gold quarter stater of Tasciovanus, VA 1786-1 (CCI 95.3531).

Obv. TASC.

Weight: 1.37g.

Chalgrave, near, Oxon, M/d find, 1995.

C.E.K.

33. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Tasciovanus, VA 1796-1 (CCI 95.3740).

Obv. VERL.

Rev. TAS.

Weight: 1.16g.

Compton, Berkshire, M/d find, 1995; information from Paul Cannon.

P. de J.

34. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Tasciovanus, VA 1800-1 (CCI 95.0910).

Obv. TASC.

Weight: 1.3g.

Chevening, Kent, M/d find, 1995.

D.H.

35. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Rues, VA 1903-1 (CCI 95.3497).

Rev. RVII.

Weight: 1.18g.

Mileham, Norfolk, M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

36. 'Catuvellauni', gold quarter stater of Cunobelin, VA 2038-1 var. (CCI 95.0245).

Obv. CAMV.

Rev. CVNO.

Weight: 1.4g.

Goodnestone, Kent, M/d find, 1994.

D.H.

37. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, VA 2063-1 (CCI 95.2922).
Obv. CVNOBELINVS[S].
Rev. [TASCI]OVANT[IS].
 Weight not available.
 Lillingstone Dayrell, Bucks. M/d find, 1995.

P. de J.

38. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, VA 2073-1 (CCI 95.0104).
Obv. SOLIDV.
Rev. CVNO.
 Weight: 1.27g.
 Monkton, Kent. M/d find, 1986.

D.H.

39. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, new type (CCI 95.3332).
Obv. bust r., CVNO behind, BELINVS in front.
Rev. Victory walking r., TASCII[OVANTIIS] around.
 Weight: 1.32g.
 Little Milton, Oxon. M/d find, 1995: purchased by Ashmolean Museum.

Twelve examples are recorded in the CCI, predominantly from the west of the north Thames region, including five from Buckinghamshire, one from Oxfordshire and two each from Northamptonshire and Hertfordshire.

C.E.K./P. de J.

40. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, new type (CCI 95.3333).
Obv. central panel with incuse sides around pellet in ring, bucranium at each corner; between each bucranium, a ?snake's head facing l.
Rev. horse l., CVNO with V and N ligate below, pellet in ring below head, branch above back.
 Weight: 1.09g.
 Chelmsford area, Essex. M/d find.

The third recorded example: one of the others was found in excavation at Braintree in Essex. The obverse type recalls earlier north Thames issues with arrangements of three or four 'snake heads', suggesting that this type was struck early in Cunobelin's reign.

J.O.-O./P. de J.

41. 'Dobunni', stater of Bodvoc, VA 1052-1 (CCI 95.3292).
Obv. BODVO[C].
 Weight: 5.55g.
 Stoneleigh, Warwickshire. M/d find, 1994.

From the same field as the stater of Bodvoc illustrated in Coin Register 63 (1993), pl. 15.101, recorded as from Kenilworth.

P.J.W.

42. 'Dobunni', stater of Corio, VA 1035-1 (CCI 95.1266).
Rev. COR[IO].
 Weight: 5.50g.
 Witney, near, Oxon. M/d find, 1995, by Mr C. Gordon.

P. de J.

43. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class A, VA 1020-1 (CCI 95.0458).
 Weight: 1.13g.
 Heddington, Wiltshire. M/d find, 1995.

C.E.K.

44. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class E, VA 1074-1 (CCI 95.0459).
 Weight: 0.94g.
 Heddington, Wiltshire. M/d find, 1995.

C.E.K.

45. 'Dobunni', silver unit of Eisv, class H, VA 1110-1 (CCI 95.3290).
Rev. [EI]SV.
 Weight: 1.05g.
 Chesterton, Warwickshire. M/d find during Roman villa excavation, 1994.

P.J.W.

46. 'Dobunni', silver unit, new type (CCI 95.3288).
Obv. very crude Dobunnic head r., with three large pellets behind nose and mouth.
Rev. triple-tailed horse l., V symbol above, star below tail, uncertain motif resembling an upside-down Y between two pellets below.
 Weight: 1.91g.
 Welford Pastures, Warwickshire. M/d find, 1994.
 Type previously unrecorded; unusually heavy.

P.J.W.

47. 'Iceni', silver unit, early face/horse Cd var., VA 665-5 var. (CCI 95.0519).
 Weight: 1.13g.
 Soham, Cambs. M/d find.

This coin provides a die-link between the early face/horse Cd obverse (Gregory in M. Mays (ed.), *Celtic Coinage: Britain and beyond* (Oxford, 1992), pl. 9.27) and the early face/horse B reverse (*ibid.*, pl. 9.20).

C.R./P. de J.

48. 'Corieltavi', quarter stater (?), scyphate type (CCI 95.1303).
 Weight: 1.36g.

Caistor, near, Lincs. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bee.

Type discussed by J. May, 'The earliest gold coinages of the Corieltavi?', in M. Mays (ed.), *Celtic Coinage: Britain and beyond* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 113-121.

P. de J.

49. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, new type (CCI 95.1377).
Obv. plain.
Rev. horse l., three pellets in triangular arrangement below tail, 'kite' containing four pellets above horse.
 Weight: 0.90g.

Caistor, near, Lincs. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bee.

Cf. VA 889-7, but unit rather than half-unit.

P. de J.

50. 'Corieltauvi', silver unit of AVN COST, new type (CCI 95.1362).

Obv. two horizontal lines of stylized inscription separated by plain lines, leaves of wreath above and below.

Rev. horse l., AVN above.

Weight: 1.04g.

Caistor, near, Lincs. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bea.

The second example recorded in the Celtic Coin Index.

P. de J.

Greek Coin

51. Calchedon, bronze, c. 150 BC, Waddington, p. 295, no. 31.

Obv. bearded and diademed head of Herakles, r.

Rev. trophy flanked by ΚΑΛΧΑΙΔΟΝΙΩΝ.

Weight: 4.20g, pierced.

Lakenheath, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995, from a site that has yielded many Roman coins, although mostly of the 3rd/4th cent. AD. Information courtesy of Roy Owens, who has presented the coin to the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.18-1996).

It is reasonable to assume that this was an ancient loss in Britain, having been brought across Europe by the Celts. The issue is rare, and coins found in Asia Minor are unlikely to have been pierced.

M.A.S.B./K.K.

Roman Coins

52. Republic, denarius of Libo, Cr 416/1.

Weight: 2.44g, fragment, heavily worn.

Barkston Ash, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, 1994. (Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

53. Titus, under Vespasian, gold aureus, RIC 187, BMC 185, AD 76.

Lincolnshire?

The Searcher, July 1995, p. 26.

(Not illustrated.)

R.F.B.

54. Carausius (286/7-93), silver denarius, 'RSR' series.

Obv. IMP CARA[]PAVG.

Rev. []R[]O AVG; in exergue, RSR; wolf and twins r.

British find, no provenance.

The Searcher, February 1995, p. 28.

(Not illustrated.)

R.F.B.

55. Carausius, silver denarius, RIC —.

Obv. IMP CARAVSIVS []; bust laur., dr. and cuir, seen from front, r.

Rev. []VAIC; in exergue, **; female figure seated r. holding globe in l. hand, elbow resting on throne.

Weight: 3.06g. Die-axis: 270°.

Tangmere, W. Sussex. Information courtesy of David Miller.

R.F.B.

56. Constantine I (307-37), Vota Publica issue, Rome.

Obv. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG; bust laur., dr. and cuir., seen from front, r.

Rev. VOTA PVBLICA; Anubis stg. l., holding branch(?) and caduceus.

Weight: 1.23g.

Kirmington, South Humberside. Found by Hilda Sands, 1974.

Obv. as A. Alföldi, *A Festival of Isis in Rome*, Diss. Pannonicae (Budapest, 1937), 22. See also CR 1993, no. 132 for two other British finds of this series.

R.F.B.

57. Constantine I, gold 'bracteate'.

Obv. IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG; bust, rad. dr. and cuir., seen from rear, l.

Rev. blank.

Weight: 3.33g, pierced twice.

Cumbria. Information courtesy of Spink and Son Ltd.

This obverse type is found on a gold fraction of Trier (RIC VI, 796, there dated c. AD 309).

R.F.B.

58. Valentinian I (364-75), gold solidus, Trier, RIC 17b, 4 (TROBS).

Weight: 4.47g. Die-axis: 180°.

Betchworth, Surrey, 1994.

R.F.B.

59. Julius Nepos (474-5), gold solidus, Constantinople, RIC 3244 (corr.: mint-mark COMOB*).

Weight: 4.36g. Die-axis: 180°.

Said to have been found at Wickford, Essex. Acquired by the British Museum, 1994-11-8-2.

R.F.B.

60. Contemporary (?) imitation of Visigothic solidus imitating solidus of Valentinian III.

Obv. D [N] VALENTIONANVS PI AVG (*sic*), bust, laur., dr. and cuir., seen from front, r.

Rev. VICTORA - AAVGGG; R V // CONOB; emperor stg. facing, r. foot on serpent, holding globe and spear.

Weight: 4.37g. Die-axis: 180°. Pierced at 240° on obv. Base metal, gilded.

Castle Hedingham, Essex, 1994.

No base metal imitations of Visigothic imitations of solidi of Valentinian III are known (cf. G. Depeyrot, 'Les solidi gaulois de Valentinian III', *SNR* 65 (1986), 111-31) and this piece could be a modern forgery.

R.F.B.

61. Gallic imitation of solidus of Anastasius I. cf. *MIB* I, 3a; Ratto 314.

Obv. D N ANASTASIUS PERP AVG; bust, helmeted, pearl-diad., cuir., facing, holding spear over r. shoulder and shield on l. shoulder.

Rev. VICTORI-A AVGGGI; - * //CONOB; Victory stg. l., holding long cross.

Weight: 4.70g including loop. Die-axis: 180°.

East Down, Cheriton, Hants. Found by Mr J. McGovern.

R.F.B.

Byzantine Coin

62. Trachy, 'Bulgarian imitative', c. 1200–20, Hendy plate 24, 8b.

Weight: 2.91g. Die-axis: 180°.

Clare, Suffolk. M/d find, early 1995.

This coin has a green 'English' patina, and was found in a tract of arable land which has previously produced Iron Age and Roman finds, and a substantial coin and artefact sequence of the 12th to the 17th centuries. The coins are probably a mixture of on-site losses and perhaps the spreading of domestic waste for manuring purposes. There are few post-17th-century finds.

Many finds of Byzantine coins from Britain have been shown to be relatively modern in their date of loss (see G.C. Boon, 'Byzantine and other exotic ancient bronze coins from Exeter', in N. Holbrook and P. Bidwell, *Roman Finds from Exeter* (Exeter, 1991), at pp. 38–45). Some, however, are likely to be contemporary losses and from its condition and context this coin may well be one such loss, perhaps relating to the aftermath of the 4th Crusade of 1202–4.

M.J.C.

Merovingian Coins

63. Gold tremissis, Dorestad, moneyer Madelinus, MEC 495.

Obv. ΔORESTAT FIT.

Rev. MAVELINVS H.

Weight: 1.18g (18.2gr). Die-axis: 100°.

Congham, Norfolk, site 11743. M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

64. Gold tremissis, Rodez, Aquitaine, moneyer Vendemius, cf. Belfort 3889–98.

Obv. diademed head to r., lozenge with pellets on corners in front.

Rev. []EZIDEMIVS[] (ZS scratchy letters, DE ligatured, S on its back); monogram of city name.

Weight: 1.47g (22.7gr). Die-axis: c. 45°.

Sandwich, Kent. Found by Mr P. Tudor, spring 1994.

The weight of this coin is exceptionally heavy for the period but there is no evidence of mounting. A looped tremissis of the same types of normal weight found at Ash, Kent, in 1994 (CR 1994, no. 111) is from different dies, as also MEC 443.

M.M.A.

Thrymsas

65. Thrymsa, Crispus type with runic inscription, North 18, Sutherland 27.

Obv. CRISPV[] NOBCIIES (right-hand side of legend only partially visible).

Rev. annulet cross initial mark; retrograde legend: de (thereafter only the bases of the rune staves are visible followed by an area where the inscription is off the flan, then by blundered letter forms). Cross with an annulet at ends of horizontal arms and two at top, with cross in each lower quarter, all within a double pelletted circle.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr).

Eyke, Suffolk. Found by Mr T. Wegg and Mr D. Clarke, 1995.

The obverse is from the same die as the three previously-recorded die-duplicates: St Albans (BM); Coddanham (2), but the reverse is from a different, and possibly later, die. Only the start of the runic inscription is visible, but it seems to be the same as on the other die. The coin is worn. All four known coins are from north of the Thames.

M.M.A./J.N.

66. Thrymsa, Two Emperors type, North 20, T&S 80, pale gold.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr). Die-axis: 225°.

Saham Toney, Norfolk. M/d find, October 1995.

J.A.D.

67. Thrymsa, Series PaIII, moneyer Pada, North 31, same die as T&S 83.

Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr). Die-axis: 180°.

London, south bank of the Thames at Lambeth. Found by Mr E. Taylor, October 1993 (same site as nos 98 and 115).

M.M.A./J.C.

68. Thrymsa, series PA, North 31.

Obv. ONCATIVNAVG.

Rev. 'pada' (runic) ANVS PF AVNG.

Weight: not recorded.

Caistor-on-Sea, Norfolk, west of Roman site. M/d find, July 1995.

J.A.D.

Sceattas

69. Sceat, Series A (Rigold A3), BMC 2a, North 40.

Weight: 0.82g (12.6gr), fragment. Die-axis: 0°.

Hintlesham, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

70. Sceat, Series A3 imitation, BMC 2a, North 40.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Ripple, Kent, September 1994.

Same obverse die as Metcalf T&S 96.

(Not illustrated: photo held in Kent SMR).

D.H.

71. Sceat, Series BII, BMC 27a, North 125.

Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr).

Bradenham, Norfolk, site 30636. M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

72. Sceat, Series BII, *BMC* 27b, North 127.
Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.
Congham, Norfolk, site 25765. M/d find, March 1995.
J.A.D.
73. Sceat, Series BZ, *BMC* 29b var. (bird left), North 131.
Obv. VICV++ +VCV, stylised facing head.
Rev. []OI[], bird left over cross, annulet in field left.
Weight: 0.79g (12.2gr), chipped and metal internally corroded and crystalline. Die-axis: 0°.
Brandon/Lakenheath area, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995, recorded with the assistance of Roy Owens. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1995 (CM. 559-1995).
Metcalf records 12 coins of this series struck from four pairs of dies. This specimen is from a fifth pair, and it is the first to have a reverse with a left-facing bird. Stylistically it is similar to the others, lying somewhere between *BMC* 144 and the two Oxford specimens. Another example of this left-facing variety, but from a different pair of dies, found at Hintlesham, Suffolk is published below (no. 74). The metal of the Brandon/Lakenheath find is probably rather base, to judge from the chocolate brown patina, which is consistent with other coins of this type.
M.A.S.B.
74. Sceat, Series BZ, *BMC* 29b var. (bird left), North 131.
Obv. VS++ ++[]II, stylised facing head.
Rev. inscr. largely off flan, bird left over cross, annulet in field left.
Weight: 0.92g (14.2gr), chipped. Die-axis: 0°.
Hintlesham, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.
See comment on no. 73.
M.A.S.B./J.N.
75. Sceat, Series C, *BMC* 2b, runic, moneyer Epa.
Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr).
Bradenham, Norfolk, site 30636. M/d find, 1995.
J.A.D.
76. Sceat, Series C, *BMC* 2b, runic, moneyer Epa.
Weight: 1.12g (17.2gr).
Rocklands, Norfolk. M/d find, August 1995.
J.A.D. M.A.S.B./J.N.
77. Sceat, Series C2, North 161, moneyer Æpa.
Weight: 1.06g (16.3gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).
Isle of Wight. Found by Mr K.R. Stewart, spring 1995.
Photograph rev. top slightly defaced.
M.M.A.
78. Sceat, Series C, imitation (A3/C1), *T&S* pl. 7, 130 (same dies).
Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 180°.
Canterbury, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Elder, September 1994, during rally.
(Not illustrated).
D.H.
79. Sceat, Series D, *T&S* type 8 (no pellets in angles of cross).
Obv. pseudo-legend; plain cross.
Rev. devolved standard.
Weight: 1.18g (18.2gr).
Chertsey, Surrey. Found by Mr D. Eagles, February 1995.
M.M.A.
80. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4, 'porcupine'.
Weight: 1.04g (16.1gr).
West Rudham, Norfolk, site 28131. M/d find, February 1995.
J.A.D.
81. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4, 'porcupine'.
Weight: 0.69g (10.6gr).
Stanfield/Beetley, Norfolk, site 30600. M/d find, July 1995.
J.A.D.
82. Sceat, Series E.
Obv. 'porcupine'.
Rev. square compartment containing central annulet, symbols.
Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr).
Bradenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
J.A.D.
83. Sceat, Series E.
Obv. 'porcupine'.
Rev. square compartment containing central annulet and dot.
Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr).
Bradenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
J.A.D.
84. Sceat, Series E, variety G4, *BMC* 4, North 45.
Weight: 1.0g (15.4gr). Die-axis: 0°.
Hartlip, Kent. February 1995.
D.H.
85. Sceat, Series E, Metcalf var. A, North 45, later phase, c. 710-40.
Weight: 1.11g (17.2gr).
Dennington, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.
M.A.S.B./J.N.
86. Sceat, Series E, 'plumed bird' variety (K).
Weight: 1.21g (18.6gr).
Bradenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
J.A.D.
87. Sceat, Series E, variety K, *BMC* 6, North 49.
Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr).
Eastry, Kent, February 1995.
D.H.
88. Sceat, Series E, plumed bird type, imitation of Metcalf J/K, North 49.
Obv. bird r., in field two crosses pommée and pellets.

Rev. crude standard, with annulet flanked by pellets and four horizontal lines.

Weight: 1.07g (16.5gr).

Little Glemham, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.

The obverse design, with the crosses pommée, is inspired by Metcalf's var. J/K, but the rather crude execution and features such as splayed feet, as well as the anomalous decoration of the standard on the reverse suggest that this is an imitation.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

89. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety.

Weight: 1.20g (18.4gr).

Humber, just north of, Yorks. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

90. Sceat, Series F, BMC 24a, North 61.

Weight: not known (photo only shown BM).

Berwick, East Sussex. Found by Mr B.C. Standen, summer 1995.

M.M.A.

91. Sceat, 'Saroaldo' type. Holed above head for attachment of suspension loop.

Obv. +SAROALDO.

Rev. devolved standard inscribed FIT/RV, tufa is at left if the inscription is upright.

Weight: unknown (photograph only shown at BM).

Cray's Hill, Billericay, Essex. Found by Mr S.M. Fay, summer 1995.

This coin is from different dies from the two FIT/RV die-duplicate sceattas from the Aston Rowant hoard. It has a more literate Saroaldo inscription, exceptionally on the obverse, and has an effigy of different style. It is probably earlier in date and adds another findspot north of the Thames.

M.M.A.

92. Sceat, Series G, BMC 3a, North 43, imitation?

Obv. bust r. with cross before face.

Rev. standard with crosses in three corners, the element in the fourth is uncertain; border with a cross on at least one of the sides.

Weight: 0.97g (15.0gr).

Lakenheath/Brandon area, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

The features are not particularly clear, but from what can be seen of the style of the bust this would appear to be an imitation, suggested by the way that the diadem and the nose meet in a right angle and the rather triangular neck.

M.A.S.B.

93. Sceat, Series G imitation, BMC 3a, North 43.

Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr).

Fritcham with Appleton, Norfolk, site 3481, M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

94. Sceat, Series H, BMC 48 (var.).

Weight: 0.97g (14.9gr).

Dunstable, Beds. Found by Mr A.I. Moyle, 1995.

The creatures forming the whorl on this coin are different from the ones normally found on the series (see *T&S* p. 337) having cat-like heads with ears similar to the lion on the Animal Mask Eclectic group (no. 99 below) also with a Wessex distribution.

M.M.A.

95. Sceat, Series J, 'plumed bird' variety.

Weight: 0.97g (14.9gr).

Congham, Norfolk, site 3566. M/d find, June 1995.

J.A.D.

96. Sceat, Series K, BMC 42a.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Eastry, Kent, September 1994.

(Not illustrated: photo held in Kent SMR).

D.H.

97. Sceat, 'Porcupine', Celtic Cross type, London related.

Obv. 'porcupine' derivative with cross pommée in centre.

Rev. 'Celtic' cross with a rosette of pellets in each angle.

Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Chearsley, Bucks. Found by Mr P.J. Thurston, autumn 1995.

Although this combination of types is 'new', the form of the porcupine is reminiscent of that on other eclectic London-related groups, e.g. *T&S* 340 and *SCBI Hunterian* 46.

M.M.A.

98. Sceat, Triquetra Eclectic group, *T&S* type 8.

Weight: 0.98g (15.1gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).

London, south bank of the Thames at Lambeth. Found by Mr E. Taylor, October 1993. (same site as nos 67 and 115).

M.M.A./J.C.

99. Sceat, Animal Mask Eclectic Group, *T&S* pp. 446-8.

Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr). Die-axis: 225°.

Cheriton, Hants. Found by Mr M.J. McGovern, 1991.

This is the coin drawn in *T&S* p. 448, lower right.

M.M.A.

100. Sceat, Series N, North 77.

Weight: 1.0g (15.4gr).

Eastry, Kent, August 1995.

D.H.

101. Sceat, Series N, North 77.

Weight: 0.9g (13.9gr).

Eastry, Kent, August 1995.

D.H.

102. Sceat, Series N, BMC 41b, North 99.

Weight: 1.0g (15.4gr). Die-axis: 315°.

Great Chart, Kent, September 1994.

D.H.

103. Sceat, Series R, Metcalf Gp R3 var. (imitative?), East Anglia, in the name of the Kentish moneyer 'Epa'. *Obv.* epX (runic), crude bust r. with triangular neck, OV behind.

Rev. standard with central annulet and an oblique stroke in each corner; border with bar and two pellets on each side. Weight: 0.77g (12.0gr), green appearance, presumably fairly base. Die-axis: not recorded.

Ramsholt, Suffolk, SMR ref. RMS014; from the same site as nos 104–5. M/d find, 1995.

The coin has some features of Metcalf's group R3 (e.g., the triangular pelleted neck and the outer border on the reverse), yet differences in the inscription and the decoration of the standard suggest that it should be classed as a derivative of that group, either from another minting house or of later date. This is supported by its base appearance, since coins of group R3 are normally of relatively good silver.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

104. Sceat, Series R3/type 70 mule (imitative?), in the name of the Kentish moneyer 'Epa'.

Obv. epa (runic), crude bust r. with triangular neck, OV behind.

Rev. saltire standard with single pellet in each quarter; border with a 'tufa' on each side.

Weight: 0.77g (12.0gr).

Ramsholt, Suffolk, SMR ref. RMS014; from the same site as nos 103 and 105. M/d find, 1995.

This interesting coin copies its obverse from Series R, Metcalf group R3, although the style is anomalous. The reverse comes from type 70, with a small saltire in the standard and the whole enclosed in an outer pelleted circle. However, the form of border, with a 'tufa' on each side, is wrong, so that the coin is likely to be a composite imitation, rather than a product of the usual mints of R3 or type 70.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

105. Sceat, Series R, Metcalf Gp R5, East Anglia, in the name of the Kentish moneyer 'Epa'.

Obv. X epa (runic), fine-style bust r., with triangular neck, TT behind.

Rev. standard with central annulet and T in two opposite corners and three pellets in the other two; border with 'tufa' on one side and three crosses on the others.

Weight: 0.85g (13.1gr). Die-axis: not recorded.

Ramsholt, Suffolk, SMR ref. RMS014; from the same site as nos 103–4. M/d find, 1995.

This specimen of Metcalf's group R5 is of exceptionally fine style. Some features are derived from its Intermediate phase prototype (Rigold R1x, which Metcalf attributes to East Anglia, but Blackburn to Kent); see the short crown band, the pellet within each point of the crown, and TT behind the bust presumably inspired by the ITAT variety. Others suggest influence from Metcalf's R3, which may have been a parallel issue from another East Anglian mint; see X before the inscription and the pellet within the runic 'e'.

The reverse is as fine as any on coins of Series R, and its inverted Ts design was subsequently copied on

specimens of Metcalf's group R9 (without any neck), which was perhaps R5's successor. This would suggest that the Ramsholt find belongs towards the end of the R3 issue, yet from its fine style one could argue that it was early.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

106. Sceat, Series R, Metcalf Gp R8, East Anglia c. 730–50.

Obv. crude bust r., blundered runes (ep?).

Rev. standard with two Ls and two strokes.

Weight: 0.69g (10.6gr), chipped. Die-axis: 270°.

Norwich, north of. M/d find, 1994. Information John Ogden.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

107. Sceat, Series R, Metcalf Gp R8, East Anglia c. 730–50.

Obv. bust r., runic 'ep' in front.

Rev. standard decorated with three right angles and an oblique.

Weight: 0.79g (12.2gr), corroded.

Brandon parish, Suffolk, M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

108. Sceat, type 70, Series R derivative.

Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr).

Congham, Norfolk, site 25765. M/d find, June 1995.

J.A.D.

109. Sceat, late Series R copy.

Obv. crude head facing, r., lines to r. representing runic letters.

Rev. square compartment.

Weight: 0.82g (12.7gr).

Burnham Market, Norfolk, site 18496. M/d find, June 1995.

J.A.D.

110. Sceat, English derivative of Series X.

Weight: 0.67g (10.3gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Cheriton, Hants. Found by Mr M.J. McGovern, February 1995.

M.M.A.

111. Sceat, Type 51, Metcalf T&S 432.

Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr).

Shipham, Norfolk. M/d find, March 1995.

J.A.D.

112. Sceat, Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–704), North 176.

Obv. +ALDFRIDVS (S retrograde).

Rev. quadruped, 1.

Weight: 1.23g (18.9gr), Die-axis: 270°.

Bradenham, Norfolk, site 30636. M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

113. Sceat, Series Y, Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class F var., North 177.

Obv. EOTBERHTVS (lozenge O), cross and pellets within pelleted circle.

Rev. Quadruped r., triquetra beneath.

Weight: 1.01g (15.6gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Gainsborough, south of (near River Trent), Lincs. M/d find, 1995, with no. 114 below.

Information courtesy John Ogden.

M.A.S.B./S.P.D.

Stycas

114. Stycas, Northumbria, Eanred (c. 810–40), later phase, moneyer, Wulfred.

Obv. +EANRED X (?), cross.

Rev. +VVLFRD, cross.

Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Gainsborough, south of (near River Trent), Lincs. M/d find, 1995, with no. 113 above.

Information courtesy John Ogden.

Possibly from the same obverse die as Hexham hoard no. 207 (Adamson's plates).

M.A.S.B./S.P.D.

115. Copper-alloy stycas, Northumbria, Reduulf, c. 843/4, moneyer Monne.

Obv. +RED[VL]ERE, round central cross.

Rev. +M[ON]NE, round central cross of five pellets.

Weight: 0.98g (15.1gr). Die-axis: 0°.

London. Thames foreshore, Lambeth. Found by Mr E. Taylor, 1993 (cf. CR 1993, no. 208; same site as nos. 67 and 98).

The coin, which is somewhat worn, is from the same dies as no. 953 in E. Pirie, *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria*, c. 700–867 (1996). The reverse is common to other coins of Reduulf (CKN 951–2, both of which have other obverses) and is also known for the reigns of Eanred (specimen not in CKN) and Æthelred II (CKN 1171); it thus forms critical inter-reign links. The provenance provides the first record of a genuine stycas having been found in London.

E.J.E.P./J.C.

116. Base stycas, Northumbria, Æthelred II, Phase II, group C1, 'Eaduini'.

Obv. +EÐIL-REDEX.

Rev. +EA-DVINI (N reversed).

Weight: 0.82g (12.6gr).

Hutton Rudby, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, before February 1995.

C.P.B.

117. Base stycas, Northumbria, Æthelred II, moneyer Eardwulf.

Obv. +EÐILRED REX, small cross in pellet circle.

Rev. +EARDVVL (retrograde), small cross.

Weight: 0.66g (10.2gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Selby region, Yorks. M/d find, 1995, '10–20 miles south of York'. Information John Ogden.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

118. Stycas, Northumbria, Æthelred II, North 188, moneyer Eanred.

Obv. +EDIILRED REX, pellet in circle.

Rev. +EAN[]D, cross.

Weight: 0.97g (15.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.

East Anglia. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

119. Stycas, Northumbria, Æthelred II?, North 188, moneyer Fordred.

Obv. +EÐIRED RE[] (retrograde, but letters reversed), cross.

Rev. +FORDRED, cross.

Weight: 1.05g (16.2gr). Die-axis: 270°.

East Anglia. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

120. Stycas, Northumbria, Æthelred II, irregular series.

Obv. +EÐILRED REX (L inverted), small cross.

Rev. +DTLACMV (blundered letters).

Weight: 0.93g (14.4gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Brandon parish, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

121. Stycas, Northumbria, Osberht, moneyer Monne.

Obv. OSBERHT EX (outwardly and retrograde), small cross.

Rev. +MONNE (outwardly, first N and E reversed), five pellets.

Weight: 1.18g (18.2gr). Die-axis: 180°.

York, some 10 miles south of. M/d find, 1995. Information John Ogden.

M.A.S.B.

122. Base stycas, Northumbria, Phase II, perhaps group Cii, Osberht/Monne.

Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr).

Hutton Rudby, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, before February 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

123. Stycas, Northumbria, irregular series.

Obv. +CVDI[] (retrograde, letters uncertain), pellet in pelleted circle.

Rev. +XV[]RV (retrograde), rosette of pellets.

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr). Die-axis: 30°.

Selby region, Yorks. M/d find, 1995, '10–20 miles south of York'. Information John Ogden.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

124. Stycas, Northumbria, irregular series, mid-ninth cent., North 191/1.

Obv. +IHDVI, five pellets in form of a cross.

Rev. REVEVD (second E and D reversed), cross.

Weight: 0.66g (10.2gr).

Lakenheath/Brandon area, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

125. Northumbria, lead weight containing a base 'styca', irregular series, blundered, mid-ninth century; only one side visible.

+VVEIREX? (retrograde, letters mis-formed), central cross.

Weight: 15.99g (246.8gr).

Torksey, Lincs. M/d find, 1995. Acquired by Scunthorpe Museum.

The coin is set in the top of a lead weight of pale brown colour. The lead is rather carefully finished, with a diameter of c. 15.0 mm at the top and bottom, but waisted to c. 14.2 mm in the middle. The coin is set at an angle, so that the height of the weight is 9.7–10.5 mm. It is in excellent condition and thus the original weight must have been close to the present 15.99g (246.8gr). This compares with 20.4g, 18.2g, 15.6g and 10.4g of the other four known weights of this type (see Coin Register 1994, no. 168).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

126. Base styca, Northumbria, Uigmund, Phase II, group Ci, Hunlaf.

Obv. +VIGMUND.

Rev. +HVNLA.

Weight: 0.71g (10.9gr).

Hutton Rudby, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, before February 1995.

Same dies as York hoard, no. 179.

C.P.B.

Carolingian Coin

127. Gilt bronze forgery of a Frisian copy of a gold solidus of Louis the Pious.

Obv. + wedge OVVIIIH / IIVVIII (second V inverted).

Rev. IIVHYZDIVIVIN (D retrograde, bar through last V).

Weight: 4.06g (62.6gr).

Between Gainsborough and Lincoln. Found by Mr P. Stanley, early 1995.

This is a currency forgery as there is no sign of jewellery fittings.

M.M.A.

Islamic Coins

128. Abbasid Caliphate, fragment of a silver dirham, possible al-Amin, A.H. 193–8/A.D. 809–13 or al-Ma'mun, A.H. 198–218/A.D. 813–33; uncertain mint.

Weight: 0.40g.

Claverley, near Bridgnorth, Shropshire. M/d find by Mrs H.S. Bate, c. 1993.

D.J.S.

129. Samanid dirham of Caliph al-Mu'tadid billah (AH279–89/AD 892–902), mint of al-Shash, 286.

Weight: 2.78g.

Bylaugh, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

V.P./J.A.D.

Later Anglo-Saxon Coins

130. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Non-portrait type, Group II, North 279.

Obv. +OFFA REX, cross of lobes.

Rev. +BAEH | HARD.

Weight: 1.0g (15.4gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 90°.

Kemsing, Kent, April 1995.

D.H.

131. Offa of Mercia, Heavy Issue, Blunt 97, moneyer Ethelnoth.

Obv. M | +OFFA | REX.

Rev. EþEL | NOþ in lunettes, row of pellets between.

Weight: not recorded (broken). Die-axis: c. 270°.

Corringham, Lincs. Found by Mr J. Matthews.

Different dies from die-duplicates BM ex Carlyon-Britton III Sale, Sotheby 11.xi.1918, lot 1604 and *NCirc* February 1988, no. 130. (Illustrated by a reduction from an enlarged photograph sent to BM.)

M.M.A./J.M.

132. Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury (793–805), Intermediate issue, without king's name, c. 796–87, North 231.

Obv. AEDILHEARD AR | EP.

Rev. EA D · G · A · R ·.

Weight: 1.18g (18.2gr).

Mileham, Norfolk, site 30999. M/d find, 1995.

M.M.A./J.A.D.

133. Coenwulf (796–821), East Anglian Early Group, BMC 74, North 363, BLS 98/97, moneyer Lul.

Obv. OE++XF large pellet V.VVFL (very rough letters).

Rev. +L V L, each letter in a pelleted leaf in the angles of a cross with a pellet in each triangular cross-end.

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr). Die-axis: c. 225° as shown.

Wetheringsett, Suffolk. Found in a garden by Mr T. Smith, summer 1995.

Same obv, die as BLS 98.

M.M.A.

134. Coenwulf, East Anglian Group, North -, BLS -, moneyer Wodel.

Obv. COENVVLFREX. Crude profile bust to left, head and hair outlined in pellets.

Rev. +PO. O: E rosette L (L is upside down, O is square; O for d). Letters of the legend within a quatrefoil with a large chevron-barred A in the centre and with no inner circle.

Weight: 1.34g (20.7gr).

Bulford, near, Wilts. Found by Mr D. Martin about 1993; shown BM October 1995.

The type with A in the centre of the reverse (but with an inner circle) was known previously only for the moneyer Wihtrud (North 375).

M.M.A.

135. Coenwulf I (821–3), East Anglian portrait issue, North 392, BLS 32, moneyer Wodel.

Obv. +C | JVVL REX M.

Rev. +POD | ELM [] | NET [].

Weight: 1.64g (25.3gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 180°.

Bidford, Warwicks., east of town. M/d find by Mr G. Ross, April 1994.

See D. Chick, in P.J. Wise and W.A. Seaby, 'Finds from a new productive site at Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire', *Trans. Birmingham and Warwicks Archaeol. Soc.* 99, 64.

P.J.W.

136. Beornwulf (823–5), East Anglian issue, BLS -, moneyer Eadgar.

Obv. +ERONVVLFR. (+ on bust, rough style).

Rev. +EAR+GAD (chevron-barred A inverted, rough style). Cross pommée in centre.

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Portesham, Dorset. Found by Mr J.R.W. Rule, autumn 1995.

The reverse type with a simple cross was not previously recorded for the reign.

M.M.A.

137. Wiglaf, Second Reign (830–40), Lunette type, London (unsigned), moneyer Redmund, cf. BLS 3b (different dies).

Obv. +VVIG[L]AFREX:M.

Rev. D | +RED [] | h.

Weight: 0.83g (12.8gr). Die-axis: 100°.

Bungay, Suffolk. Shown BM August 1995 by Mr Temple.

M.M.A.

138. Burgred of Mercia (852–74), Lunettes type a, early group, North 423, moneyer Beranh.

Obv. +BVRGRED REX.

Rev. MON. | +BERANH | .ETA. (O has four radiating lines).

Weight: 1.14g (17.6gr), pierced, gold plated.

Die-axis: 0°.

Brandon parish, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995, recorded with the assistance of Roy Owens. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1995 (CM. 560.1995).

This is a regular coin of Pagan's early group. The moneyer, Beranh, is known from BMC 166. It has been converted, presumably in the ninth century, for use as an ornament by being gilded on both sides and pierced. Much of the gilding remains, although it has rubbed off the high spots and in front of the bust. The gold plating is clearly present and is not to be confused with the golden patina that is found on some other early coins of Burgred. The position of the piercing suggests that the coin was treated merely as a golden disc, probably hung from a necklace or clothing, without regard to the design. It is unusual to find coins of the ninth century converted into ornaments.

M.A.S.B.

139. Burgred of Mercia (852–74), Lunettes type a, late group, North 423, moneyer Beagstan, cf. MEC 1.1325–6.

Obv. BVRGRED REX-.

Rev. NMON (NM ligatured) | BEAGSTA (S retrograde) | ETA (trefoil of pellets).

Weight: 0.69g (10.6gr), chipped. Die-axis: 180°.

Torksey, Lincs. M/d find, 1995. Information John Ogden.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

140. Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury (833–70), BMC 35, var.

Obv. | | NOT A [] |.

Rev. + [] ONETA.

Weight: 0.38g (5.8gr), fragment. Die-axis: 180°.

North Lopham, Norfolk, site 30359. M/d find, October 1995.

J.A.D.

141. Æthelstan of East Anglia (c. 824–45), North 440, moneyer Eadnoth.

Obv. ⚔ EÞELSTAN R, A (top-barred with contraction bar above).

Rev. +EADNOD MO. cross and four pellets.

Weight: 1.17g (18.1gr), chipped. Die-axis: 270°.

Ipswich, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.

M.A.S.B./S.J.S.

142. Æthelstan of East Anglia (c. 824–45), Cross-and-pellets type, North 447/1, moneyer Mon.

Obv. EÞELSTAN R, cross and pellets (or wedges?).

Rev. MON:MO·NET, cross.

Weight: 1.15g (17.8gr), chipped. Die-axis: c. 180°.

Otley, Suffolk. SMR ref. OTY020. M/d find, 1995.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

143. Eadmund of East Anglia (855–70), North 456, moneyer Eadmund.

Obv. +EADMVND REX AN. A in centre.

Rev. EADMONV MONE, cross with pellet in each angle.

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 190°.

Quidenham, Norfolk, site 30366. M/d find, October 1995.

J.A.D.

144. Viking (Danelaw) imitation of Ælfred. Two Line type, North 475/1, moneyer Simun.

Obv. +EL FR ED RE.

Rev. SIHVH:⚔:NEFEC.

Weight: not available. Die-axis: 45°.

Grimston, Norfolk, site 29404. M/d find, September 1995.

J.A.D.

145. St Edmund Memorial, penny, North 483, moneyer's name devolved from Odulf?

Obv. +SCVIDTO (retrograde, S on its back, T inverted). Unbarred A within inner circle.

Rev. +ODICFS (F with only one horizontal, S on its back).

Weight: unknown (Illustrated from a reduction of an enlarged photograph sent to BM).

Burgh Castle, Norfolk. Found by Mr S. Allinson at a m/d rally, summer 1995.

M.M.A.

146. St Edmund Memorial, penny, North 483, post-Cuerdale variety, c. 905–20.
Obv. +DIE[]I, around chevron-barred A.
Rev. +IASTO[L?].
 Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr), two fragments, incomplete.
 Die-axis: 180°.
 Alderton, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.

S.P.D./J.N.

147. St Edmund Memorial, penny, Cuerdale variety, c. 895–905, North 483, moneyer Ansigar.
Obv. +SC[]NIVII. A (chevroned and top-barred).
Rev. +ANSIIDARIO (S uncertain, D reversed).
 Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr). Die-axis: c. 0°.
 Great Finborough, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.

For comparable coins in the Cuerdale hoard see *BMC* 237, 239.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

148. St Edmund Memorial, penny, North 483.
 Blundered legends.
 Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr), chipped and repaired, Die-axis: 45°.
 Fordham, Cambridgeshire.

J.A.D.

149. St Edmund Memorial, penny, moneyer uncertain.
 Weight: 0.83g (12.8gr), incomplete.
 Norfolk, 1995.

J.A.D.

150. St Edmund Memorial, halfpenny, moneyer uncertain.
Obv. []SCVD[] (S on face), A (chevron- and top-barred).
Rev. +SD[]OI (S on face and O filled in), cross.
 Weight: 0.34g (5.2gr), fragmentary. Die-axis: 180°.
 York, some 10 miles south of. M/d find, 1995.
 Information courtesy of John Ogden.

M.A.S.B.

151. Ecgbert of Wessex (802–39), Group III, Portrait/Dorob C type, North 573, Canterbury, moneyer Bosel.
Obv. +ECGBEAR HTREX.
Rev. +BOSEL. MONETV (V for A).
 Weight: 1.33g (20.5gr). Die-axis: 180°.
 Winchester, near, Hants. Found by Mr V. Deepprose, September 1993. (Illustrated from a reduction of an enlarged photograph sent to BM).

G.T.D.

152. Ecgbert of Wessex, Group III, Portrait/Dorob C type, North 573, Canterbury, moneyer Bosel.
Obv. +ECGBEARHTREX (HT ligulate).
Rev. +BOSELMONETA; three pellets round monogram.
 Weight: not known. Die-axis: 180°.
 Hursley, Hants. Found by Mr P. Mulholland about 1988. (Illustrated from a reduction of an enlarged photograph sent to BM).

G.T.D.

153. Æthelberht (858–865/6), Floriated Cross type, *BMC* II, North 621, moneyer Dudda.
Obv. +ÆDELBEARHTREX (HT ligulate).
Rev. +DVDDAMONETA.
 Weight: unknown (mounted coin not suitable for weighing).
 Shoreham, Sussex. Found in 1929; shown BM March 1995.

M.M.A.

154. Ælfred (871–99), Two Line type, North 638, Canterbury, moneyer Tirwald.
Obv. +ÆLFRED REX DORO. small cross pattée.
Rev. +TIRWALD MO.
 Weight: 1.5g (23.1gr). Die-axis: 45°.
 Higham, near, Kent.

D.H.

155. Ælfred (871–99), Two Line type, *BMC* xv, North 639, Winchester style, moneyer Æthelred.
Obv. []FRE DREX.
Rev. ÆDERI+++IEDMO.
 Weight: not recorded, in three fragments. Die-axis: 90°.
 Leiston, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.

The coin is of official style and dates from the mid to late 890s.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

156. Viking imitation of Edward the Elder, Horizontal type (HT1), North 649 (part), Southern Danelaw.
Obv. +EYDVVEARDREX.
Rev. (trefoil) | EIOIA |+++|BEIOE | (trefoil).
 Weight: 1.38g (21.3gr), chipped. Die-axis: 270°.
 Norfolk (reputedly). M/d find, 1995 or earlier.

M.A.S.B./S.J.S.

157. Edward the Elder (899–924), Portrait type, *BMC* iii, North 651.
Obv. []A[]EARD R[]-.
Rev. HE []/+++N [] (N retrograde).
 Weight: 0.84g (12.9gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 180°.
 Wrentham, Norfolk. site TM 19 NW 88. M/d find, October 1995.

J.A.D.

158. Æthelred II, First Hand type, *BMC* iia, North 766, York, moneyer Oda.
Rev. +ODA M-O EOFRPIC.
 Weight: 1.45g (22.3gr).
 Easingwold, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, March 1995.

C.P.B.

159. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iiaa, North 770, Rochester, moneyer Leofric.
Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANGLORX.
Rev. +LEOFRIC M-O ROFEC.
 Weight: 1.5g (23.1gr). Die-axis: 270°.
 Rochester, near, Kent. April 1995.

D.H.

160. Æthelred II, Long Cross type, *BMC* iva, North 774, Chester, moneyer Leofwine.

Obv. ÆDELRAED REX ANGLO.
Rev. +LEOFFINE M-O LEIG.
 Weight: 1.58g (24.3gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 Rocklands, Norfolk. M/d find, January 1995.

J.A.D.

161. Æthelred II, Long Cross type, *BMC* i va, North 774, London, moneyer Sibwine.

Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANGLO.
Rev. +SIBPINE M-O LVND.
 Weight: 1.55g (23.9gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 Merton, Norfolk. M/d find, September 1995.

J.A.D.

162. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, Long Cross type, *BMC* i va, North 774, London, moneyer Æthelwerd.

Obv. +Æ[]GLOR.
Rev. +ÆDELP[].
 Weight: 0.8g (12.3gr). Die-axis: 90°.
 London, River Thames foreshore.

D.H.

163. Æthelred II, Long Cross type, *BMC* i va, North 774, Rochester, moneyer Edsige.

Obv. ÆDELRAED REX ANGLORX.
Rev. +EDSIGE M-O ROFEC.
 Weight: 1.45 g (22.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.
 Congham, Norfolk, site 25765. M/d find, April 1995.

J.A.D.

164. Æthelred II, Long Cross type, *BMC* i va, North 774, York, moneyer Sumerleda.

Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANGLO (NG ligatured).
Rev. +SVMERLIDA M'O EOFR.
 Weight: 1.43g (22.1gr), chipped. Die-axis: 210°.
 Mildenhall, near, Norfolk. M/d find 1995.

M.A.S.B./S.J.S.

165. Æthelred II, Long Cross type, *BMC* i va, North 774, York, moneyer Sumerleda.

Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANGLO.
Rev. +S[]ER[]M.O EOFR.
 Weight: 1.32g (20.4gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 90°.
 Attlebridge, Norfolk. M/d find, April 1995.

J.A.D.

166. Æthelred II, lead striking, cut half, Long Cross type, *BMC* i va, North 774, Oxford, moneyer Ælfwine.

Obv. +ÆDELRA[].
Rev. []M'O O/XNA.
 Weight: 1.32g (20.3gr), lead with white deposit. Die-axis: 210°.

Uncertain findspot; reputedly found at a metal-detector rally at Ickleton, Cambs., where it was first shown to M.J.B., but the chalk deposit suggests that it could have been found on the South Downs near the finder's home. M/d find, 1995.

This is a fascinating and significant piece. It is from the same dies as *SCBI* Oxford 554-5, which are official dies of the Oxford mint. The question arises whether it

was made by striking a lead flan with these official dies, or it was cast from moulds made by impressing a silver penny into clay or similar material. The irregular die-axis might suggest that it is cast, but against this there is no sign of a joint around the edge, and even under a binocular microscope one cannot see any sign of casting bubbles, although the white chalky deposit does obscure the surface in places. We are convinced by its surface and the deposit that it is an ancient piece, rather than a modern forgery, and on balance we think that it was struck from the original dies rather than cast.

It is difficult to determine what its function was. One would think that it would have been unlikely to circulate as a false penny since it is appreciably thicker than a silver coin and would have weighed about 75% more. On the other hand why else should it have been cut in half, exactly along the reverse cross, unless it was to pass in currency as a halfpenny? It could, of course, have been produced for some non-monetary purpose such as a trial striking or, as Miss Archibald has suggested for similar pieces, a customs check, and only later fraudulently used to pass in change.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

167. Æthelred II, Helmet type, *BMC* viii, North 775, Exeter, moneyer Dudel.

Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANG.
Rev. +DVDEL MO EAXE.
 Weight: 1.1g (17.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.
 Higham, near, Kent.

D.H.

168. Æthelred II, Helmet type, *BMC* viii, North 775, Stamford, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. +ÆDELRAED REX ANG (NG ligatured).
Rev. +GOLDPINIEMOISTAN.
 Weight: 0.87g (13.5gr), chipped and metal leached. Die-axis: 270°.
 Brandon parish, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

169. Cnut, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, York, moneyer Raefen.

Obv. +CNVT REC, three pellets at end.
Rev. +RAEFEN ON EOFE.
 Weight: 0.99g (15.2gr). Die-axis: 270°.
 Shipston-on-Stour, Warwicks. M/d find by Mr J. Warren, September 1994, now Warwickshire Museum N6398.

D.J.S./P.J.W.

170. Harold I, Jewel Cross type, *BMC* I, North 802, London, moneyer Corff.

Obv. +HARO LDR. E. X: (slightly double-struck).
Rev. +CORFFONLVNDENEE.
 Weight: 0.72g (11.1gr). Die-axis: 90°.
 Croughton, Northants. Found by Mr J. Lovell, August 1995.

M.M.A.

171. Harthacnut, cut halfpenny, First Jewel Cross type, *BMC* i, North 808, Norwich?, moneyer uncertain.
Rev. []NE ON NO[].
 Weight: 0.51g (7.8gr).
 West Walton, Norfolk, site 258853. M/d find, March 1995.

J.A.D.

172. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Radiate/Small Cross type, *BMC* i, Lincoln, moneyer uncertain.
 Weight: 0.48g (7.4gr), incomplete.
 Stamford Bridge, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, before March 1995.

C.P.B.

173. Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, *BMC* ii, North 818, moneyer Ælfw...
Obv. +EDP:RD R.
Rev. +ÆLFP ON LVND.
 Weight: 0.9g (13.9gr). Die-axis: 90°.
 Higham, near, Kent.

There are three possibilities for the moneyer.

D.H.

174. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Small Flan type, *BMC* ii, North 818, London, moneyer Wul...
Obv. +EDP[]RE.
Rev. +PVL[]ND.
 Weight: 0.28g (4.3gr). Die-axis: 45°.
 Congham, Norfolk, site 25765. M/d find, June 1995.

J.A.D.

175. Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, *BMC* ii, North 818, Tamworth, moneyer Bruning.
Obv. +EDPE RDRE.
Rev. +BRININC ON TAI (NC ligatured).
 Weight: 1.05g (16.2gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 Amington, near Tamworth, Staffs. M/d find, winter 1995/6.

This, only the second Small Flan type coin of Tamworth so far known, was found by the same detectorist only three fields from the spot where he discovered the first coin in 1993 (*BNJ* 63, Coin Register 1993, p. 152, no. 228). This specimen is from the same obverse die (although clearly earlier in its life), but from a different reverse. The first coin was subsequently acquired by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (acc. 1995 C 49).

D.J.S.

176. Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, *BMC* ii, North 818, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Rev. []JEDRD ON [].
 Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr).
 Easingwold, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, July 1995.

C.P.B.

177. Edward the Confessor, Trefoil Quadrilateral type, *BMC* iii, North 817, mint uncertain, moneyer Leofwine.
Obv. +EDPERD REX.

Rev. +LEEOPINE O[]O.

Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr); part folded. Die-axis: 315°.
 Pulham Market, Norfolk. M/d find, July 1995.

J.A.D.

178. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Trefoil Quadrilateral type, *BMC* iii, North 817, Hastings, uncertain moneyer, probably Brid.

Rev. []HÆSTIENG.

Weight: 0.5g (7.7gr).

New Romney, Kent. M/d find by Mr B. Waterhouse, July 1995.

Illustrated from enlarged colour photograph.

N.G.R.

179. Edward the Confessor, Expanding Cross type, light issue, *BMC* v, North 820, London, moneyer Leofred.

Obv. +EDPE: RD REEX.

Rev. +LEOFRED ON LVND.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr), corroded. Die-axis: 180°.

Southery, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

M.A.S.B./S.J.S.

180. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Expanding Cross type, *BMC* v, heavy issue, North 823, Ipswich, moneyer Brun...

Obv. []ER/DI[].

Rev. +BRVI[]PES:.

Weight: 0.74g (11.4gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Godmanchester, Cambs. (findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find by Mrs Bruce Oxley, 1995.

M.A.S.B.

181. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Expanding Cross type, *BMC* v, North 823, mint uncertain, moneyer Leofwine.

Rev. []JEOFFINE O[].

Weight: 0.8g (12.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.

London, River Thames foreshore.

D.H.

182. Edward the Confessor, Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* vii, North 825, Maldon, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. +[]ERD REX.

Rev. +GODPINE ON MEL:.

Weight: 1.3g (20.0gr). Die-axis: 270°.

London, River Thames foreshore.

D.H.

183. Edward the Confessor, Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* vii, North 825, Norwich, moneyer Ringulf.

Obv. +ED[]D REX.

Rev. +RINGV[]PI:.

Weight: 0.80g (12.3gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 0°.

Surlingham, Norfolk, site 31391. M/d find, October 1995.

J.A.D.

184. Edward the Confessor, Sovereign/Eagles type, *BMC* ix, North 827, London, moneyer Godric.

Obv. [+EA]DPARD REX ANGL[].

Rev. +GODRIC ON LVNDE.

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Higham, near, Kent.

D.H.

185. Edward the Confessor, Pyramids type, *BMC* xv, North 831, Lincoln, moneyer Ælfgeat.

Obv. EADPARD REX A.

Rev. +ÆLFGEAT ON LINC.

Weight: 0.98g (15.1gr), perforated by some corrosion. Die-axis: 90°.

Soham, near, Cambs. M/d find, 1995.

Same dies as *SCBI* Lincolnshire 787 and *BMC* 741 (= Mossop pl. 79.25). Mossop recorded three coins of this moneyer and type.

M.A.S.B./S.J.S.

186. Edward the Confessor, Pyramids type, *BMC* xv, North 831, Tamworth, moneyer Colinc.

Obv. []D REX.

Rev. +COL[]LIN[].

Weight: not recorded, fragment only.

Wixford, Warwicks. M/d find by Mr R.J. Laight, May 1994, now Warwickshire Museum N6397.

Only three other coins of this type are known for the Tamworth moneyer Colinc: *SCBI* 17, 504; *SCBI* 21, 1094; and F.E.J. 812. This latest find appears to share the same reverse die as the others, but to have a new obverse (see E.W. Danson, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norman mint of Tamworth', *Trans S. Staffs Archaeol. and Hist Soc* 11 (1969-70), 32-57 and A. Freeman, *The Moneyer and the Mint in the Reign of Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066*, BAR British Series 145 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 317-20).

D.J.S./P.J.W.

Post-Conquest Coins

187. William I, Two Sceptres type, *BMC* IV, North 844, Norwich, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. PILLEM - []EX ANGL. (*sic*).

Rev. GODPINE ON NORÐR.

Weight: 1.33g (20.5gr). Die-axis: 315°.

Rocklands, Norfolk. M/d find, March 1995.

J.A.D.

188. William I, Sword type, *BMC* VI, North 846, London, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. +PILLELM REX I.

Rev. +GODPINE ON LVNDI.

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Knapwell/Elsworth, Cambs. (same site as no. 273 below). M/d find, 1995.

M.A.S.B.

189. William I, Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* VII, North 847, Dover, moneyer Lifwine.

Obv. +PILLELM REX.

Rev. +LIFPINE ON DOFR.

Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Ripple, Kent, 26 February 1995.

D.H.

190. William I, cut farthing, Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* VII, North 847, Norwich, moneyer uncertain.

Rev. +[]PIC.

Weight: 0.29g (4.4gr).

Swaffham, Norfolk, site TF 81 SW 132. M/d find, May 1995.

J.A.D.

191. William II, Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* II, North 852, Colchester, moneyer Wulfwine.

Rev. PVLEPINE ON COL.

Weight: 1.07g (16.5gr). Die-axis: 180°.

'Northern England'. M/d find, 1995.

M.J.C.

192. William II, Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* II, North 852, Thetford, moneyer Aelfwine.

Obv. +PILLELELMRI (*sic*).

Rev. +Æ[LF]PINE ON ÐTFI.

Weight: 1.22g (18.6gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Dover, St Margaret's Cliff, Kent (or Ripple, Kent). Found by Mr Cranford, August 1995.

An unrecorded moneyer for this type, previously known at the mint for William I, *BMC* VIII and William II, *BMC* I.

M.M.A./D.H.

193. Henry I, Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* II, North 858, Canterbury, moneyer Wulfric.

Obv. +HENR[]RA.

Rev. +PVLEFRIC ON CNTL.

Weight: 1.3g (20.1gr), slightly chipped. Die-axis: 270°.

Hollingbourne, Kent, 9 August 1995.

New moneyer for the type.

D.H.

194. Henry I, (cut) halfpenny, Pax type, *BMC* III, North 859, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. +Æ[].

Weight: 0.5g (7.7gr). Die-axis: 0°.

London, River Thames foreshore.

D.H.

195. Henry I, Quadrilateral with Piles type, *BMC* VII, North 863, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []INE[]O(OR D?) [].

Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr), incomplete.

Congham, Norfolk, M/d find, March 1995.

J.A.D.

196. Henry I, Larger Profile/Cross and Annulets type, *BMC* VIII, North 864, London, moneyer Raulf.

Obv. +HENRICREX.

Rev. +RADVLVSONLV.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr), snicked. Die-axis: 270°.

London, north bank of the Thames at Customs House Quay. Found by Mr A.G. Pilson, March 1995.

M.M.A.

197. Henry I, cut halfpenny, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* X, North 866, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Weight: 0.69g (10.7gr).
Congham, Norfolk, site 11743. M/d find, March 1995.
J.A.D.
198. Henry I, Smaller Profile/Cross and Annulets type, *BMC* XII, North 868, Thetford, moneyer Acus.
Obv. [+HE]NRICVSR[].
Rev. +ACV[]OR:.
Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr), snicked. Die-axis: 90°.
Putney, London. Found during gardening by Dr N. Smith, February 1995.
The moneyer was previously known for the reign at the mint in *BMC* VII, X and XIV.
M.M.A.
199. Henry I, Pellets in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* XIV, North 870, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Weight: 1.4g (21.6gr).
Ripple, Kent, 18 February 1995.
D.H.
200. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Weight: 0.93g (14.4gr), incomplete.
Congham, Norfolk, site 25765. M/d find, April 1995.
(Not illustrated.)
J.A.D.
201. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr), incomplete.
West Rudham, Norfolk, site 28131. M/d find, February 1995.
J.A.D.
202. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Rev. []AN[].
Weight: 1.21g, incomplete; has been folded.
Llanbedrgoch, Anglesey (Gwynedd). M/d find, spring 1995.
From the same general area as the coins recorded in *BNJ* 59, Coin Register no. 75 and *BNJ* 61, Coin Register nos 116, 118 and 125. Now in National Museum of Wales.
E.M.B.
203. Henry I, cut halfpenny, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain (possibly Winchester, Sæit).
Rev. []:ON:[].
Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.
Heybridge, Essex. M/d find, 1995, from spoil heaps of Elms Farm excavation. Details made available in advance of publication by kind courtesy of Essex C.C. Field Archaeology Group and Bovis Homes plc. The coin was examined by Mr D. Walker.
M.J.C.
204. Henry I, cut halfpenny, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint uncertain, moneyer —wulf.
Obv. []HENRIC[].
Rev. []PVLF[].
Weight: 0.73g (11.2gr). Die-axis: c. 270°.
Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.
Information Roy Owens.
M.A.S.B.
205. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, London, moneyer Baldwine?
Obv. []FNE RE[].
Rev. +[]AL[]VN.
Weight: 0.57g (8.8gr). Die-axis: 270°.
Brandon parish, Suffolk. M/d find, 1994. Information Roy Owens.
(Not illustrated.)
M.A.S.B.
206. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, Winchester or Stamford, moneyer Siward.
Rev. []IPARD.ON.[].
Weight: 1.05g (16.2gr).
Plompton, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, August 1994.
C.P.B.
207. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Inscriptions illegible.
Weight: 0.66g (10.2gr).
Haverhill, Suffolk. M/d find, 1994.
(Not illustrated.)
M.A.S.B./J.N.
208. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* VI, North 879, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Rev. []E:ON[].
Weight: 0.51g (7.8gr).
'East Anglia'. M/d find, 1995.
M.J.C.
209. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* VI, North 879, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Obv. +ST[].
Rev. []I:ON:[].
Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr).
Newmarket, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. From the same field as no. 210, but found some 100 yards apart.
M.A.S.B.
210. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* VI, North 879, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Obv. []RE:.
Rev. []:ON:[].
Weight: 0.62g (9.5gr).
Newmarket, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. From the same field as no. 209, but found some 100 yard apart.
M.A.S.B.

211. Stephen, cut farthing, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* VI, North 879, Thetford, moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []ON:T[].

Weight: 0.29g (4.4gr).

Newmarket, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1994. Information Roy Owens.

Thetford is the only 'T' mint within the south-eastern region in which type VI was struck.

(Not illustrated.)

M.A.S.B.

212. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Obv. []EFN[].

Rev. []N:N[?].

Weight: 1.34g (20.7gr).

Sibton, Suffolk, SMR ref. SBT005. M/d find, 1995.

The inscription is uncertain. The mint name may begin with an N (for Norwich or Nottingham), but it could be IV (for Ilchester) or R (for Castle Rising or Rye).

M.A.S.B./J.N.

213. Stephen, Cross pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Obv. only parts of letters including EX of REX visible.

Rev. + of plain engraved, not punched and seriffed form; rest of legend illegible.

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis:

Snarford, Lincs. Found by Mr P. Stanley, early 1995.

M.M.A.

214. Stephen, cut farthing, Flag type, North 919.

Rev. []ETS.[].

Weight: 0.29g (4.4gr).

Thirsk, N. Yorkshire. M/d find before February 1995.

C.P.B.

215. Henry II, Tealby type, class A?, North 956-9, Thetford, moneyer Willem Ma.

Rev. +W[]M:MA:[]EF.

Weight: 1.31g (20.2gr).

Mildenhall parish, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

The class of bust cannot be determined, but Willem Ma is only known from coins of class A.

M.A.S.B.

216. Henry II, Tealby type, class C-E, North 956-60, London, moneyer uncertain.

Obv. +HENR[].

Rev. []ON: L[].

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr).

Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk. M/d find, June 1995.

J.A.D.

217. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, class F, North 961, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Obv. []EN[].

Rev. []N-ON-[].

Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr).

Brandon parish, Suffolk. M/d find, 1994. Information Roy Owens.

(Not illustrated.)

M.A.S.B.

218. Henry II, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 1.29g (19.9gr).

Cawston, Norfolk. M/d find, October 1995.

J.A.D.

219. Henry II, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 1.23g (18.9gr).

Hillington, Norfolk. M/d find, February 1995.

J.A.D.

220. Henry II, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr).

Narborough, Norfolk, site 3908. M/d find, May 1995.

J.A.D.

221. Henry II, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []ARD.[].

Weight: 1.37g (21.1gr).

Shipmanthorpe, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, before September 1995.

C.P.B.

222. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, Thetford, moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []ON:TH[].

Weight: 0.53g (8.1gr).

Plompton, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, October 1995.

C.P.B.

223. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []ON:L(?) [].

Weight: 0.56g (8.6gr).

Congham, Norfolk, site 30754. M/d find, March 1995.

J.A.D.

224. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr).

Weasenham All Saints, Norfolk, site 3726. M/d find, 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

225. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint uncertain, moneyer Roberd?

Rev. []BERD O[].

Weight: 0.62g (9.6gr).

West Walton, Norfolk, site 18646. M/d find, September 1995.

J.A.D.

226. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, class D3?, London, moneyer uncertain.

Rev. +[]DE.

Weight: 0.24g (3.7gr).

Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire (Dyfed).

This coin and no. 227 were among 24 specimens dating from the 12th to the 16th centuries found by the Pembrokeshire Prospectors in March–April 1995 during an organised search of the line of a new link road north of Haverfordwest, centred on SM948161. The reporting of the coins for recording in Cardiff was coordinated by Mr Roy Lewis. No obvious archaeological features had been found, so it would appear that the area may have been the site of a market or fair during much of the Middle Ages.

E.M.B.

227. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, North 952–61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []EL[].

Weight: 0.28g (4.3gr).

Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire (Dyfed).

From the same site as no. 226.

E.M.B.

228. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, North 952–61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.23g (3.5gr).

Ketteringham, Norfolk, site TG 10 SE 208, M/d find, October 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

229. Henry III, cut halfpenny, Long Cross type, class Ib, Bury St Edmunds.

Obv. []CVS. REXII[].

Rev. []CT'. AED (ED ligulate).

Weight: not known.

East Martin, near Fordingbridge, Hants. Found by Mr R. Rider, November 1995. (Illustrated by a reduction from an enlarged photograph).

G.T.D.

230. Henry VI, cut half-groat, Annulet coinage, York. Obv. die 2 (cf. M. Lessen, *BNJ* 63, p. 63).

Weight: 0.89g (13.7gr).

Durham, near. M/d find, 1994.

The cut is a sharp chisel cut, but has corrosion spots, so appears to be old.

N.G.R.

231. Henry VIII, halfpenny, 2nd/3rd coinage mule, London.

Weight: 0.31g (4.7gr).

Court at Street, near Ashford, Kent. M/d find by Mr J. Smith, 1995.

N.G.R.

Continental Sterlings

232. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280–1304), Valenciennes, Mayhew 24.

Weight: 1.26g (19.4gr), chipped.

Norfolk?, 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

M.J.C.

233. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280–1304), Valenciennes, Mayhew 30 var.

Weight: 1.39g (21.4gr).

Sleaford, near, Lincs. M/d find, 1995.

As Mayhew 30, but no apostrophe after ENS.

M.J.C.

234. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280–1304), Valenciennes, Mayhew 32.

Weight: 0.98g (15.1gr).

Henley in Arden, Warwicks. Found c. 1967 by Mr D. Crocker whilst walking along SE side of Beaudesert Castle, and donated to Birmingham City Museum in 1971.

(Not illustrated.)

D.J.S.

235. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280–1304), Valenciennes, Mayhew 32.

Weight: 0.77g (11.8gr), incomplete.

Ramsholt, Suffolk, M/d find, 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

S.P.D./J.N.

236. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280–1304), Mons, Mayhew 34.

Weight: 1.29g (19.9gr).

Saxlingham Nethergate, Norfolk. M/d find, August 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

237. Brabant, John I (1261–94), Mayhew 43.

Weight: 1.18g (18.3gr).

Wattlington, Norfolk, site 32435, M/d find, September 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

238. Brabant, John I, Mayhew 44.

Weight: 0.89g (13.7gr), incomplete.

North Creak, Norfolk, site 30866, M/d find, October 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

239. Looz, Arnold V (1279–1323), Mayhew 59.

Weight: 1.01g (15.6gr).

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 28131, M/d find, February 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

240. Morey, Gaucher of Chatillon (1313–22), Mayhew 250.

Weight: 0.67g (10.3gr).

Lenham, near, Kent. M/d find, 1994.
(Not illustrated.)

N.G.R.

Rev. +SAPOLLINARS (O lozenge-shaped), cross with annulet in fourth quarter.

Weight: 1.13g. Die-axis: 110°.

East Anglia. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

European Coins

241. France, Philip III (1270–85), denier tournois.
Weight: 0.62g. Die-axis: 190°.

Hindringham, Norfolk, site 24909. M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

242. France, Philip IV (1285–1314), gros tournois (with two Ps), à l'O long, Lafaurie 218.

Weight: 2.30g (35.5gr), worn and chipped.

Haverhill, Suffolk. M/d find, 1994.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

250. Brabant, Philip the Good (1419–67), double patard, 1466–7, Van Gelder & Hoc 8.1.

Weight: 2.58g.

Lakenheath, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

251. Brabant, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double patard, Van Gelder and Hoc 23-1.

Weight: 3.03g.

Holt, Norfolk, site 18103. M/d find, 1005.

B.J.C./J.A.D.

243. France, Philip IV (1285–1314), maille tierce à l'O rond, Lafaurie 223 var., Duplessy 219B.

Obv. (outer): BNDICTV-SIT-NOME-DNI (stops, three pellets).

Weight: 1.25g. Die-axis: 45°.

West Dereham, Norfolk. M/d find, March 1995.

J.A.D.

252. Flanders, Bruges, petit denier.

Weight: 0.28g.

Sporle, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

244. France, Louis XII (1497–1514), hardi, cf. L. 616.
Weight: not recorded.

Shipston-on-Stour, Warwicks. M/d find by Mr J. Warren.

D.J.S./P.J.W.

253. Flanders, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double patard, Bruges, Van Gelder and Hoc 23-3.

Weight: 2.50g, incomplete.

Scole, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

B.J.C./J.A.D.

245. Brittany, Jean IV (1345–99), billon demi-blanc, cf. Poey d'Avant 833.

Weight: 1.39g.

Broome, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

B.J.C./J.A.D.

254. Flanders, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double patard, Bruges, Van Gelder and Hoc 23-3.

Weight: 2.87g.

St Donats, South Glamorgan. M/d find, June 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

E.M.B.

246. Brittany, anonymous billon double ('black money'), late 14th–early 15th century, cf. Poey d'Avant 946.

Rev. MONETA BRITA[].

Weight: 1.59g.

Stanfield/Beetley, Norfolk, site 30600. M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

255. Flanders, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double patard, Bruges, Van Gelder and Hoc 23-3.

Weight: 1.61g, incomplete.

Wicklewood, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

B.J.C./J.A.D.

247. Brittany, Jean V (1399–1442), blanc, Dinan, Poey d'Avant 948.

Weight: 2.49g.

Thetford, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

B.J.C./J.A.D.

256. Flanders, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double patard, Bruges, Van Gelder and Hoc 23-3.

Weight: 2.22g, clipped.

Tholthorpe, N. Yorkshire. M/d find, 1994.

(Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

248. Burgundy, Eudes IV (1315–50), silver demi-gros, Poey d'Avant 5691.

Weight: 1.19g.

Sleaford, near, Lincs. M/d find, 1995.

Coin identified by Mr A. Holmes.

M.J.C.

257. Flanders, Philip the Fair (1482–1506), demi-patard, Van Gelder and Hoc 63-5.

Weight: 1.54g, chipped.

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 30441. M/d find, 1995.

B.J.C./J.A.D.

258. Brabant, Charles V, gros, Malines, 1st issue, 1506–20.

Weight: 1.55g.

Ringland, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

B.J.C./J.A.D.

249. Valence, denier, 12th cent.?, Poey d'Avant 4690.
Obv. +VRBS VALENTIAI. angel.

259. Louvain, Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, double patard.
Weight: 1.50g, fragmentary.
West Walton, Norfolk, site 25853, M/d find, 1995.
(Not illustrated.)
B.J.C./J.A.D.
260. Germany, Otto-Adelheid penny, c. 983/991–1040.
Weight: 0.48g (7.4gr), fragment.
Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.
Information courtesy Roy Owens, who has presented the coin to the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.19-1995).
M.A.S.B.
261. Westphalia, Abbey of Corvey, anonymous 13th century Pfennig.
Weight: 0.97g (14.9gr).
Field Dalling, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
B.J.C./J.A.D.
262. Mecklenburg-Güstrow, Johann Albrecht II (1610–36), Doppelschilling.
Weight: 1.73g.
Rockland St Mary, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
B.J.C./J.A.D.
263. Gelderland, Koevorden, Renaud III or IV, kopchen, 14th century.
Weight: 0.36g.
Sheringham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
B.J.C./J.A.D.
264. Portugal, Alfonso V (1438–81), silver chinfrão.
Weight: 1.38g.
Fulmodestone, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
B.J.C./J.A.D.
265. Portugal, Alfonso V (1438–81), silver chinfrão.
Weight: 0.95g, clipped.
Croxtan, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
B.J.C./J.A.D.
266. Portugal, Alfonso V (1438–81), silver chinfrão, Oporto mint.
Weight: 0.74g (11.2gr), severely clipped.
Carhampton, near Dunster, Somerset. M/d find by Mr Gordon Stone, July 1995.
The coin appears to have been clipped down to circulate as a penny of the 12 gr. standard which was current 1464–1526.
M.A.S.B.
267. Portugal, Alfonso VI (1656–83), silver meio tostão.
Weight: not recorded.
Flowton, Suffolk, SMR ref. FL W008. M/d find, 1995 from the same site as the coin of Charlemagne (Coin Register 1994, no. 170).
M.A.S.B./J.N.
268. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, silver 2-reales (after 1497), Seville.
Weight: 3.31g, clipped.
Caister St Edmund, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
J.A.D.
269. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, silver ½-real, Toledo.
Weight: 1.24g, worn.
Coddensham, Suffolk, findspot recorded on Suffolk SMR. M/d find, 1992.
(Not illustrated.)
M.A.S.B./J.N.
270. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, silver ¼-real, after 1497.
Weight: 1.25g, cracked and worn.
Hopton, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995. Information Roy Owens.
M.A.S.B.
271. Italy, Otto I, II or III (962–73, 973–83, 983–1002), Pavia, CN/ IV, pl. XL, 9–11.
Obv. +IMPERATOR, OTTIO.
Rev. outer inscription illegible, PALPIA.
Weight: 0.88g (13.6gr), clipped.
Hemingstone, Suffolk. M/d find, 1995.
M.A.S.B./J.N.
272. Teutonic Order, Winrich von Kniprode (1351–82), vierling.
Weight: not recorded (worn and broken).
Willerby, North Humberside (find spot recorded at Hull Museums). M/d find by Mr J. Stocks, 1995.
(Not illustrated.)
B.J.S.
273. Livonian Order, silver artiger, c. 1350–90, Reval (Tallinn), Molvögin type 6.
Obv. +NAGIS[TRI + LIVONIE], shield of the Livonian Order, nothing above shield.
Rev. +[MONETA + RE]VALIE, cross with three pellets in each angle.
Weight: 0.48g (7.4gr), fragment, Die-axis: 45°.
Knapwell/Elsworth, Cambs. (same site as no. 188, above). M/d find, 1995.
M.A.S.B.
274. Norway, Haakon V (as king, 1299–1319), penn- ing, Bergen mint, Ahlström, Brekke and Hemmingsson no. 41.1.
Obv. HA I QV I [I], cross fleurée.
Rev. +MONETA BE[]IS, around B.
Weight: 0.89g (13.7gr). Die-axis: 140°.
Sherburn, Yorks. M/d find, 1995.
M.A.S.B.

Other Finds

275. Trial piece for a forger's die?

A square sheet of lead, 32 × 33mm; thickness 2mm, weight 17.63g.

One side bears the impression of a groat, of Henry VI (1422–61), with design in relief, apparently an impression made by a die. Legend, HENRIC REX[]. There is a single tiny hole (an alignment mark?) outside the border. The reverse carries a scored circle 29mm in diameter.

West Rudham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1994.

J.A.D.

276. Boy Bishop token, 'penny', c. 1480–1540.

Weight: 2.05g.

Fincham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

277. Boy Bishop token, 'penny', c. 1480–1540.

Weight: 1.85g.

Fincham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.

J.A.D.

Corrections to Coin Register 1994

116. Rigold BIB, not BII.

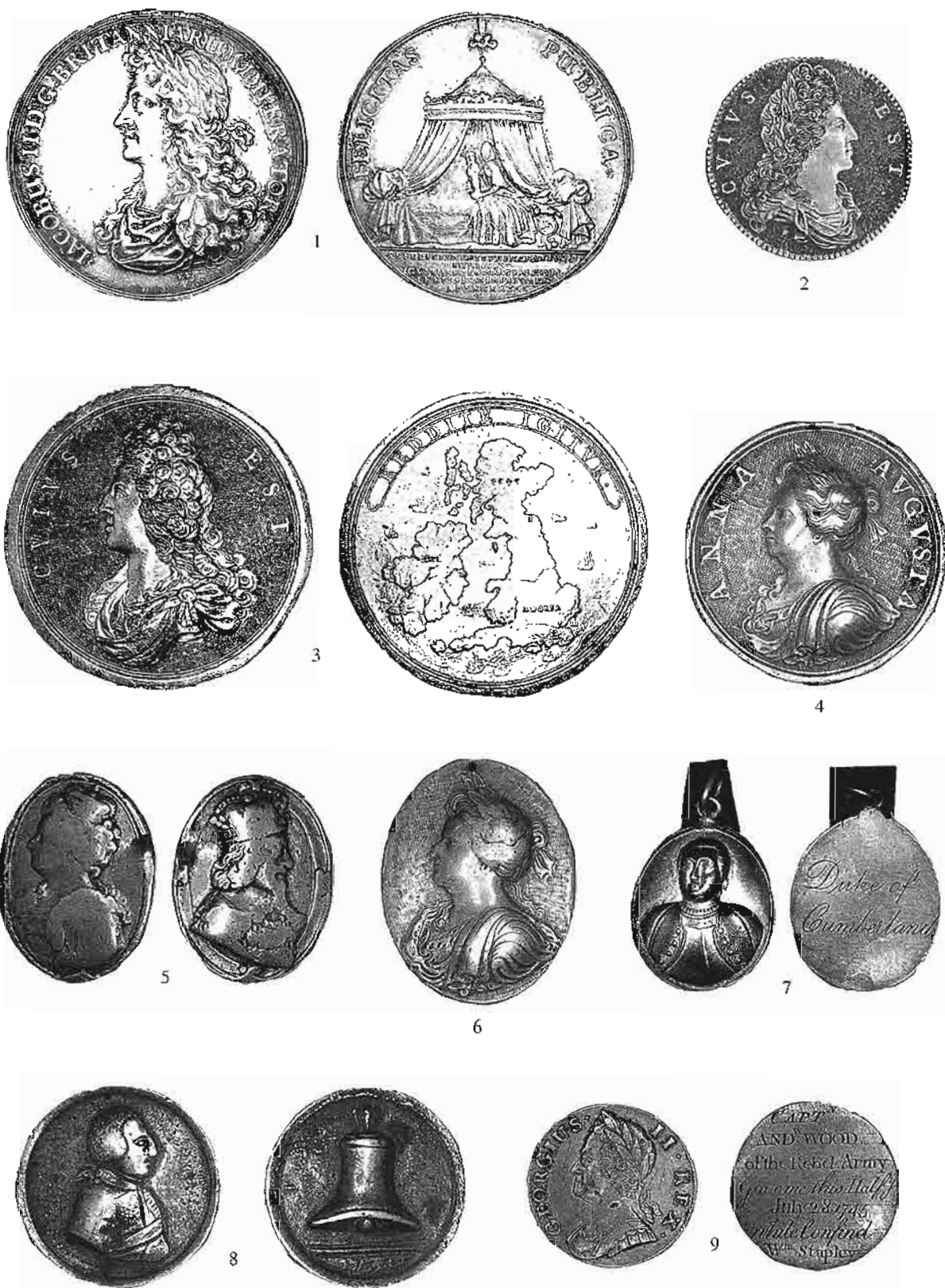
120. Series BZ, not B.

122. Series R, Metcalf group 9, moneyer 'spi', die-duplicate of *SCBI* Mack 324; not Series C, 'apa'.

124. Series R, Metcalf group 8, crude 'ep'; not Series C, 'Lepa'.

125. Series R, Metcalf group 4; not Series C.

M.A.S.B.



SHARP: JACOBITE AND ANTI-JACOBITE PIECES

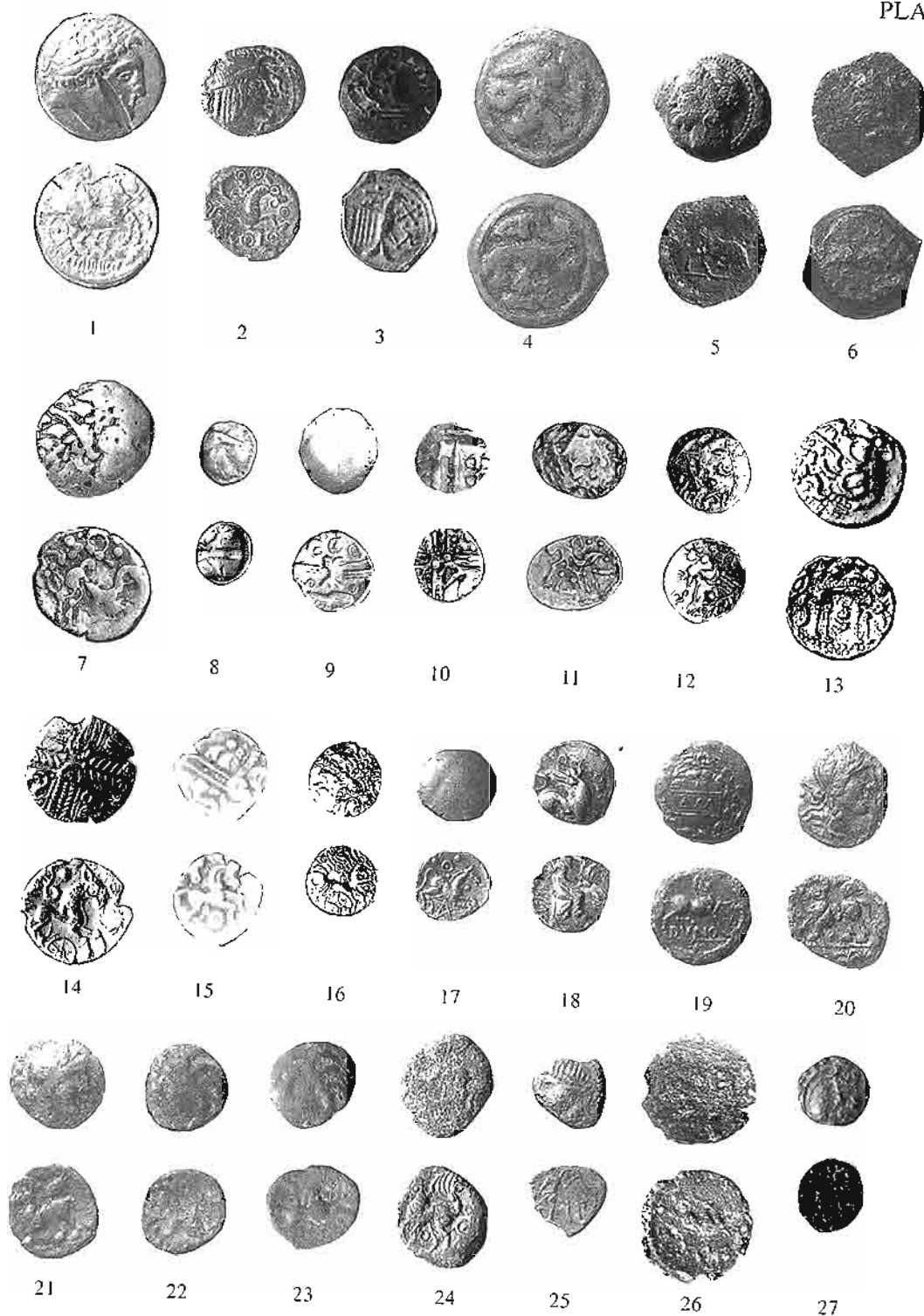
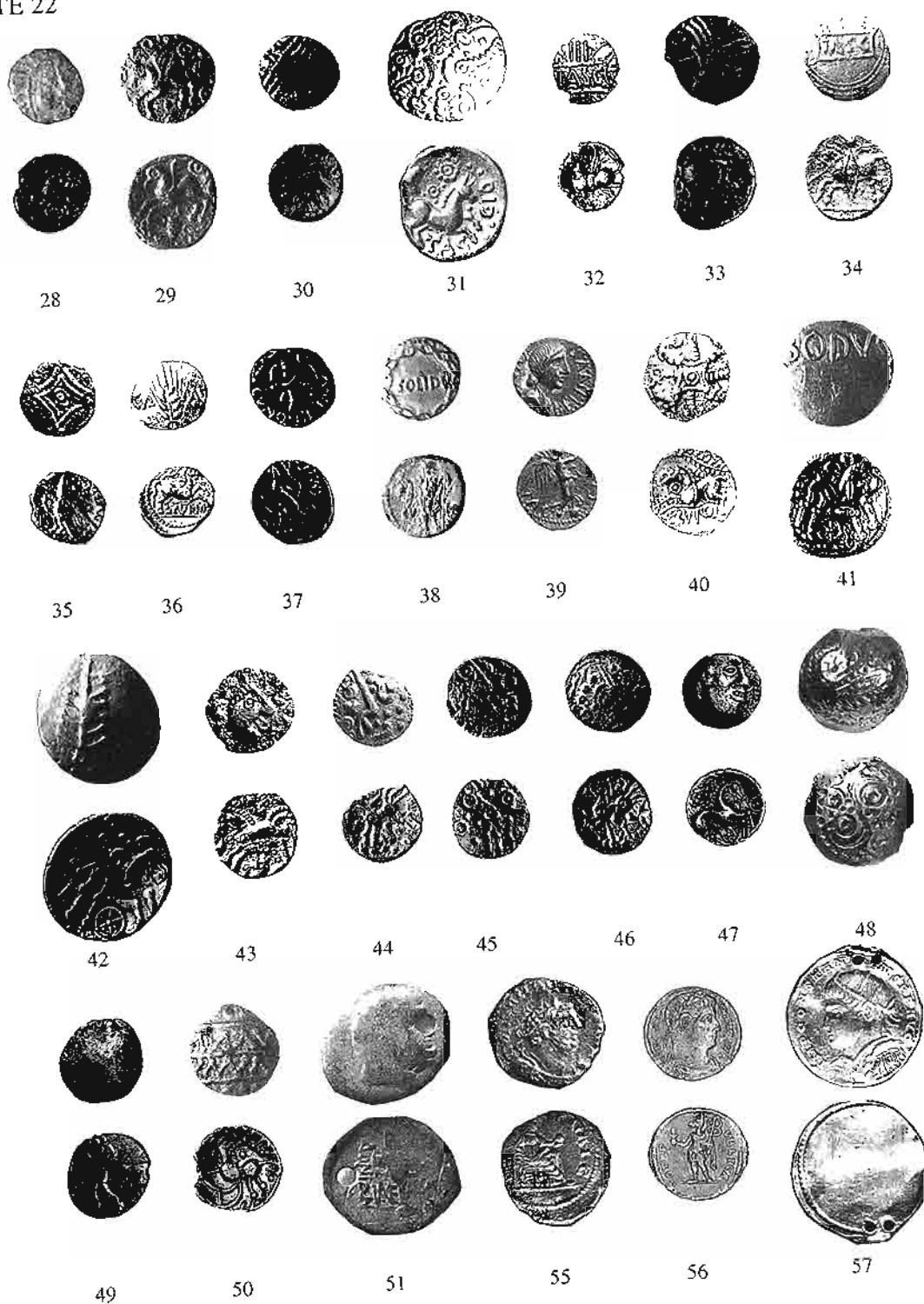


PLATE 22





58



59



60



61



62



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64



65



66



67



68



69



71



72



73



74



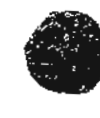
75



76



77



79



80



81



82



83



84



85



86



87



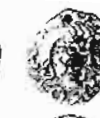
88



89



90



91



92



93



94



95



97



98



99



100



101



102



103



104



105



106



107



108



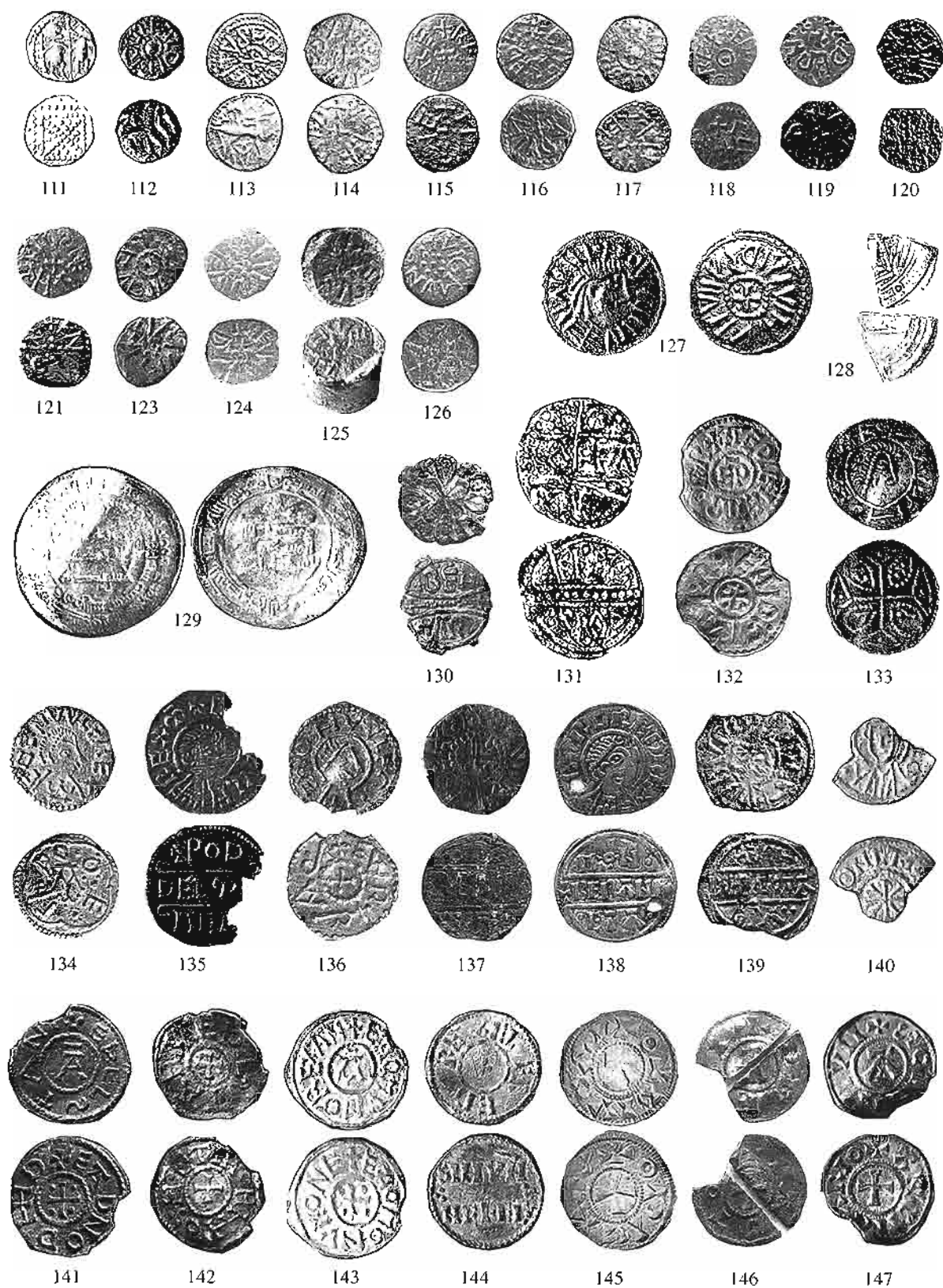
109



110



PLATE 24



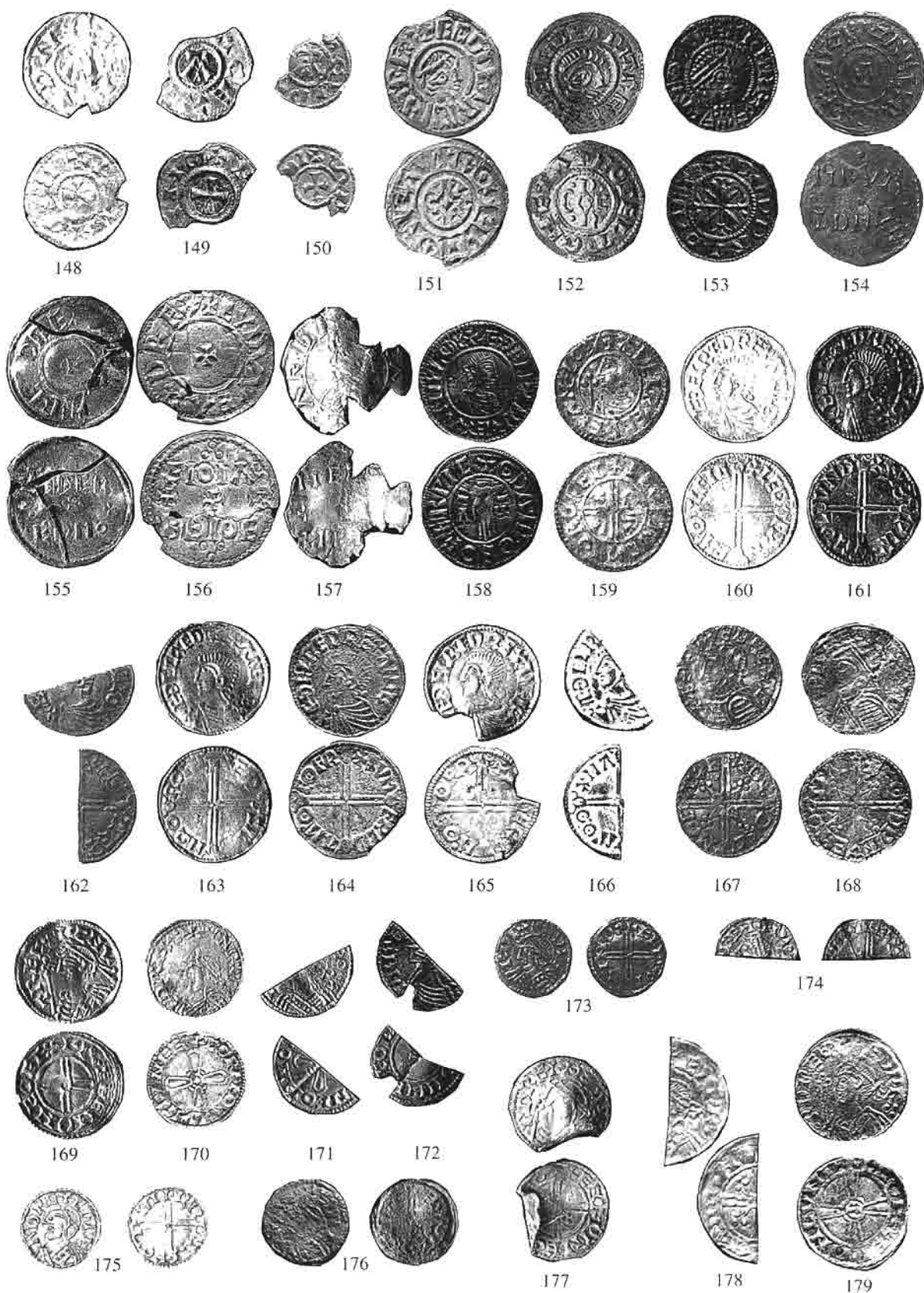


PLATE 26

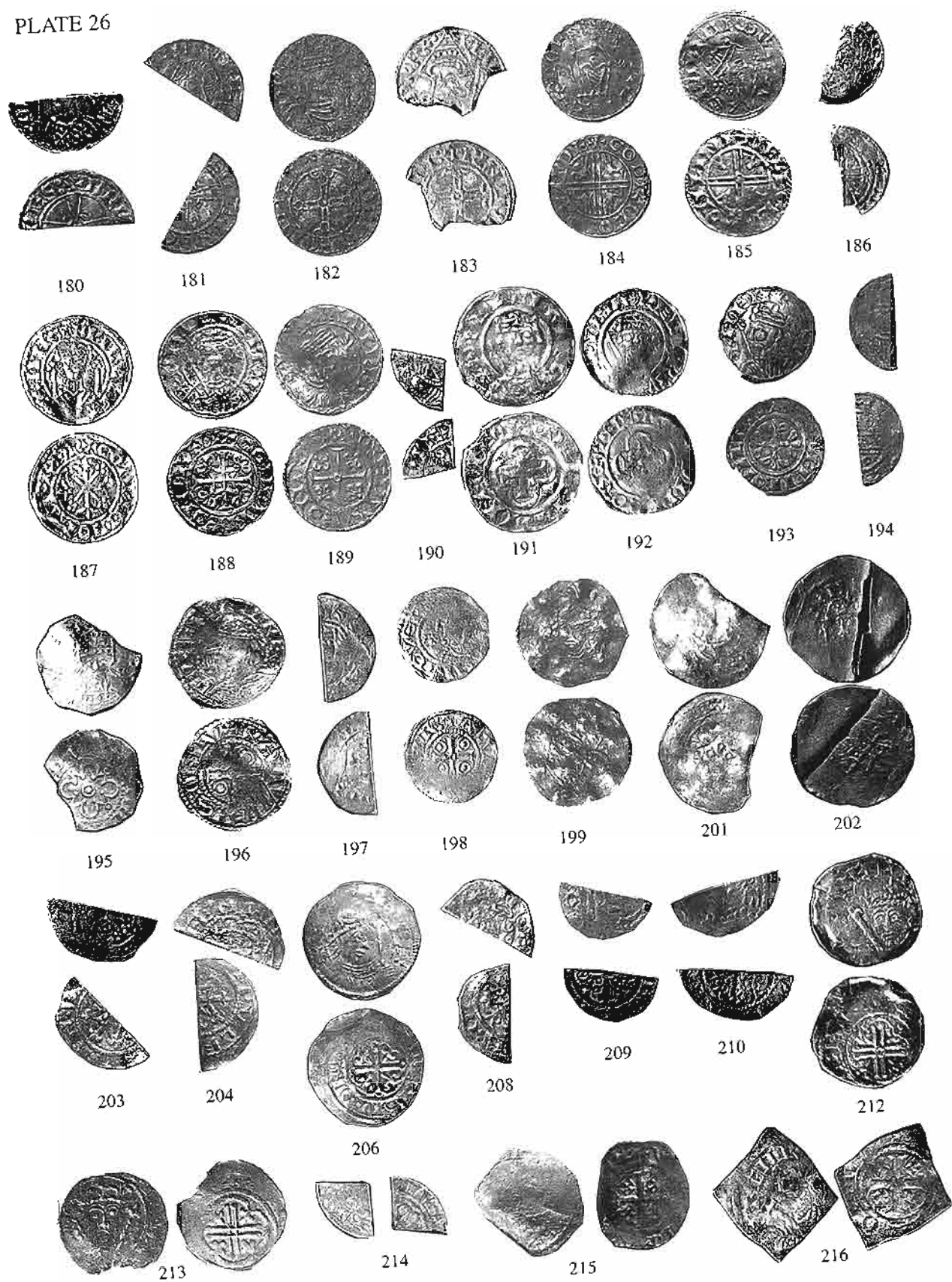
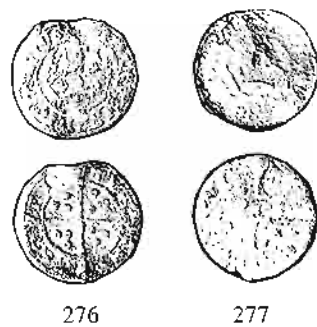
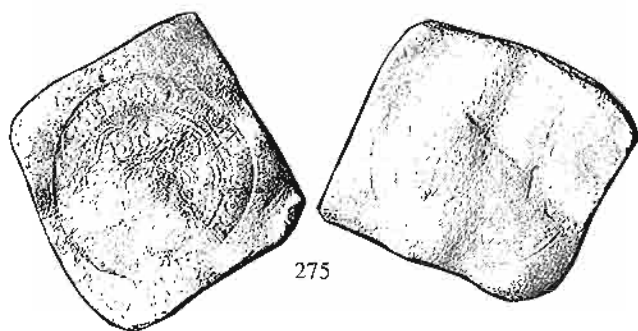




PLATE 28



REVIEWS

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 42. South-Eastern Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Later Coins to 1279, by The Late A.J.H. Gunstone. Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press and Spink & Son Limited. 1992. xiv + 210 pp. inc. 78 photo plates.

THE latest volume in the *SCBI* series is a substantial contribution in all respects. Not only does it catalogue and illustrate 2,350 coins, which is the largest number in any single *Sylloge* volume, but it provides a magnificent reference collection of a diverse range of British coinage produced and used in south-east England down to the reign of Edward I. The completion of this work was a monumental task, involving the compilation of details of coins from forty-five museums, which lie to the south and east of an arc drawn between Southampton and Peterborough. (Museums in East Anglia have been considered separately in *SCBI* 26).

This volume was compiled by the late Anthony Gunstone, who tragically died during the final stages of its preparation. Having spent a year working on the coin collection at the City and County Museum in Lincoln, I am personally aware of the author's remarkable previous contributions to the *Sylloge* series. Volume 27 was an invaluable constant companion to me during that period. The completion of volume 42 is a fitting tribute to the author who published four volumes, which is more than any other contributor; apart from Dr Georg Galster. Dr Veronica Smart provided a major contribution by completing the volume for publication.

The format of this work will be familiar to those who have used previous titles, primarily comprising catalogue and plates. There is also a useful bibliography and indices of rulers, mints, moneyers and find-spots. It opens with a listing of the museum collections studied and a summary of which coins belong to each of them. The individual collections differ hugely in size and a number of institutions are included (for example the National Portrait Gallery and the Science Museum in London) which researchers may not suspect of holding reference collections. The catalogue begins with an important listing of southern Iron Age coins, many of which are provenanced. Reference illustrations of these early coins are not extensively available in the literature generally, and the 451 examples described and pictured here are a welcome addition. Of particular interest are the illustrations of bronze and potin varieties, while the parcel from the Stonea hoard is a useful supplementary reference for the Icenian series. The remainder of the volume describes Anglo-Saxon and later coins, to 1279.

The main strength of the volume undoubtedly lies in its coverage of eleventh-century coinage. This section will be a major reference for the output of the southern mints between 1042 and 1100. No less than 555 coins of Edward the Confessor are listed, followed by a valuable coverage of Harold II and William I. Some particularly interesting individual coins are described, including a Chester penny of Cnut (1074) and a Winchester penny of Harold I (1107), each with the bust right. There are two examples of an early experimental variety of Edward the Confessor, from the Taunton mint (1312-13). There is also an unusual form of reverse cross on the Facing Bust type from Sudbury, of the same king (1625-8). Other unusual items include a William I Bonnet type penny made into a brooch (1735), in a similar way to one of Edward the Confessor illustrated in the *BNJ* Coin Register for 1994 (226), and a uniface latten brooch ornamented with an impression of the reverse die of Henry I's Pointing Bust type, of the Gloucester mint (1903). The quality of the plates is generally very clear, in keeping with the current high standards of the series, although occasional examples are just too dark for adequate study.

This kind of book, which is essentially a catalogue, and also part of a highly revered series, is not easy to review. The layout adheres to the established, successful, format, which is both clear and easy to use. It does not set out to be fully comprehensive with regard to any specific coin series and presents a diverse range of types. So, how can it be assessed? Its value lies in the presentation of a major reference collection of numismatic information for the use of all researchers and collectors. As such, this volume is a most welcome and important reference for the British coinage of south-east England and will be an essential tool for anybody working on and studying material from that area. A large number of the coins are provenanced, which will also aid scholars in the analysis of the distribution of types and the output of individual mints. This work now completes a substantial coverage of the coinage of southern England within the *Sylloge* series. The volume is attractively presented and I highly recommend its acquisition. The only negative feature is its price which, while understandable, at £75 puts this most valuable reference work beyond the pocket of most students, whom we should be attempting to attract to the study of British numismatics.

JOHN DAVIES

The York Hoard, 1831, by Elizabeth J.E. Pirie (Northumbrian Numismatic Studies 1). Llanfyllin, Galata Print Limited 1994. 52pp, incl. 8 photo plates and 10 text figs. £12.

THIS provides a thorough new publication of a parcel of Northumbrian stycas long preserved at Stonyhurst College and first published by Nathan Heywood in volume 7 of *BNJ*. The provenance of the coins in question is attested by a slip of paper in a mid nineteenth-century hand which describes them as 'found by some men who were digging near St. Mary's Abbey in York . . . in the year 1831'. As they have now been dispersed via a Christie's sale of 10 October 1989, lots 440–455, Miss Pirie has performed a valuable service in putting them on record and in illustrating over 300 of the 322 coins that survive.

This is not the place to discuss Miss Pirie's classification of the coins, for the principles behind it are shortly to be set out in a more extensive volume by her on the Northumbrian styca series, but, as she herself remarks on p. 17, comparison of the content of the hoard as she has published it with that of the content of the comparable 1967 Bolton Percy hoard as published under a more traditional system of classification by the present reviewer in vol 43 of *BNJ*, 'is not entirely straightforward'. Readers may therefore find it helpful to have the following summary of the Stonyhurst parcel drawn up on the same principles as the summary of the content of the Bolton Percy given in *BNJ* 43:

STONYHURST PARCEL FROM 'YORK, 1831' HOARD.

Kings of Northumbria

Eanred

Early Phase. Daegberct 1; Eadvini 1; Herred 1; double reverse 1	4
Later Phase. Aldates 3; Brother 4; Fordred 11; Monne 10; Odilo 1; Wihtrud 1; Wulfred 2	32

Aethelred II

First Reign. Alghere 6; Brother 7; Cunemund 1; Eanred 35; Fordred 24; Leofthegn 20 (including 1 possible contemporary forgery); Monne 23; Wendelberht 3; Wihtrud 5; Wulfred 2; blundered 1	127
--	-----

Redwulf

Coenred 1; Cudberht 2; Eanred 2; Hwaetnoth 1; Monne 1; 'Nerred' 1; Wendelberht 1	9
--	---

Aethelred II

Second Reign. Eardwulf 24; Monne 1	25
------------------------------------	----

Osberht

Eanwulf 4; Monne 3; Winiberht 2; Wulsixt 2; blundered 2	13
---	----

Derivative regal

59

Archbishops of York

Wigmund

Coenred 7; Ethelhelm 8; Ethilveard 15; Hunlaf 16	46
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Wulfhere

Wulfred 7	7
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TOTAL:	322
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It should be noted in relation to this summary that it is difficult to determine which coins of the moneyer Eardwulf are official striking attributable to Aethelred II's second reign and which should be classed with the mass of 'derivative regal' coins struck from Aethelred II's second reign onwards into the reign of Osberht, and that dividing them appropriately involves value judgments about a few individual coins that may be open to challenge.

It also seems helpful to compare the percentage representations of coins of each reign or other defined grouping in this hoard with the percentage representation of similar coins in the Bolton Percy hoard. As all the coins in the Stonyhurst parcel (S) can be identified, whereas there were 58 coins in the Bolton Percy hoard (BP) which were unidentifiable or which could only be partially identified, the percentages for Bolton Percy have been calculated omitting the 58 coins concerned.

The percentages are as follows: Eanred BP 12.4%, S 11.2%; Aethelred First Reign BP 34.8%, S 39.4%; Redwulf BP 2.2%, S 2.8%; Aethelred Second Reign BP 9.6%, S 7.8%; Osberht BP 4.4%, S 4.0%; Derivative Regal BP 23.1%, S 18.3%; Abp. Eanbald BP 0.1%, S nil; Abp. Wigmund BP 12.5%, S 14.3%; Abp. Wulfhere BP 0.9%, S 2.2%.

It will be evident that the composition of the hoards was broadly similar, and it can be suggested that the weaker representation of coins of the 'derivative regal' group in the Stonyhurst parcel is due at least in part to the coins in that parcel being a selection which favoured specimens that were more readily identifiable.

HUGH PAGAN

The Short Cross Coinage 1180–1247 Henry II to Henry III (Herne Bay, 1992). 90 pp, paperback. ISBN 0 9520348 0 8. *The Voided Long Cross Coinage 1247–1279 Henry III and Edward I* (Herne Bay, 1993). 80 pp, paperback, ISBN 0 9520348 1 6. *The English Long Cross Pennies 1279–1489 Edward I to Henry VII* (Herne Bay, 1995). 190 pp, ISBN 0 9520348 2 4. By Christopher R. Wren.

THESE three volumes are each subtitled 'An illustrated guide to identification' and form part of a projected series to cover similarly the late medieval and early modern English hammered silver coinage up to 1662. It may seem unfair to mention another work of similar purpose in the opening paragraph of a review, but it would seem clear that to some extent this series is intending to serve as an alternative to J.J. North's *English Hammered Coinage* (to a point, as there is as yet no indication that the new series will cover Saxon, Norman and the Cross and Crosslets coinage, nor is the subject of gold coinage or early copper addressed). Obviously, there is absolutely nothing to object to in this aim (which will be returned to below), and there are many things to welcome and admire about the volumes so far produced.

The coinages covered by the three volumes under review have two main characteristics: they are regularly encountered; and they are, relatively speaking, difficult for the non-specialist to identify properly, a consequence of immobilised designs and the often detailed and sophisticated modern numismatic classifications which have been necessary to tackle them. From this point of view, anything which helps the curator, archaeologist, finder or collector is to be welcomed. But one would not want to damn these guides with such faint praise, as they also have manifest virtues, usually arising from their professed purpose as introductions.

They are well organised, and straightforward to use, with a structure designed for the benefit of the non-specialist and beginner. They begin with a glossary of relevant terms, useful not only in their immediate context, but also for anyone pursuing their interests further. (The numismatic usage of terms such as sinister and dexter, Roman and Lombardic, can too easily be taken as self-evident.) Where the terms describe symbols or aspects of letter forms and other design features (annulet, mullet, pot hook, trifoliate), these are often illustrated. Forms of initial cross are also illustrated in the third volume.

Then there comes an introduction which, with brevity and admirable clarity, sets out the historical context for the coinage concerned and the background to the classification applied to it. Next there is provided a general discussion of how to read and classify the coinage in question, accompanied by relevant lists and tables. The Short Cross volume, for instance, includes a table of lettering; a table of moneyers with the mints and classes for which they are known; and a list of the mints. The Long Cross volume adds to these a table of ligated letters and a list of elements in the reverse legends. (It should be noted that a great advantage of the production of the Short and Long Cross volumes is the use of accurate letter forms when quoting from coin legends; this is given up, however, in the volume covering later pennies.) The volume devoted to the penny from 1279 to 1489 has the most extensive set of such aids, subdivided into obverse and reverse sections. These cover legends, initial marks, mint readings, symbols and other identifying features.

The next part of the guides provides their heart, a survey of the coinage under review, class by class or reign by reign as appropriate, illustrated with clear drawings. The levels of classification applied here are sensibly chosen, without delving into the murkiest depths of sub-classes and varieties. Wherever possible the author sticks to objective criteria, instead of the more 'eye-of-the-beholder' distinctions ('crude style', 'bushier hair', 'square letters', etc.) which can be so meaningless and off-putting to the beginner. There are inevitably limits to this approach, particularly in the thickets of the Edwardian series: class 3f with its 'large nose and coarse appearance', for instance, may well leave the unfamiliar user nonplussed, and it is in this sort of area that the lack of photographs of (ideally) several specimens is most felt. Again the highly distinctive form of the letter A on coins

of 11c is less than ideally realised on the thick lettering used in the drawings. This is not meant to be a criticism of the works under review, as considerable use of photography would presumably have raised the costs enormously and probably have rendered the project impractical. Rather, it simply reflects the problems inherent in the nature of this particular coinage and its classification.

For most users of these guides the level of information provided in this section will be more than sufficient and, for those wishing to take matters further, the author generally provides references to the detailed studies of each class, a resource which is bolstered by the extremely useful bibliographies which conclude each volume. Before these, however, a final chapter or set of chapters deals with related coinages (issues of Scotland and Ireland, continental imitations, forgeries, piedforts and jetons).

Thus, the guides should present enough information for most people to make a reasonable attempt at accurate identification of the penny coinages of the periods covered. The volume covering the later penny coinages is perhaps the least easy to use, and it might have been useful (considering the frequently worn and clipped state of many specimens) to have helped the beginner along by indicating the main developments of face, shoulder and hair that make, for instance, a coin of Edward IV often so immediately distinguishable from one of Edward III or Edward I. There are some oddities to be noted, for instance the conventional dates (or indeed any dates) for the Long Cross coinage classes are not provided.

'Placing' them among the relevant section of numismatic literature, one can certainly recommend them highly to those with a wish, or need, to identify English medieval coins without initially making a major study. Their didactic approach makes them much more useful in this regard than the commercial catalogues and price guides, despite the advantage of good photographic reproductions some of these provide. North's *English Hammered Coinage* is more comprehensive and also often more detailed in its classifications, though its very density can make it forbidding as a first port of call, and one may well view Wren's books as complementary to North, providing the introductory methodology and outlines of classification necessary to make easy use of it. (This reviewer has certainly found himself using both in the course of identifying one coin.) Thus there can be no doubt of the new series finding a clear niche in this area of numismatic literature, and being a useful addition to the libraries of most medieval numismatists, experienced or otherwise.

B.J. COOK

Monnaies et Marchés au Moyen Âge, by John Day, Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France, Paris 1994. 308 pp. ISBN 2-11-087833-9.

A review of this book of essays, which are entirely in French, and only in passing concerned with the coinage of Britain, is in some ways inappropriate for this journal. However, the appearance of this volume of collected essays does provide an occasion for us to draw attention to the work of an economic historian of great stature, who has done more than anyone, with the possible exception of John Munro, to persuade historians of the later middle ages of the importance and interest of numismatic evidence and monetary problems.

English readers will probably prefer to consult Day's essays collected under the title *The Medieval Market Economy*, Oxford, 1987. Of the twelve essays in the French volume, eight appear in English in *The Medieval Market Economy*. Moreover, of the essays which appear in the French volume but not in the English, two originally appeared in English. 'The problem of the standard in medieval coinage systems', and 'The history of money in the writings of Marc Bloch', both in the *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area* series edited by Mario Gomes Marques in 1986 and 1988.

Moreover, from a narrowly British point of view, it has to be admitted that Day's familiarity with the English evidence is somewhat limited, relying heavily on the old stalwarts Feaveryear and Craig. However, even the most blinkered students of British numismatics would still do well to study what he has to say. For Day's study of the continental monetary evidence complements and reinforces the English picture of bullion scarcity in the fifteenth century. The globalisation of modern economics has its roots in the truly international character of ancient and medieval bullion flows.

For those with not exclusively British interests who are willing to dabble in continental waters, try a fascinating Mediterranean cruise with Day from Genoa to Alexandria and back in 1382. This essay, 'Prix agricoles en Méditerranée à la fin du XIV^e siècle', is far more than a list of prices, but also provides insights and information on shipping, trade, currencies, and weights and measures. Though published in *Annales* as long ago as 1961, 'Prix agricoles', which does not appear in the English volume, came freshest to this reviewer, and alone makes this book worth seeking out, even by those already familiar with the English essays.

N.J. MAYHEW

Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: A Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures. By Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew. Cambridge University Press, 1995. 419 pages, 42 figures, 77 tables.

THIS work satisfies a need expressed by a Scottish numismatist in the 1860s: in a letter to R.W. Cochran-Patrick, he suggested that the latter should compile a list of Scottish prices, which would be a great service, Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum* being quite inadequate.

The authors begin by emphasising the inadequacy of the available data, in relation to the rules drawn up by the International Scientific Committee on Price History. Among the difficulties mentioned of using different types of price quotation is the occurrence of fossilized valuations, in commutation of rents in kind. Assize valuations in burghs, on the other hand, responded to variations in supply, but 'may tend to flatten out the extremes of glut and dearth', in the case of bread and ale in particular, since they tried to balance the interests of the craftsmen who processed the raw materials and of the consumers of these staple items of diet. The problems do not detract from the value of this collection, but they do make clear the importance of the interpretation of the figures, and of avoiding the use of isolated prices.

The chapter on currency, which numismatists may be inclined to read first, deals mainly with the standards of the Scottish coinage, without details of the types. At the beginning of the period considered the standards were the same as in England, and English coins dominated the circulating medium, except probably for short periods after a recoinage. The opportunity is taken to examine The Assize of King David, although a slight change in the standard under Robert Bruce, which has been postulated (unnecessarily) in interpreting this Assize, would not affect the comparison of prices with English ones or with those at other dates in Scotland. The pennyweight of 32 wheat grains, given in this Assize, was taken by Burns – following Cochran-Patrick and Ruding – to be that of the Tower weight system, which is no longer accepted, but the fact that this fits with Troy weight needed to be stated in a Scottish context. There were changes affecting weights larger than the ounce. In contrast to this, it is argued that there were fundamental changes in the dry measures of capacity, between the Assize of King David and the 1426 legislation. Local variations are also known. The barrel, too, was a subject for repeated regulation, largely because of the importance of the export of barrelled fish.

1367 saw the first, or first important, reduction in the Scottish coinage standard in relation to that of England, and from this date a 'deflator', based on the silver coins, is used to show the sterling equivalent of Scottish prices, averaged over convenient periods: this allows a reasonable comparison between Scottish prices at different times, as well as with England. This does not mean that the relatively stable English standards are put forward as ideal: it is pointed out that 'at times England's coinage . . . appears to have been distinctly undervalued'. Devaluation of the Scottish coinage made her exports easier to sell, these being largely products of a pastoral economy, together with fish. Cereals were a different matter, since the limited amount of suitable land would prevent increased production to substitute for more expensive imports. The sterling equivalent prices of cereals show a strong rise, in contrast to England, whereas livestock was cheaper in Scotland.

The 1367 change is not clearly marked by price increases, nor indeed is the more drastic 1393 reduction in the weight of the Scottish groat, but this may be attributable to the paucity of evidence. From 1398, however, with one gap, there are copious Aberdeen records, of which only extracts have been published, and these provide very valuable price material. The prices here certainly reflect the increase in the currency value of fleur-de-lis groats in James I's reign.

James III's reign likewise saw an upward revaluation of the coins, but this was soon countermanded, after 'the penny worthis ar rysin with the penny'. More importantly, small copper coins were introduced, with the farthings being made legal tender, initially for 1s. in the pound, but in 1486 for up to 3s. There is an Aberdeen record of the refusal of black money in 1470, but 'this first period of black money does not seem to have caused excessive difficulties'. The notorious black money, apparently introduced in 1480, was a different matter, being struck in great and presumably uncontrolled quantities. There is Aberdeen evidence of widespread commercial disruption in 1482, and average prices for the 1480s show a major rise, particularly for cereals, although the price of oatmeal remained far below that given in the contemporary chronicle, which reflected destruction by war as well as the currency problems. There was also trouble over the billon packs introduced in this reign, but the much larger and baser issues of placks under James IV appear to have been accepted. Under James V resistance to the placks grew, and their issue was halted in 1526 or earlier, with the exception of a small issue authorized in 1533, at a lower standard.

In 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards for Monetary History', in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland*, Dr. Metcalf remarked on the occurrence in burghs of sixteenth-century hoards consisting of little but billon, and this may be connected with 'the difficulties of retailers who bought in bulk but sold piecemeal for base money', suggesting a tendency for good silver and gold coin to flow out of the burghs. This may also be relevant to the considerable investment in feued agricultural land by men below the status of laird, including merchants, for which evidence is summarised in the last chapter of the book under review. There is, however, a reference to shortage of ready money in the countryside in 1511: 'the silver isnocht wer to gett in Orkney and Scheitland thane it is in Buchane'.

One of the interesting features of the Aberdeen records is that 'salmon became so creditworthy as to be as good as money itself', there being 'an almost limitless demand for salmon on the export market'. Barter agreements are

mentioned in which salmon was nevertheless priced in money terms, but I suspect, from reading later records, that this was not always the case in other barter agreements.

There is much in this book which should interest a student of the Scottish coinage. It throws light on the economic background of the parliamentary committees, or at least the burgh representatives on these, which were called on to advise on the monetary needs of the whole country. It is not the fault of the authors that it leaves unanswered questions in my mind: in particular I share their regret that there is almost no data on wages. Although there may indeed have been 'some measure of protection through wages in food or other goods', I suspect increased hardship from inflation, for wage-earners as well as the unwaged poor.

JOAN E.L. MURRAY

Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland 1550–1780, by A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout. Cambridge University Press, 1995. xvi + 398 pp., figures, graphs and tables, £50.

INTEREST in prices and wages ranges from the visitor to an exhibition wanting to know what a particular coin might have bought to the more demanding questions of the economic and social historians interested in patterns and trends. Coins now arranged in trays with full numismatic details were once paid out in wages and used to purchase a variety of goods, from the basic necessities of life to luxury items. However price information for Scotland was not easy to find, even for the later medieval and modern periods when more numerous records are available. This gap has now been remedied by Gibson and Smout with their detailed listing and analysis of a large number of prices for the period 1550 to 1780. The authors state that the main purpose of the work is to act as a source book for others, and in the long runs of data and graphs given in each chapter they provide a detailed and varied corpus which will be of immense value. In addition each chapter has a careful discussion and analysis of the sources used, followed by an interpretation so that the reader is not merely presented with a series of dry statistics. Great care was taken as to the exact meaning of any stated price or wage, as this is clearly a path strewn with pitfalls for the unwary.

Prices can be essentially 'wholesale' or 'retail', contain a mark-up for processing, be influenced by the prejudices of the persons setting them, vary throughout the country and with the time of year and not least refer to different measures, usually not specified. Scotland indeed had a great number of local standards, which are discussed in an appendix. Quality too had different bands, from best quality grain, bread or candles to second and third class varieties. This also applied to wages, there being much difference between those paid to a boy tending cattle and a prime agricultural worker skilled in everything from ploughing to mending. Although the working week was then of six days, a more important factor was the total number of days worked throughout the year, for employment was by no means regular. In these circumstances the income earned by female members of the family was often of crucial importance.

Bearing such problems in mind, the first group of prices is taken from the burgh records relating to the regulation of the products of the main crafts concerned: wheatbread, ale, tallow/candles and meat. Wine, being an import and less of a staple, figures only infrequently. There exist good runs of such prices in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow and Stirling from the mid sixteenth century. Chapter 2 mainly covers wheat, wheatbread and ale, and these burgh prices are complemented by the very comprehensive county fiars data given in Chapter 3. These were prices determined annually by the Sheriffs and juries throughout Scotland for oats, oatmeal, wheat, bear and barley, malt and rye and pease and beans. These commence in the first half of the seventeenth century and run throughout the eighteenth. There appears to be a greater range of sources for the county fiars prices, and as regards wheat, these provide an admirable check against the burgh prices.

A further source of prices, from the press, is dealt with in Chapter 4. These are, however, more limited, mainly covering grain prices at Haddington given in the *Scots Magazine* from 1721. On the other hand the prices were published monthly, and such a wealth of detail allows a sight of fluctuation within the year as well as providing further valuable comparative material to set against the burgh and county fiars records.

Chapter 5 takes an overall view of the various prices for grain and its products and attempts to trace and interpret both long and short-term trends. There was thus a great increase in prices between 1550 and 1600 as seen in the cost of a pound of wheatbread in Edinburgh, which rose in the first twenty-five years from approximately 3*d.* Scots around 1550 to 4*d.* Scots in 1575, but doubled over the following decade and again during the next ten years ending up at 16*d.* Scots in 1597. Ale trebled in price over the same period while wine went up eight-fold. However this has to be seen as part of a sharp price increase throughout Europe, and in Scotland is here blamed on the debasement of the Scottish currency under James VI and a rising population.

However prices levelled off after 1600 and, albeit with some blips, became more stable, even showing some decrease in the couple of decades after 1650. In the later decades of the seventeenth century this trend was reversed but it was only after the start of the eighteenth century that prices began to move up again. It is suggested that these were high enough by 1750 to encourage landowners to take up agricultural improvement. Many reasons are put forward for these changes, from the amalgamation of the Scottish and English currencies after 1603 to the results

of the Act of Union and population increase, but also decrease due to epidemics and emigration. Periods of unrest spring to the numismatic mind as supposed causes for coin hoards and these presumably also affected prices, though this aspect seems only to receive passing notice here: '... scarcities of the 1640s, which were exacerbated by military problems' (p. 165) and 'How far it was caused, or exacerbated, by the turmoils associated with war and English invasion cannot readily be assessed' (p. 168). However, 'The Jacobite rising can perhaps account for the sharp short-term hike in prices in the Haddington market in the first half of 1746' (p. 173).

Chapter 6 moves on to the prices of animals and their products, mainly cattle and sheep for the former and tallow/candles, and to a lesser extent, butter and eggs for the latter. Sources, too, are much more restricted in scope and time. Among the more interesting of these are the purchases made for the kitchens at St. Andrews University, running from 1587, but several estate records add their bit to the burgh material, especially from Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Of particular note are the investigations into animal prices carried out in 1626 and 1627 by the Justices of the Peace on the orders of the Privy Council. There then follows a short chapter on diet and nutritional values, of interest in that the staple food of oatcake washed down with ale managed to sustain a relatively healthy population.

Wages are dealt with in Chapter 8. These cover masons and related workmen, male and female farm workers, agricultural servants and labourers. The data comes from Crown, town and gown accounts as well as estate archives, and is supplemented by burgh statutes, rates fixed by the Justices of the Peace from early in the seventeenth century and other sources such as the Poll Tax returns of 1693 and 1695. A point of interest to the numismatist is how much of these wages was actually paid in coin. Urban workers such as the masons would be thus paid, as well as live-in servants who received cash in addition to their keep. However wages in kind were common for other employees and a mixture of the two not uncommon. One noteworthy example quoted (p. 264) records payment, as late as 1720, of a share in a cow to be slaughtered, a deal board for a coffin, a halfcrown sterling and the loan of two shillings Scots in remuneration for an agreed amount of ditching. In the seventeenth century farmwork was carried out in East Lothian and the eastern Borders by a family unit which received a cottage, yard, some land, grazing and an amount of oats – but no cash – in return for a wide range of tasks to be carried out on the farm. A final chapter discusses real wages and concludes that on the whole the population managed, but did not greatly improve its lot until towards the end of the period under discussion.

In view of this plethora of prices, it is pertinent to ask to what extent real money or coinage circulated in Scotland during this time. Coin hoards of the seventeenth century, site finds, and the large issues of smaller denomination billon in the late sixteenth century and the prolific copper issues throughout the seventeenth century suggest coin use was relatively advanced and widespread. Yet this book makes clear that many in employment received little or no cash, though it is pointed out that the personal produce of a farm worker could be sold rather than consumed. Even in the eighteenth century rents in the eastern Highlands were paid in kind, in grain, though the perhaps surprising corollary is the rents for the pasture lands of the western Highlands were paid in coin, obtained from the sale of the cattle at the great fairs, such as that held at Beaulieu near Inverness. However the purpose of the county fairs was to proclaim cash prices to which rents, stipends and other payments in kind could be converted. They existed 'to liquidate the prices of victual in divers processes ...' according to an act of 1723 (p. 67) but traced back to before 1650, they surely demonstrate an increasing use of coin.

This work will mainly appeal to the numismatist working on the economic aspects of Scottish coinage in the period after 1550, but for the rest there is much to instruct and amuse on the occasional perusal of its contents. However, as intended, it provides a much-needed corpus of prices and wages material for historians, and along with a companion volume covering the period up to 1550, reviewed elsewhere in this journal, should greatly satisfy them in filling a major gap in the literature on Scottish economic history.

J.D. BATESON

Promises to Pay: The First Three Hundred Years of Bank of England Notes, by Derrick Byatt, London, 1994. 245 pp with many illustrations, hardback. ISBN 0 907605 50 8.

GIVEN the Bank of England's eminent status both in Britain and as one of Europe's earliest note issuing banks, its notes have an understandable allure for anyone interested in the history of paper money. Often, however, the note issues of central authorities offer territory that is at first sight more predictable and less accessible than more romantic private or local issues: there is inevitably a tendency to conservatism in design and policy, with background information firmly secured in the bank's or treasury's own records. Of course this gives tempting scope for speculation, but firm facts require objective and patient investigation. Such facts are provided attractively and in abundance in Byatt's book, published to mark the tercentenary of the Bank's foundation in 1694.

With the benefit of some forty years working at the Bank, most recently as their Records Adviser, Byatt has had direct access to the best source material, which no doubt offered more than could reasonably be contained in one book. This publication indicates how much ground he must have covered: the emphasis is on a chronological account of the changing appearance of the Bank's notes, explained in the light of the Bank's own objectives, public

reactions, designers' frustrations, and the constant juggling of aesthetics, security, costs, and the mixed advantages and constraints of ever advancing technology.

The book contains a wealth of facts, dates and figures, with information ranging from paper-makers' marks for matching watermarks and denominations, or the complexities of serial number prefixes, to consideration of a two pound note in the 1950s. There are also valuable and repeated warnings that the printed dates on notes do not necessarily correspond with the actual date of production or issue. Three useful appendices concentrate on branch issues; the secret marks deliberately incorporated to help the Bank detect forgeries (of limited use to the public at the time; by law anyone finding a forgery now still has to give it to the Bank); and the numbering systems for black and white notes. Impersonal facts are, however, given another dimension by Byatt's extensive use of quotes and anecdotes which illustrate the close relationship between numismatics and social history. For example, the Bank's dilemmas in deciding when to replace lost or defaced notes in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries implicitly reveal social hierarchy – it was inevitably the servant's fault – and costly commercial practice: pity the poor shopkeeper's wife who used a £100 note to wrap up some butter for a customer! There are also glimpses into working practices and employment policies; two workaholic Chief Cashiers who scarcely left the Bank premises; a special pension scheme in 1821 for 'right-sizing' after the withdrawal of £1 and £2 notes; a handsome re-location package to lure John Oldham from the Bank of Ireland's printing works. Officialdom is often shown to have an all-too-human, inconsistent face, as the Bank decided which forgers to pardon or condemn, or left one Bank Teller, convicted of clipping guineas, to the traitor's fate of execution at Tyburn, but later gave relative mercy (mere transportation) to a fraudulent Chief Cashier-elect. Such incidents do far more than add colour and spice to the book; they are evidence of the many ways in which issuing and using money affect the lives of individuals.

For the most part Byatt resists argument, speculation or comment, but readers may at times find themselves moved to all of these. As may happen with any history, once-unthinkable changes in attitude are revealed. It is sobering to read, now, that when in 1937 the metal security thread was tested on notes of the South African Reserve Bank, the General Works Manager of the Bank's printing works likened the experiment to 'the quite common practice of trying out a play at a suburban theatre before producing it in the West End'. In the light of current economic debate it is ironic also to discover that in the 1950s proposed designs featuring Sir John Houblon, the Bank's first Governor, were rejected in favour of a series carrying a portrait of the Queen, partly as it could solve for all time the problem of a central theme (not so much beware of imitation as beware of innovation?) and because the monarch's image reflected the Bank's state-ownership, while Houblon might seem to personify its independence. Is it significant that Houblon has at last appeared on the back of the new £50 note issued in 1994?

Promises to Pay is beautifully produced; full of illustrations (though with less fresh material than I would have hoped) and generous in its use of colour – an unusual treat which is particularly important for the modern issues. The presentation suggests that the book is designed to appeal to non-specialist readers, but given the subject matter and minutiae of detail, it is surely specialists who should form its main readership, and for them the non-academic approach has some disadvantages. The absence of sources for the well-chosen quotes is infuriating, as they contain, or point to, such enlightening material; the occasional footnotes are placed in the margins, looking confusingly like the picture captions; and even limited to one page, the Selected Bibliography might have been longer and should surely contain more precise publication details. At times the flow of the text is disjointed, with some bewildering jumps in subject matter; say, from the Bank's negotiations with country banks over note issue after the 1844 Act, to the division of the Bank into two separate Banking and Issue Departments, to William Brewer and shaded watermarks, all in three consecutive but unconnected paragraphs. This is perhaps a case of appearances being deceptive, for while the book is eye-catching and offers intriguing insights for the merely curious, it contains much more, and will yield most to thorough reading by serious readers who are prepared to use its information in wider research and analysis. Indeed, it is rather like the Bank itself: based on solid foundations, judicious in its revelations, sometimes idiosyncratic, and undeniably full of riches.

VIRGINIA HEWITT

British Historical Medals, vol. 3, *The Accession of Edward VII to 1960*, by Laurence Brown, Spink & Son, London, 1995, 432 pp.

TURNING the pages of the final volume of Laurence Brown's *British Historical Medals 1760–1960*, it is hard to resist the conclusion that what one is witnessing here is the decline and fall of the commemorative medal in Britain. To approach the subject from a purely statistical point of view, the first two volumes, covering the years 1760–1837 and 1837–1901, contained 1,755 and 1,940 medals respectively; the present volume has but 785. If one discounts for a moment those medals that record the different stages in the transfer of monarchic authority (death or abdication, accession, coronation) and the royal prize medals that also appear in this volume, the author has identified for inclusion on average some fourteen medals for each year of the first decade; the following two decades have about eight medals for each year; the equivalent figure for the 1930s is four, and for both the 1940s

and 1950s it is three. Turning to coronation medals, one notes a similar falling off. For Edward VII's coronation in 1902, Brown records no fewer than 129 medals, for that of George V fifty-six, for Edward VIII and George VI thirty (there may of course have been more had the coronation taken place) and fifty respectively, and for the coronation of the present queen twenty-five.

Before attempting to speculate on possible explanations for this decline, two notes of caution need to be sounded. The first concerns the author's inclusion policy, which (as Brown himself admits) necessarily involves a certain degree of arbitrariness. The various grounds for inclusion and exclusion are set out, and it is made clear that medals have been excluded expressly in order to reduce the catalogue 'to a manageable size'. There are no medals that have been 'deemed by the author to be of minor importance, i.e., those of purely local interest'. Nor are there any commemorating people not listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'unless considered to be of particular interest to the work'. This means that, of the 151 medals listed by Lady Harris in her *Portrait Medals of a Generation* (sixteen of which are represented in the British Museum collections), only one, that of Sir George Hill of 1927, makes it into the book. Commemorative medals produced in other countries are also excluded, 'unless considered to be of special value to the work'. Amongst the First World War medals, Armand Bonnetain's memorial to Edith Cavell is included, and amongst the Second World War medals is Pierre Turin's tribute to Field Marshall Montgomery, but we do not find Henri Dropsy's 1914 medal celebrating 'L'Angleterre, champion du droit contre la violence', nor the same artist's commemoration of the English entry into Lille on 17 October 1918; the various medals by Goetz, such as the optimistic 'Wir fahren gegen Engeland' of 1940, are also omitted (the British replica of Goetz's *Lusitania* medal is included). With the exception of the royal prize medals, award medals are also excluded, so that Hubert Herkomer's fine Royal Automobile and Associated Clubs presentation medal of 1908 is not listed, and we have to wait for the golden jubilee of the Austin Motor Company in 1955 for the first documentation of that quintessentially twentieth-century phenomenon, the car. Disappointing for numismatists – and more inexplicable – is the omission of Paul Vincze's medals of Harold Mattingly (1947) and Edward Robinson (1952). Either these medals also fell foul of the author's inclusion policy, or else – and here we come to the second caveat – they were missed. It is evident that the author has recorded assiduously medals in both private and public collections (eighteen of the latter are cited in the catalogue), but, given the relatively recent date of these medals, it is inevitable that some, which have not yet entered collections, will have escaped attention.

Despite this, the question as to why the commemorative medal is less popular in the twentieth century than in the period covered by the earlier volumes demands to be answered. This is not an issue that is addressed in this volume, for the greater part of the introduction, which was written by Ann Brown, is given over to a summary of twentieth-century British political and social history, and refers to medals only where they are relevant, which is not often. As the author writes, '... it is not possible to follow closely the development of the country in the twentieth century by reference to the medals issued throughout the period'. Why in the present book do we find no medals commemorating air travel, or radio or television? Why none marking what Brown calls 'probably the greatest civil achievement of the twentieth century', the creation of the Welfare State? Why no National Health Service medal with Sir William Beveridge on one side and Asclepius holding dentures and spectacles on the other? Why, when the second volume of *British Historical Medals* recorded fifty-three medals commemorating the Great Exhibition of 1851, in the present volume are there only three relating to the Festival of Britain one hundred years later?

This is a complex question and deserving of greater study. Doubtless many factors come into play, and the various roles of manufacturers, publishers and other commissioning bodies, and artists, would need to be analysed, along with the expectations of the public, who constitute the market. It may be that the twentieth-century stress on state action has reduced the demand for objects commemorating individuals, or that changes in education have helped to diminish the popularity of the medal, founded as it is in a classical tradition. Economic factors must surely be important, as must technological innovation. Certainly, other newer, and often cheaper, media have grown in popularity at the expense of the medal. As Brown notes in his introduction, illustrated magazines have become lasting souvenirs of important events, and, even for royal events, cheaper plastic badges have become more popular than medals. For the silver jubilee of 1977 both monarchist and anti-monarchist groups produced badges, and the 1981 royal wedding also saw a range of views (including the memorable 'Don't do it, Di') expressed in a large number of badges. Whereas the temperance movement of the nineteenth-century spread its message by means of mass-produced medals, twentieth-century equivalents such as the nuclear disarmament lobby, have used the badge. The commemorative medal has in effect been sidelined, a state of affairs seemingly recognised at the time of the coronation by Lionel Thompson, Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, who wrote in his report of 1952 that, 'it seemed reasonable, at a time when the resources of the Royal Mint would be fully employed in the production of coinage and official medals for the new reign, to leave in the hands of the medal trade the production in quantity of souvenir medals for distribution throughout the Commonwealth and Empire'. He explained: 'In some quarters this "break with tradition" was regretted, but the tradition is comparatively recent, dating only from the reign of Edward VII'.

The cast medal has fared even worse in the period in question, and only fifty are included in Brown's book. At the beginning of the century four former pupils of Alphonse Legros at the Slade School make occasional appearances: Lilian Hamilton, Feodora Gleichen, Ella Casella and Charles Holroyd. The dating here of two of their

pieces appears not to be quite accurate. Ella Casella's medal of Henry Irving, placed under 1905, the year of the actor's death, must surely belong to the mid 1880s, and Holroyd's George Meredith medal certainly belongs to a much earlier point in the century than the year 1923, which is where it is listed by Brown. A second medal given here to Holroyd, portraying the painter G.F. Watts, is surely the work of Legros himself, although the attribution to Holroyd also appears in the National Portrait Gallery's catalogue. This attribution is based on the fact that the NPG example was donated by Lady Holroyd in 1927 and on a similarity with a painted portrait of Watts by Holroyd, dated 1897, now in the Tate. However, although Holroyd exhibited medals at the Society of Medallists' exhibitions of 1898 and 1901, there is no record of his having portrayed Watts in that form. A medal of the painter by Legros, on the other hand, is documented in 1900, and from a stylistic point of view the present medal fits perfectly into Legros' oeuvre. It is, of course, very possible that, when modelling the medal, Legros had before him the portrait by his former pupil and friend (the painting remained in Holroyd's possession until his death).

Other producers of cast medals include Theodore Spicer-Simson, whose first listed medal is dated 1905, and who was especially active in the 1920s. The First World War period is distinguished by Sidney Carline's interesting medals of Viscount Dillon and the Battle of Jutland. From the later 1930s two artists only produced the few cast medals listed in Brown's book: the Hungarian Frank Kovacs, who from 1956 lived in France, and Fred Kormis who came to England from Germany in the 1930s. Kormis continued working for another twenty-five years after the period covered by this book, but he was very much a lone figure until the mid 1970s, when Ron Dutton began his medallic work. Dutton played an important part in the formation of the British Art Medal Society in 1982, and two of Kormis's last works were issued by that Society.

BAMS has done much to revive the medal in this country, but it is noteworthy that few of the artists who have produced medals for the society have chosen to commemorate events in the way that, for example, large numbers of German medallists have recently responded to the removal of the Berlin wall and the unification of their country. Of course, there are British medallists who address contemporary issues in their work: Jacqueline Stieger's *Destruction of the Town* of 1992, which points to the damage inflicted by traffic, is a case in point. But for most the medal is a vehicle for a more personal self-expression, far removed from notions of commemoration or (even more so) celebration, and for this reason the compiler of a fourth volume of *British Historical Medals* would be forced to exclude many contemporary medals. Given the decline of the traditional commemorative medal discussed above, however, this expansion of the role of the medal may, in this country at least, turn out to be the vital factor that saves the medium from extinction.

These later medals by artists such as Dutton and Stieger have no place in this catalogue of medals of 1901 to 1960. There is, however, a great deal of information on British medals earlier than 1901. For the catalogue of twentieth-century medals, with its various indices, ends on page 223, and is followed by forty-five pages of addenda to volumes one and two, seventeen pages of medal advertisements from a nineteenth-century scrapbook, a twenty-page dictionary of the artists and publishers of medals appearing in all three volumes, and no less than 118 pages of combined indices for this two-hundred year stretch of British medals. These alone would be enough to ensure that the present volume is an essential acquisition for anyone already in possession of the other two.

The author is to be congratulated for amassing such a vast amount of information, and for bringing to a successful conclusion this mammoth project, commenced some thirty years ago. Spink & Son are also to be thanked, for taking over publication (the first two volumes were published by Seaby) and producing what is a very handsome book. Modern technology and boundless patience on the part of Laurence Brown enabled him to work on the page layouts himself. The format of the entries follows closely that of the earlier volumes, but the active involvement of the author means that the pages are composed with greater clarity and care. Only about 160 of the 785 twentieth-century medals are illustrated, but this has enabled the publisher to keep the book down to a very reasonable price.

The combined works of Edward Hawkins and Laurence Brown have succeeded in chronicling the history of medallic art in Britain from its inception up to modern times.

PHILIP ATTWOOD

Lions, Ships and Angels: Identifying Coin-Weights Found in Britain, by P. and B.R. Withers, Galata Print, 1995. 80pp. A5. ISBN 0 9516671 3 0.

IN recent years, much has been written about the hitherto murky world of coin-weights. This has proved a welcome development, and has made the life of the provincial museum curator very much easier as, with the fostering of ever closer links between the archaeological profession and the detecting fraternity, these curious bronze pieces have come to be deposited for identification with ever-increasing frequency.

Norman Biggs' booklets and studies in *BNJ* and elsewhere have proved to be of enormous value, as has Paul and Bente Withers' ground-breaking corpus, *British Coin-Weights*. What has been lacking, however, has been an affordable pocket-sized guide to identifying the types of weights found in this country, and it is at precisely this perceived gap in the market that the new volume has been directed. There can be little doubt that, as an aid to

identification, *Lions, Ships and Angels* is outstandingly successful. It is lavishly illustrated with 450 photographs and 70 line drawings contained within its 80 pages, and the quality of reproduction of these is almost without exception of a very high quality.

Commencing with a brief historical introduction, the book proceeds to acquaint the reader with the various physical forms of the weights which he or she is liable to encounter, prior to covering at a very general level the types of reverses likely to be found on both British and Continental weights. The third section of the book, which sets out the various issues according to their obverse design, is likely to prove the most useful to novices, as armed with the illustrations and the associated index the tracking down of any particular weight is almost embarrassingly easy. Other sections cover such topics as Irish weights, British-made weights for Portuguese coins, and the bewildering range of marks to be found on the Low Countries weights of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apothecaries' weights are also touched upon, as are the re-use and countermarking of coin-weights. Useful indices provide the weights (in grains) of the principal British gold coins, as well as the weight in grammes of a range of Continental pieces.

Overall, it is a splendid little book, and although only card-bound and saddle-stitched, it appears to be robust enough to survive sustained use. Clearly, a work of this size cannot hope to cover all the ground surveyed in *British Coin-Weights*, but as the authors make clear in their introduction, this was never their intention. Rather it is intended to be used as a working tool, and at that level it is eminently successful. No dealer, collector or museum can afford to be without it, although it is to be hoped that the presence on the market of this inexpensive alternative will not dissuade too many people from acquiring a copy of the Withers' excellent earlier work.

CRAIG BARCLAY

Encyclopaedia of British Numismatics. vol. I, 420pp, 1986, by H.E. Manville and T.J. Robertson; vol. II part I, 449pp, 1993, by H.E. Manville. Published by A.H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd; and Spink and Son Ltd.

THESE two monumental volumes, representing some thirty years of painstaking, dedicated work by Mr Manville, aided by Mr Robertson on volume one, are the first of a proposed series making up an *Encyclopaedia of British Numismatics*.

Volume I is a complete listing of coin auction sales held in the British Isles from the 17th century to the present day (i.e. 1984). It is a masterly production, analysing each auction catalogue by content and listing public institutions where copies can be found.

When I was the young librarian in the Coin Department at the British Museum in 1960, I remember the late Joan Martin asking me to do a card index of the Department's extensive holding of sales catalogues. It was a tedious and lengthy job, but the completed cards went into constant use by the BM staff and visiting students. The exercise brought home to me just how much valuable material there is in auction catalogues. In 1962 the Department purchased a copy of the American Numismatic Society's multi-volumed *Dictionary Catalogue*. Only one of the volumes dealt with auction catalogues, but that quickly became the one that was most used. Along with Lugt's *Repertoire*, Manville and Robertson acknowledge the ANS publication as one of their sources. However they have greatly extended its scope with their own original research in the archives of other institutions such as the V and A, the Ashmolean, Fitzwilliam and Christie's International, to produce the first complete published list of British auction catalogues.

However this volume is much more than just a list. The analysis of the contents of each sale is fleshed out with summaries of the main sales of each decade, and biographical details of collectors. The numerous footnotes contain nuggets of information which provide an insight into the material, the opinion of the period and the habits of the collector. A very useful feature is the appendix, listing important collections not sold at auction, but privately to dealers. There are also quite a number of illustrations of catalogue covers, frontispieces and some delightful advertisements and bookplates. It is undoubtedly an essential volume for all serious students of British and Irish coins, and already one to which I refer every working day of my life. It is one of the most important contributions to the numismatic literature of these islands in recent times.

Volume II is an analysis of all the numismatic material featured in British and Irish archaeological and antiquarian magazines, as well as news magazines such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Scots Magazine*, from 1731 to 1991. There is an enormous amount of important data of coin finds and hoards hidden away in these non-numismatic publications, and we should be eternally grateful to Manville for making it so easy to find it now with this illuminating study. Like Mr Manville, I remember Joan Martin at the British Museum enthusing about the *Gentleman's Magazine*; she always had at least one volume on her desk and was constantly unearthing important data, which was passed on to the scholars working in the Department. The fact that 130 pages of Manville's book are dedicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine* indicates what a rich source it is. Joan would have loved this book. It is an invaluable volume and it is very satisfying to be able to pinpoint important articles that you remember seeing but cannot remember where, hidden away in obscure archaeological journals. Once again, as with Volume I, it is illustrated throughout with some of the line drawings and maps, etc. from various magazines and journals it surveys. Finally there is a superb index, which runs to nearly 60 pages.

One can only wonder at the kind of dedicated toil it must have taken to produce these mammoth volumes. We should also congratulate the rival firms of Baldwin and Spink, and in particular Edward Baldwin and Douglas Saville, for coming together to support and finance such a superbly altruistic venture.

PATRICK FINN

The Oxford Book of Money, edited by Kevin Jackson (Oxford, 1995). xvi + 479 pp. £17.99. ISBN 0 19 214200 3; paperback edition (Oxford, 1996). £8.99. ISBN 0 19 282510 0.

OVER the past few years Oxford University Press, the world's largest and still most prestigious academic publishing house, has, no doubt for all too understandable commercial reasons, brought forth an ever-growing assemblage of thematic miscellanies aimed rather at the common reader than the scholar or, indeed, it would seem, at the bookman who has delighted in the time-honoured pleasures of the Press's poetry anthologies. Perhaps it is a natural concomitant of our 'sound-bite' age but OUP's authoritative blue and gold livery now graces the binding of a whole hoard of 'middle-ground' literary excavations ranging from death, dreams and the supernatural to 'creatures' and villains.

A recent addition to this cache of excerpts and quotations is a *Book of Money*, edited by Kevin Jackson, associate arts editor of *The Independent*. This, as Jackson is at pains to point out in his introduction, is a book about 'money and the imagination'; an attempt, as he says, to 'illustrate some of the main ways in which poets, novelists, dramatists, and wits have written about money, and to suggest some of the other ways in which money has been important for writers'. It is by no means, either in its treatment or in its structure, a compendial 'history' of money or a chronological representation of his subject. For an historical approach to money and monetary institutions Jackson properly urges the reader to turn to J.K. Galbraith's luminously elegant *Money: Whence it Came, Where it Went* (1975; new Penguin edition 1995) or the very much older, but admittedly still very readable, *The Story of Money* (1930) by Norman Angell. Perhaps because it appeared too late for mention, he unfortunately omits the latest recruit to such accounts: *A History of Money* (1994), the heavyweight – both figuratively and literally – *magnum opus* of Glyn Davies.

Jackson's deliberate eschewal of any sense of history may well disappoint the pure numismatist and frustrate the scholar desperately searching for a chrestomathy of gobbets to exemplify some thesis. One leading practitioner has even been overheard to remark that he found the work 'boring'. 'Boring' is certainly not an accusation that can be levelled at Jackson's anthology: it is both entertaining and illuminating and, while a few passages will be only too well-known, the whole makes up an ingeniously worthy commonplace book for any numismatist whose view extends beyond his coin trays.

This said, *A Book of Money* must be accepted within its declared limits and recognised as a decidedly personal literary excursion in choice and equally in the treatment of that choice. The book's structure is itself 'thematic', divided into ten sections encompassing, *inter alia*, 'Opening Accounts' (definitions of money, myths about its origins), 'Riches and Poverty', 'Borrowing and Lending', and 'Hells and Heavens' (panics, crashes, and monetary Utopias). 'Coins and Paper' will, one imagines, be the part to which the numismatist will naturally turn first. Here, among the familiar, like Addison's charming 'Adventures of a Shilling' – many an erstwhile child's initial foray into numismatic literature, the reader will find several nuggets, not least an anonymous ballad on 'Breeches Money' and Henry Bold's 'Satyr on the Adulterate Coyn inscribed The Common-Wealth'. There is, as well, Bruce Chatwin's evocation of the nineteenth-century king of Dahomey – a cowrie-shell-economy country – whose reaction to the sight of European gold coin was to snort 'I wouldn't let anyone walk off with my head'. And not least, Anthony Burgess's only too rational outburst against the introduction of decimal coinage, that 'demented abstraction that was a remnant of the French Revolutionary nightmare'.

Jackson's motif – literature's reflection of money's function as a social element and its impact on individual and group identity – leads him naturally to cull much of his material from the realist novel. Not that he neglects other imaginative genre. Poetry and drama, classical and modern, have their place, and even the writings of philosophers, scientists, and economists, too, where Jackson recognises their prose to be 'graceful and pungent'. This striving after grace and especially pungency is a conditioning factor of the editor's approach to his task and is both a strength and weakness of the anthology. All too often individual passages, extracted from their context, are given an illusory life of their own and, juxtaposed with similarly 'free-standing' excerpts, a false point-counterpoint of argument or emphasis is created. This treatment and the aphoristic or episodic colouring imparted to the individual pieces both enliven and entertain; but it also leads to downright obscurity, as in the Fidgets' baffling dialogue from Wycherley's *The Country Wife*, or to a wilfully deceptive simplicity in Lear's assertion of his prerogative over coining, plunged, as it is, in a *mélange* of passages on false money. Even the Chatwin extract already cited has more to do with the Dahomian cultural fetish of decapitation than any fixation with primitive currency; but only the informed reader would know this.

Satire is demonstrably the most successful element in the collection, lending itself best to Jackson's treatment; and mockery is not restricted to the wits. Even Carlyle's 'dismal science' makes a contribution in the shape of an

appositely scathing diatribe against 'the vain hope' of lotteries from an unusually skittish Adam Smith. This, though, is not Smith's only entry. He is represented by other, weightier and more earnest, excerpts from *The Wealth of Nations*.

There is, it must be stressed, a great deal of substance in the anthology and much, too, that will send the reader to search out the original sources, but his task will be fraught with difficulties; he will have to penetrate an obfuscation of maddening proportions, for hardly a passage in Jackson's book is referenced by chapter, line or scene. This apparent editorial indifference to the basic chores of compilation may stem from Jackson's desire to contrive a chimerical independence for his extracts; more likely it is due to a lack of rigour that extends to his irritatingly slipshod and inconsistent approach to the dating of his excerpts, which is frequently confusing and occasionally plain wrong. This is no mere cavil because such bibliographic insouciance, which should have been redressed by a press of the like of OUP, serves to spoil what is a remarkably rich, pleasurable and imaginative compendium.

Since this review was drafted a paperback version of *The Oxford Book of Money* has appeared. It is good to see that the opportunity has been taken of correcting at least the all-too-obvious errors in the dating of the book's title-page epigraph and its prefatorial passage from *Dombey and Son*. But this is minimal; the shortcomings touched on above remain. Nevertheless, and deservedly, the new format will make a fascinating publication that much more widely available.

D.W. DYKES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1995

The President, Mr. G.P. Dyer, was in the chair at all meetings, which were held in the Warburg Institute.

24 JANUARY 1995. Messrs A.J. Byrne, R. Cook, N.J. Marples, D.M. Martin and A. Wilson were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr W. Johnson read a paper entitled 'Textual sources for the study of Jewish currency crimes in thirteenth-century England'.

28 FEBRUARY 1995. Messrs P. Barber, J.A. Davies and P. Bagwell Purefoy were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr M.E.P. Jones read a paper entitled 'From demon drink to domesticity: temperance medals in the nineteenth century'.

28 MARCH 1995. Messrs R.E.H. Grayburn, B. Greenaway, S. Hill, T. Mullaly, J.W. Mussell and P.J. Wise were elected to Ordinary Membership and Mr J. Edwards to Junior Membership. Professor N.L. Biggs read a paper entitled 'Sovereigns and standards'.

25 APRIL 1995. Mr. C. Adams was elected to Ordinary Membership. Dr. P. de Jersey read a paper entitled 'The development of American Celtic coinage'.

23 MAY 1995. Messrs A. Abramson, Cor de Graaf and T. Norman were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mrs. V.H. Hewitt read a paper entitled 'The camel that never was: British colonial note issues for Ceylon'.

27 JUNE 1995. Messrs O. Anze, N. Aves, R. Rackley and J. Wyer were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. M.B. Sharp read a paper entitled 'Jacobite jottings: the 250th anniversary of the '45'.

26 SEPTEMBER 1995. Miss E.-J. Thomson and Mr R.P. Morse were elected to Ordinary Membership. Miss M.M. Archibald read a paper entitled 'The harrying of the north: the Corringham hoard in context'.

24 OCTOBER 1995. Messrs M.T. Andersen, W.L. Anderson and D.M. Parker were elected to Ordinary Membership. Sir Conrad Swan, lately Garter Principal King of Arms, delivered the fourth Linecar Lecture, entitled 'Ars Heraldica in Metallo'.

28 NOVEMBER 1995. Messrs H.O. Neilson and G.M. Oddie were elected to Ordinary Membership and Messrs F. Bhaseen and T.C. Crafter to Junior Membership.

The following officers and Council were elected for 1996:

<i>President:</i>	G.P. Dyer
<i>Vice Presidents:</i>	C.E. Challis, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby and P. Woodhead.
<i>Director:</i>	B.T. Curtis
<i>Treasurer:</i>	T.G. Webb Ware
<i>Librarian:</i>	A.J. Holmes
<i>Secretary:</i>	J.D. Bateson
<i>Council:</i>	M.R. Allen, E.M. Besly, A.M. Burnett, P.J. Casey, C.H. Comber, M.I.H. Ewing, C.R.S. Farthing, N.M. McQ. Holmes, P.H. Mernick, P. Robinson, M. Sinclair, J.G. Scott and D. Symons.

Council's proposal that the subscriptions for 1996 should remain unchanged at £24 for Ordinary Members and £10 for Junior Members was approved.

The President, Mr G.P. Dyer, then delivered his Presidential Address.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I have audited the Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account by reference to the books and records of the Society and supporting information and explanations.

In my opinion these financial statements are in accordance with those records and correctly show the state of the Society's Fund as at 31 October 1994 and of the Surplus of Income over Expenditure for the year ended on that date.

R.A. MERSON, FCA
Honorary Auditor

Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1994

1993				1994	
£	£			£	£
GENERAL PURPOSES FUND					
27,455		Balance at 1st November 1993			30,644
3,189		Add : Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year			438
£30,644		<i>Surplus carried forward</i>			<u>£31,082</u>
<i>Represented by:</i>					
ASSETS					
160		Library and Furniture at cost less amounts written off			160
179		Stock of Medals			157
1,627		Sundry Debtors			1,223
		Cash at Bankers and in Hand			
126,000		Bank - Deposit Accounts	130,000		
2,338		Current Account	990		
			<u></u>		<u>130,990</u>
130,304					132,530
Less: LIABILITIES					
	200	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund		400	
	167	Schneider Research Fund		167	
	8,239	Linecar Fund (Note 1)		8,604	
	58,277	Osborne Fund (Note 2)		60,859	
	7,431	Benefactors' Fund (Note 3)		7,761	
	24	Subscriptions received in advance		-	
	1,855	Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges		2,395	
	23,467	Creditors and Provision for Journals		21,262	
				<u></u>	<u>101,448</u>
99,660					
£30,644					£31,082
1 :Linecar Fund					
	£		£		£
Balance at 1.11.93	8,239	Balance at 1.11.93	58,277	Balance at 1.11.93	7,431
Interest	365	Interest	2,582	Interest	330
Balance at 31.10.94	<u>£8,604</u>	Balance at 31.10.94	<u>£60,859</u>	Balance at 31.10.94	<u>£7,761</u>
2 :Osborne Fund					
3 :Benefactors' Fund					

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*Income and Expenditure Account
for the year ended 31 October 1994*

£	1993	£	INCOME	£	1994	£
			Subscriptions and Entrance			
10,924			Fees received for 1994			9,411
3,111			and earlier years			2,430
68			Interest received			122
			Donations			
			Sale of Publications:			
450			Backnumbers	345		
10			Carausius & Allectus	6		351
118			Sale of BNS Medal	—		95
<u>14,681</u>						<u>12,409</u>
			<i>Less: EXPENDITURE</i>			
	200		Sanford Saltus Medal	200		
	176		Printing, Postage and Stationery	268		
	78		BNS Medal expenses	43		
	345	21	Library – Purchases			
	198	200	Binding			
	271	<u>516</u>	Expenses	737		
	216		Sundries	409		
	366		CCNB Newsletter	402		
	<u>1,850</u>			<u>2,059</u>		
			<i>British Numismatic Journal 64</i>			
	10,300	10,400	Provision towards cost			
			<i>Less: Overprovision for prior</i>			
	<u>658</u>	<u>488</u>	Journals			
				<u>9,912</u>		
11,492						11,971
<u>£3,189</u>			EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE			<u>£438</u>

Registered Charity No. 275906

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 1995

G.P. DYER

In the first part of my Presidential Address I shall review the activities of the Society during the year, and on the whole the very satisfactory year, that ends tonight.

Our Treasurer has just reported a small surplus for the year ending 31 October 1994 and his expectation of a slightly larger surplus in the year ending this October. It was with this knowledge that Council felt able to recommend that the annual subscription should remain unchanged and I am sure I speak for the new Council whom you elected a few minutes ago when I express the hope that I may stand before you next November and use these same words. It is reassuring, undeniably so, that the Society is passing through a period of financial calm and it was perhaps with relief as well as gratitude that in June, on the tenth anniversary of his appointment as Treasurer, Council minuted its appreciation of Tim Webb Ware for his prudent supervision of our finances.

During the year we have elected thirty-two new members, of whom three are juniors, and allowing for deaths, resignations and the nine members who have been amoved tonight, our numbers stand at 447 individual members and 122 institutional members. This represents a continuing movement in the right direction and may help to explain what I perceive to be an increase in attendance at our regular meetings. Whether it is actually true that more members are coming to the Warburg I do not know but I allow myself to be heartened by that perception, which I am aware is shared by others. At all events I may surely claim that the gradual expansion in our numbers speaks for the good health of the Society.

Last year I made particular mention of two of our most distinguished members, Stewart Lyon and Christopher Challis, and both again deserve our attention tonight. Taking Stewart Lyon first, it is exactly fifty years ago, at the Anniversary Meeting of 1945, that he was elected to membership. You have already shown, by your gift of Honorary Membership, how much his services to the Society have been valued during this long period; and tonight he has generously provided champagne so that you may drink his health and restore your flagging spirits after the Presidential Address. In the case of Christopher Challis, the debt that I referred to last year was acknowledged in April by his promotion to Vice-President, an honour happily confirmed by the ballot tonight. He therefore completes our complement of six Vice-Presidents and, I may add, active Vice-Presidents, always readily available to offer wise and constructive guidance to your President and Council.

Sadly, death, as ever, has come amongst us. Only days after the last Anniversary Meeting we learned of the loss of A.J. Arnot, a member of seventeen years' standing and an enthusiastic collector of Anglo-Saxon coins, whom I mention first because he had been a frequent attender at our meetings. This August saw the death, in cruelly tragic circumstances at the age of only thirty-four, of our American member Michael Druck, who will have been known to some of you as an employee of the New York firm of Stack's and whom I myself had the pleasure of meeting on a visit to the United States. Earlier in the summer came the death at a venerable age of Ken Jacob, no longer a member of our Society at the time of his death, but a member for so long, from 1946 until 1993, that it would be wrong not to mention him tonight. Advancing years had persuaded him to resign and I treasure his last letter to the Society, sending his best wishes for the future and his gratitude for the knowledge he had gained over so many years from our *Journal*.

Turning to happier matters, I thank our Director, Thomas Curtis, for putting together a splendidly varied programme which introduced us to several new speakers and which has, I

hope, catered for the interests of all our members. It was a programme that began well with Willis Johnson, a young speaker unknown to most of us, who in his account of medieval currency crimes made impressive use of unexpected documentary sources. He was followed in February by Mark Jones, who spared time from his onerous duties as Director of the National Museums of Scotland to talk to us about nineteenth-century temperance medals, and we stayed in the nineteenth century for a paper in March by Norman Biggs on sovereigns and standards. In April Philip de Jersey, in discussing Armorican Celtic coinage, demonstrated the benefits to be gained from a rigorous insistence on fact rather than opinion; in May Virginia Hewitt spoke about banknotes, a subject which had special appeal for me this year for reasons that will become apparent shortly; and in June we were entertained, as we knew we would be, by Michael Sharp's Jacobite jottings.

Marion Archibald, in September, produced yet another hoard, this one spanning the years of the Norman Conquest and perhaps more important for its historical context than its numismatic rarities. You were warm in your applause, as you had been in May when, on behalf of Council, I had the happy task of presenting to her a specially inscribed membership medal in silver to acknowledge her assistance, year after year, in helping to organise the Council Sherry Party.

Our October meeting was the occasion for the fourth Linecar Lecture, and I think 'occasion' is indeed the word to use. With a charm and an authority that were a delight to witness Sir Conrad Swan, lately Garter Principal King of Arms, guided us through the origins and rules of heraldry and their application – successfully and unsuccessfully, accurately and inaccurately – to coins, medals and seals. It was a lecture that exemplified the purpose of those of us who, ten years ago, were involved in establishing the Linecar Lecture, not just by providing a speaker who would not normally address one of our regular meetings but also in setting numismatics in a wider context. The result was an evening which did honour to the memory of our benefactor Howard Linecar, a man to whom as a young numismatist I so often turned for advice and, it will not surprise you, never in vain.

The year was remarkable also for the Society's one-day meeting on new developments in Anglo-Saxon numismatics which Mark Blackburn and our Director organised on Saturday 8 July at Gonville & Caius College. A fully-booked conference, a strong programme, a wonderfully sunny day, a famous Cambridge college: how could it fail to be a success, if I may use the words with which Lord Stewartby captured the general mood at the end of the afternoon. Thomas Curtis, I know, would be the first to acknowledge the crucial contribution of Mark Blackburn, and our thanks are also due to the Master and Fellows of the College, and to the Senior Bursar, our member Robin Porteous, for adding to the enjoyment of a good lunch by providing wine and an elegant and spontaneous speech. Papers during the day by Mark Blackburn, Derek Chick, Hugh Pagan and Bill Lean, and a summary of the proceedings by Lord Stewartby, dispelled any notion that the huge advances in the study of Anglo-Saxon coins may have run their course. On the contrary, what struck me was the intellectual vigour of the continuing debate, while in the contribution of Simon Keynes we saw evidence of the interaction of historian and numismatist which can be such a helpful feature of these one-day meetings.

In speaking of Cambridge with undisguised enthusiasm I make no apology. Long ago, when I was Director, it was my wish that the Society should occasionally meet outside London and with the support of others of a like mind the principle has become firmly established. We are after all a national and an international society, drawing our British members and indeed our officers from distant parts of the United Kingdom as well as from London, and I have always believed that one of the ways in which we reflect our national status is by visiting provincial centres. You will therefore understand my pleasure that, in the programme which the Director will announce later this evening, we shall again be on our travels next summer.

This should not be taken to mean that London's numismatic attraction has in any sense diminished. Rather the reverse has happened, in fact, with the very welcome announcement during the year that funding has been secured for a coin gallery at the British Museum. This is excellent news, guaranteed to promote interest not just in the national collection but in numismatics generally, and I congratulate the Keeper on the successful culmination of his efforts. From what I hear a broad-based display is intended, tracing the history of money from earliest times, and, having myself been involved this year in the completion of a numismatic gallery, I have a good idea of the task that now confronts the Keeper and his colleagues to ensure that the display will be ready by the target date of January 1997. They may be sure, however, of our interest, our goodwill and our support.

Of my own activities I may report that in April I attended the very successful BANS Congress in Caerleon, organised by the South Wales and Monmouthshire Numismatic Society, while in September I went to Hertford College, Oxford, for the annual BANS Lecture Course. For me, as a student of the milled coinage, a particularly satisfactory feature of the Caerleon Congress was the re-emergence of Dr David Dykes, a near neighbour of mine in South Wales, who is working his way towards a much fuller and much needed understanding of the token coinage of the late eighteenth century and its leading personalities, as you will discover when he speaks to the Society next year. At the equally successful Lecture Course it was gratifying to see the Society so much in evidence. All the speakers except the special Royal Mint Lecturer were members of the Society, two of them Vice-Presidents indeed, while the weekend as a whole was organised with efficiency and good humour by Joe Bispham, until recently a member of Council.

In March I lectured to the Sheffield Society for the Encouragement of Art and at the end of June I was in Edinburgh, where the opening of a small exhibition of medals by students of the Royal College of Art gave me the opportunity to meet some of our members who live in that delightful city. In September I visited Norfolk, where the Norwich Coin & Medal Society, though they could not find it in their hearts to welcome me as a man of Suffolk, cheerfully accepted me as a fellow East Anglian. I have had the pleasure, at the Royal Mint, of acting as host to the Worthing & District Numismatic Society and the Lancashire & Cheshire Numismatic Society, while the St Albans & Hertfordshire Numismatic Society very kindly elected me to Honorary Membership.

The year has, however, relieved me of one of my responsibilities. In company with Christopher Challis I have been acting as a supervisor of Christopher Eimer's M Phil thesis on the Pingos, that prolific but neglected family of eighteenth-century medallists. Mr Eimer has, I am happy to say, survived our supervision and has managed without difficulty to satisfy the internal and external examiners appointed by the University of Leeds. I gladly take this opportunity publicly to salute him on a well-earned success and to express the hope that more numismatists may profit from his example by undertaking part-time degree courses.

Finally, I have saved till last my acknowledgement as President of the assistance and support that I have received during the year from Council and, in particular, from the Officers: our Treasurer and our Director, of whom I have already spoken; our Secretary, who without complaint makes the long journey from Glasgow to attend every meeting; our Librarian, who with the welcome assistance of Peter Bagwell Purefoy has caught up with the accessioning of items received for the Library; and our Editors, who are keeping the *Journal* on schedule and who are confident that Volume 64 will appear as planned before the end of the year. To them all I offer not just my own thanks but the warm gratitude of the whole Society.

(The President then delivered a paper entitled 'Gold and the Goschen Pound Note', the text of which is published at pages 185–93, above.)

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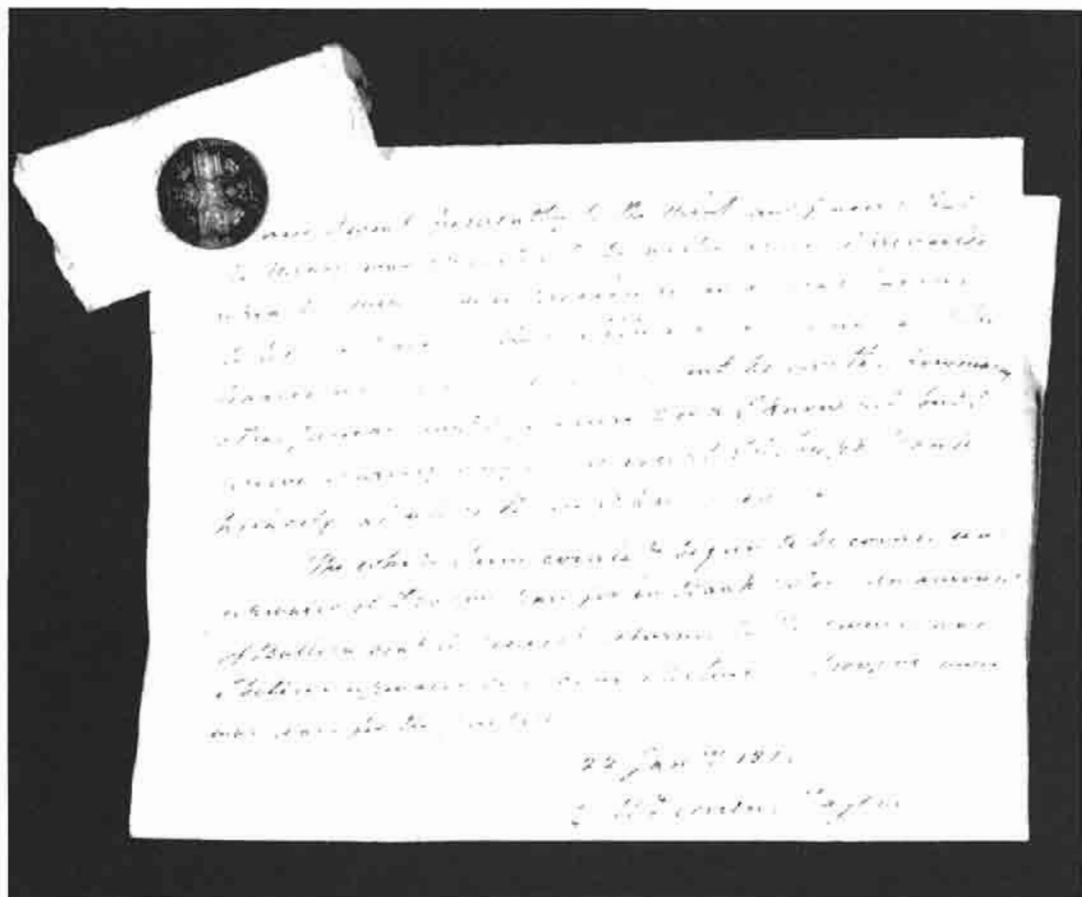
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